WALTER MAP
DE NUGIS CURIALIUM
COURTIERS' TRIFLES

EDITED AND TRANSLATED
BY
M. R. JAMES

REVISED BY
C. N. L. BROOKE
AND
R. A. B. MYNORS

CLARENDON PRESS · OXFORD
1983

Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP
London Glasgow New York Toronto
Delhi Bombay Calcutta Madras Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Singapore Hong Kong Tokyo
Nairobi Dar es Salaam Cape Town
Melbourne Auckland
and associates in
Beirut Berlin Ibadan Mexico City

Published in the United States by
Oxford University Press, New York

OXFORD *is a trade mark of Oxford University Press*

© Revised text and translation, Sir Roger Mynors 1983
© Historical notes and introduction, C. N. L. Brooke 1983

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Oxford University Press

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Map, Walter
De nugis curialium = Courtiers' trifles.—
(Oxford medieval texts)
I. Title II. James, M. R. III. Brooke, C. N. L.
IV. Mynors, R. A. B.
873'.04 PR2058
ISBN 0-19-822236-X

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Map, Walter, fl. 1200.
De nugis curialium = Courtiers' trifles.
(Oxford medieval texts)
English and Latin.
Includes index.
I. James, M. R. (Montague Rhodes), 1862-1936,
II. Brooke, Christopher Nugent Lawrence. III. Mynors,
R. A. B. (Roger Aubrey Baskerville), Sir, 1903- .
IV. Title. V. Title: Courtiers' trifles. VI. Series.
PA8380.D4E5 1983 878'.0307 82-14550
ISBN 0-19-822236-X

Typeset by Joshua Associates, Oxford
Printed in Great Britain
at the University Press, Oxford
by Eric Buckley
Printer to the University

PREFACE

THE Latin text of Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*, edited by Montague Rhodes James, then Provost of King's College, Cambridge, was published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1914; his English version, edited by E. Sidney Hartland with notes by Sir John Lloyd, was issued in London as volume 9 of their Record Series by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in 1923. If the publishers and editors of this volume and Series are able now to bring together text and translation under a single cover, they owe this to the generous permission of the Honourable Society, with the ready concurrence of the Delegates of the Press—already given before the Series came under their imprint—and of the Bodleian Library, and the kind approval of Mr N. J. R. James.

The text and translation were revised many years ago by R. A. B. Mynors, when he was one of the General Editors of this Series, and the section of the introduction on the manuscript and on the transmission of the *Dissuasio* (Dist. iv. 3-4) is based on his work. The changes made were such as, we feel sure, would have received James's approval, with the possible exception of the rendering of certain passages which he had thought it better not to translate. This revision has since had the benefit of extensive critical notes provided by Dr Michael Winterbottom. In their present form, the introduction and historical notes are the work of C. N. L. B., though he has made much use of earlier work, especially of the notes by James and Lloyd, some of which have been preserved, and have their names or initials attached, and he has been deeply indebted to the guidance and inspiration of R. A. B. M. He has also been particularly indebted to Dr Winterbottom and Dr Diana Greenway for vital help in preparing the book for press; to Dr Winterbottom also for generous aid with proofs; to Mrs Joshua for skilled typesetting; and he is grateful, as always, to the Press, and especially to Mr Ivon Asquith, Miss Phoebe Allen, and Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens, for the interest in and support for this Series which has never failed.

Much of our work was done over twenty years ago; and in the early 1960s a draft of the introduction circulated and was shown to a number of scholars, who provided helpful criticism and advice; and it was used by some (with full permission and acknowledgement), including Dr G. Stollberg in his *Die soziale Stellung der intellektuellen Oberschicht im England des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck, 1973), who also gave us valued aid in his turn. Over the years we have been generously assisted by many scholars, and in particular by Miss Julia Barrow, Dr Wendy Davies, Dr Ruth Dean, Professor Alan Deyermond, the Rev Canon John Dickinson, Professor Philip Grierson, Dr Bernard Hamilton, Dr David Howlett, Dr Marie Lovatt, Professor Cyril Mango, Professor R. A. Markus, Dr M. A. E. Nickson, Dr R. R. Raymo, Miss Susan Ridyard, Professor A. G. Rigg, Mr Richard Sharpe, Dr Ian Short, Dr Elizabeth Hallam Smith, Dr Patrick Sims-Williams, Dr Barry Windeatt, and by the late Dr Richard Hunt and Dr Eleanor Rathbone.

C. N. L. B.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES viii

Frontispiece: Walter Map's home country xii

INTRODUCTION xiii

I Master Walter Map xiii
II His writings xix
III The *De nugis curialium*: its date and composition xxiv
IV The scope and purpose of the *De nugis curialium* xxxii
V The text xlv

Appendix Indications of date in the *De nugis curialium* li

Capitula: List of chapters lvi

WALTER MAP, *DE NUGIS CURIALIUM*

Distinctio i: The First Distinction 2
Distinctio ii: The Second Distinction 132
Distinctio iii: The Third Distinction 210
Distinctio iv: The Fourth Distinction 278
Distinctio v: The Fifth Distinction 404

Appendix 'Ex dictis W. Map' 515

CONCORDANCE WITH PREVIOUS EDITIONS 517

INDEX OF QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS 521

GENERAL INDEX 527

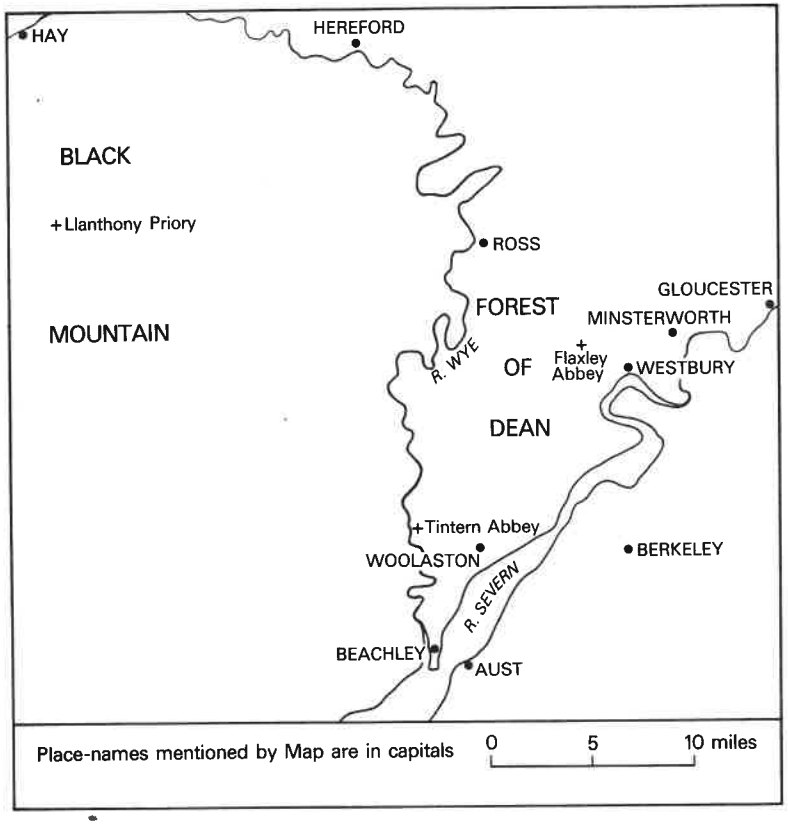
ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.*
Boutemy	A. Boutemy, *Gautier Map, conteur anglais*, Brussels, 1945.
Bradley	H. Bradley, 'Notes on Walter Map's "De Nugis Curialium" ', *EHR* xxxii (1917), 393–400.
Councils and Synods, i	*Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church*, i, *871–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 parts, Oxford, 1981.
CP	*Complete Peerage, The*, by G.E.C., revised edn. by V. Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday, Lord Howard de Walden, G. H. White and R. S. Lea, London, 1910–59.
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, 66 vols., London, 1885–1901, repr. 22 vols., Oxford, 1921–2.
Domesday Book	*Domesday Book: Liber Censualis vocatus Domesday-Book*, 4 vols., Record Commission, London, 1783–1816.
EHR	*English Historical Review.*
EYC	*Early Yorkshire Charters*, i–iii, ed. W. Farrer, Edinburgh, 1914–16; iv–xii, ed. Sir C. T. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Soc., Record Series, Extra Series 1–3, 5–10, 1935–65 (Extra Ser. 4 is Index to *EYC*, 1–3, ed. C. T. and E. M. Clay, 1942).
Eyton	R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, London and Dorchester, 1878.
Fasti	J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, ed. D. E. Greenway, i–iii, London, 1968–77.
Freeman	E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, 6 vols., Oxford, 1867–79; i and ii also cited from 3rd edn., Oxford, 1877.
Gallia Christiana	*Gallia Christiana*, 16 vols., Paris, 1715–1865.
Geoffrey of Monmouth	Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. A. Griscom, New York-Toronto, 1929.
Gervase of Tilbury	Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. G. W. Leibnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, Hanover, 1707–10, i. 881–1004, ii. 751–84 (a new edn. by S. Grier and J. G. Caldwell is in preparation for OMT).

Gesta Henrici II	*Gesta Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis . . .*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS, 1867 [by Roger of Howden].
GF	A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, Cambridge, 1965.
GFL	*The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot . . .*, ed. A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, Cambridge, 1967.
Giraldus, *Opera*	*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner, 8 vols., RS, 1861–91.
Heads	*The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940–1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London, Cambridge, 1972.
Hinton (1917)	J. Hinton, 'Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*: its plan and composition', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxxii (1917), 81–132.
Hinton, *Notes*	J. Hinton, 'Notes on Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*', *Studies in Philology*, xx (1923), 448–68.
Hoveden	Roger of Hoveden [Howden], *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., RS, 1868–71.
James (1914)	Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series 14), Oxford, 1914.
James (1923)	*Walter Map's 'De Nugis Curialium'*, translated by M. R. James, with historical notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. Sidney Hartland, Cymmrodorion Record Series 9, London, 1923.
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History.*
J.E.L.	Notes by Sir John E. Lloyd (from James (1923)).
JS, *Letters*	*The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols., NMT, OMT, 1955–79.
Keynes, *Æthelred*	S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready', 978–1016*, Cambridge, 1980.
Knowles and Hadcock	D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, edn. of London, 1971.
Knowles, *EC*	D. Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, Cambridge, 1951.
Knowles, *MO*	D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England, 940–1216*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1963.

Latham	R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, London, British Academy, 1965.
Liebrecht	F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde: alte und neue Aufsätze*, Heilbronn, 1879 [esp. pp. 25–53, on Map].
Lloyd	J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the earliest times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 3rd edn., 2 vols., London, 1939.
Magna Vita	*Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis: The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, ed. D. L. Douie and H. Farmer, 2 vols., NMT, 1961–2.
Manitius	Manitius, M., *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., Munich, 1911–31.
MB	*Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard, 7 vols., RS, 1875–85.
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
MLD, Fasc. A–B, Fasc. C.	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fasc. i, A–B, Fasc. ii, C, ed. R. E. Latham, London, British Academy, 1975–81.
Monasticon	W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, rev. edn., J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8, London, 1817–30, repr. 1846.
Nigel de Longchamps	Nigel de Longchamps, *Speculum Stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo, Berkeley etc. 1960 (cited by line).
NMT	Nelson's Medieval Texts (formerly Classics).
Ogle	M. B. Ogle, 'Bible Text or Liturgy', *Harvard Theological Review*, xxxiii (1940), 191–224.
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts.
Opera S. Bernardi	*Opera S. Bernardi*, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols., Rome, 1957–78.
PL	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris, 1844–64.
PR, PRS	*Pipe Roll*, Pipe Roll Society. *Pipe Rolls* are referred to by regnal year in the PRS series, London, 1884– .
Previté Orton	C. W. Previté Orton, *The Early History of the House of Savoy (1000–1233)*, Cambridge, 1912.
RS	Rolls Series.
Stith Thompson	Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, revised edn., 6 vols., Copenhagen, 1955–8.
Tupper and Ogle	*Master Walter Map's book De Nugis Curialium (Courtiers' Trifles)*, translated by F. Tupper and M. B. Ogle, London, 1924.

Walther	H. Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters*, 6 vols., Göttingen, 1963–9.
Ward and Herbert	H. L. D. Ward and J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols., London, 1883–1910.
Warren	W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, London, 1973.
Webb	C. C. J. Webb, review of James (1914), in *Classical Review*, xxix (1915), 121–3.
Wright	Gualteri Mapes *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. T. Wright, London, Camden Society, 1850.
Wright, *Cultivation of Saga*	C. E. Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England*, Edinburgh–London, 1939.
Wright, *Latin Poems*	*The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. T. Wright, London, Camden Society, 1841.



Walter Map's home country

INTRODUCTION

I. MASTER WALTER MAP

WALTER MAP has been moderately well known from his own day to this; but the grounds of his fame have shifted in a curious way. In the centuries following his death, indeed down to the 19th century, he was regarded as the author of scurrilous Latin verse and French romances. In recent generations all his Latin verse and his French prose have been stripped from him; but he has been provided in their place with that enchanting jumble which we know as the *De nugis curialium*, 'Courtiers' trifles', which was hardly known at all before the 19th century.

Walter Map was a secular clerk who lived from *c.* 1130 × 5[1] to the first decade of the 13th century, prospered in a moderate way in the service of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford and London, and of King Henry II, and rose to be archdeacon of Oxford. He came from the border of England and Wales; he was a marcher by descent; he was a Welshman. This has been doubted on the ground that Gerald of Wales describes him as 'ab Anglia oriundus' and on account of the low opinion he seems to hold of the Welsh. But he himself says that they were his fellow-countrymen[2] and his name 'Map' is a version of the Welsh 'Vab' or 'Mab' or 'Ap' meaning 'son of'; Map was very likely a nickname which was attached by the English to some of their Welsh friends on the border. His own phrases seem indeed to make it clear that he was a Welshman living on the English side of the border, in the march: he speaks slightingly of the Welsh but calls them

[1] He was at Paris in the early 1150s: this would suggest that he was born in the 1130s. He was in Paris by 1154, and it is unlikely that this was the beginning of his student career; this makes a date for his birth later than *c.* 1135 seem improbable. If he was born about 1130, he was about 70 when considered for the bishoprics of Hereford and St. Davids, and about 80 when he died—a considerable age for this period. Thus *c.* 1130 × 5 fits all the data, but an earlier or slightly later date is possible.

[2] *Dist.* ii. 20; for Gerald's references to him as *ab Anglia oriundus* etc., see Giraldus, *Opera*, i. 306, iii. 321. He was presumably of mixed descent and born, or anyway brought up, in England.

compatriote; he says of himself *marchio sum Walensibus.*[1] He speaks of the Black Mountain as a well-known landmark, which suggests that he came from somewhere south of Hereford.[2] His family were evidently of standing, since he won early patronage from King Henry II on account of the service his forebears gave to Henry before and after his accession to the throne (v, 6, pp. 494–5). We may reasonably associate him with the Walter Map who witnessed a charter of the Herefordshire baron Roger de Chandos *c.*1158 × 73; and Walter son of Walter Map of Wormsley in Herefordshire, who occurs in the early 13th century, was presumably a relative; he himself held land at Ullingswick, north-east of Hereford.[3] He tells us that he was plagued by his nephews in later years, but only a single nephew can we name, Philip Map, who witnessed two of Walter's

[1] *Dist.* ii. 20, 23 (p. 194).

[2] *Dist.* i. 32.

[3] *The Register of Richard of Swinfield, bishop of Hereford*, ed. W. W. Capes (Hereford, Cantilupe Soc., 1909), p. 56—a puzzling document; BL Harl. MS 3586 (cartulary of Wormsley), f. 68; *Herefordshire Domesday*, ed. V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait (PRS 63, 1950), p. 103, cf. p. 50. Harl. MS 3586, ff. 68–75 has a series of charters of Walter Map son of Walter Map of Wormsley, of his daughter Lucia, and especially of his son Nicholas of Wormsley, for St. Leonard's priory (first called Pyon, later Wormsley), which was founded early in the 13th century. They culminate in the grant of the advowson of Wormsley church, the resignation of the rector, and the appropriation of the church to the priory by Peter bishop of Hereford, dated 28 Apr. 1242 (the process concludes on f. 76). The editors of the *Herefs. Domesday* reasonably say that there is no evidence to identify Map with the holder of Wormsley; but relationship seems probable, and he had interests nearby. He had held land near Ullingswick (Herefs.) in 1186 (*Hist. et Cart. mon. Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart (RS, 1863–7) ii. 156). A Walter Map, probably the elder of the two Maps of Wormsley, witnessed two charters in company with Henry son of William de Mineriis (Mynors), one dated 1195 (*The Cartulary . . . of the Cistercian abbey of Flaxley*, ed. A. W. Crawley-Boevey (Exeter, 1887), pp. 135, 162–3, nos. 10, 154), and the Mynors family later—perhaps already—held land at Burghill, near Hereford, next to Wormsley, where Mynors Park is still recorded; it is even possible that one of the same family presented Map to the church of Westbury-on-Severn (see p. xvii, n. 1), for they held the advowson in later centuries.

On Map's family and career much has been written: see *DNB* (C. L. Kingsford); *Dict. of Welsh Biography* (R. T. Jenkins); W. T. Ritchie, *Proc. Royal Philos. Soc. of Glasgow*, xli (1909–10), 123–46; J. Bardoux, *De Walterio Mappio* (Coulommiers, Paris, 1900); Ward, i. 736–41; J. C. Russell, *Dict. of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936), p. 179; Manitius, iii. 264–74; A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, ii (Oxford, 1958), 1219; G. Stollberg, *Die soziale Stellung der intellektuellen Oberschicht im England des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck, 1973), 71–81.

surviving charters.[1] Both Walter and Philip were canons of Hereford cathedral.[2]

There are hints that Map knew Gloucester abbey and had stayed there; the very first time he crossed the Channel, as the storm raged about him, he thought of the old Gloucester monk, Gregory; and it may be that, like his younger contemporary and friend Gerald of Wales, he had been to school there.[3] By 1154 he was a student at Paris, and he may have been in Paris on and off for a long period in the 1150s and 1160s; he tells how he had seen Luke of Hungary in the school of Gerard la Pucelle in Paris, so evidently Map had studied theology or canon law at Gerard's feet.[4] Meanwhile,

[1] 'Filippo Map nepote meo' witnesses BL Cotton Charter xvi. 40, ed. T. Wright, *Latin poems*, p. xxix; this is an original charter of Walter Map as precentor of Lincoln and canon of St. Paul's concerning land in his London prebend. Two of the name, one called Master Philip Map, witness another charter of Walter, as archdeacon of Oxford, confirming a right of the monks of St. Guthlac, Hereford, in his archdeaconry (Oxford, Balliol Coll. MS 271, f. 72^{v}). A Philip Map, very probably Walter's nephew, was clerk and chaplain to Giles de Briouze, bishop of Hereford, and canon of Hereford in the early years of the 13th century (*Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. W. W. Capes, Cantilupe Soc., Hereford, 1908, 42; *Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. U. Rees, Aberystwyth, 1975, ii. 317–18, no. 352; *Reg. Caroli Bothe*, ed. A. T. Bannister, Cantilupe Soc., Hereford, 1921, 60–1). We owe much help on Philip Map, and on Walter's links with Hereford (see next note), to Miss Julia Barrow.

[2] Walter Map held a prebend in Hereford Cathedral (*Magna Vita*, ii. 131–2), and occurs, probably as canon of Hereford, in documents of 1158 × 73, 1183 × 6, and 1185 (in the second and third also as chancellor of Lincoln. Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawlinson B 329, ff. 14, 53^{v}–54; Balliol Coll. MS 271, f. 90; see p. xviii n. 1 for a later occurrence). On 19 Mar. 1177 he witnessed a charter of Roger, bishop of Worcester, of which Hereford cathedral was the beneficiary, and in which the king was also concerned (M. G. Cheney, *Roger, bishop of Worcester* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 260–1). We are told that the chapter of Hereford wished to elect him bishop in 1199 (*Magna Vita*, ii. 131–2); in the event Giles de Briouze became bishop.

[3] In ii. 2, he tells the story of the monk Gregory and speaks of him, and of Abbot Hamelin of Gloucester (1148–79), as people he had met. Gregory died in 1157 (*GF*, p. 80 n.). Gerald studied at Gloucester abbey under one Master Hamo in the time of Abbot Hamelin (*Opera*, iv. 107). Another centre of learning lay nearby in the priory of Lanthony-by-Gloucester: Map witnessed a charter to the priory, evidently made at Gloucester, in the period 1148 × 74 (London, PRO C115/K2/6683/sec. viii, no. 12, f. 141^{v}).

[4] In *dist.* ii. 2 he refers to his first Channel crossing; in ii. 7 to study under Gerard La Pucelle in Paris (in 1154; cf. Hinton, *Notes*, pp. 467–8); in v. 5 (pp. 452–5) he relates another incident in Paris while he was a student. Gerard is best known as a canonist, but he seems to have taught theology as well (S. Kuttner and E. Rathbone in *Traditio*, vii (1949–51), 296–303, esp. 297 and n. 6); Map's activity at the Lateran Council of 1179 (i. 31) implies that he had studied theology, although Gerald of Wales (*Opera*, i. 271 ff.) seems to say that he had not proceeded far

Map had evidently won patronage from the bishop of Hereford, Gilbert Foliot (1148–63), and from Henry II himself.[1] We meet Walter in a charter of Gilbert Foliot, now bishop of London (1163–87), in the 1160s;[2] but from the early 1170s, and certainly by 1173, Map was established as a royal clerk. In February 1173 he was in attendance on King Henry at Limoges, and was given the task of entertaining Peter, the saintly archbishop of Tarentaise.[3] In the same year he acted as royal justice in England; and it was very likely also in 1173 that Gilbert Foliot made him canon of St. Paul's and gave him the prebend of Mapesbury. Mapesbury is one of a group of prebends of St. Paul's which seem to take their names from canons of this generation, and they may all owe their origin to a joke among Map and friends—his was Map's castle or fortified manor, *burh*.[4] This was the period of his life when he acquired the substantial group of churches and dignities which enabled him to support the expensive household described in the *De nugis*. The full details are hidden from us; but we know that he had churches in his own home country including Westbury-on-Severn (Gloucestershire).

in it. Map's meeting with Becket as chancellor (ii. 23) may well have taken place in France, where Becket was living from 1158 to 1162, when he became archbishop, perhaps in Paris, which Becket visited in 1158 (*MB*, iii. 32; cf. Eyton, p. 41). Emden (p. xiv, n. 3) cites Giraldus, iii. 92, as evidence that Map studied at Oxford: 'magister Galterus magister Oxoniensis archidiaconus'. But for the second 'magister' one should read 'Map': see the edition by W. S. Davies, *Y Cymmrodor*, xxx (1920), 178.

[1] *Dist.* v. 6, pp. 494–5, refers to early favour from Henry II. *GFL*, no. 439, seems to show him as a clerk of Gilbert Foliot as bishop of London, before 1172; but the association very probably began earlier, when Gilbert was bishop of Hereford (1148–63), or even before that, when he was abbot of Gloucester (1139–48). The chief references to Gilbert in *De nugis* (i. 12, 24; iv. 5) are to his later life; that at ii. 27 belongs to his time at Hereford, but could be known to Map from a later reminiscence. None the less the way Gilbert is referred to implies a long and fairly close association.

[2] *GFL*, no. 439; cf. *GF*, pp. 207, 211 n., 291.

[3] *Dist.* ii. 3.

[4] As royal justice: Giraldus, *Opera*, iv. 219 ff., telling the well-known story of how Map said he would do justice to everyone except Cistercians and Jews; *PR 19 Henry II* (PRS 9, 1895), p. 154; *PR 31 Henry II* (PRS 34, 1913), pp. 128, 146, 166: 1172–3, 1184–5. *Dist.* v. 6, *ad fin.* shows that Map succeeded Geoffrey Plantagenet, Henry II's illegitimate son, in his London prebend; and the London prebendal catalogue shows that this was Mapesbury. See D. E. Greenway in *Fasti*, i. 59–60; J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Middlesex* (Cambridge, 1942), pp. 161–2; C. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800–1216* (London, 1975), pp. 348 n., 349–50.

We know also that he was rewarded by Henry II with the living of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, the advowson of which belonged to Westminster Abbey, to which the king presented him during the vacancy following the death of Abbot Laurence in 1173.[1] Meanwhile his life was spent between the royal court and visits (probably brief visits) to his churches, prebends, and properties. In 1179 he was one of Henry's representatives at the Third Lateran Council, where he engaged in verbal debate with the Waldensians to his own satisfaction; in 1183 he was at Saumur when the young King Henry, Henry II's eldest surviving son, died at Martel; in 1189 Henry II himself died, and Map's career at court drew to a close.[2]

Some years before this he had made the preparations for another career, as a dignitary in the diocese of Lincoln. We do not know when he became a canon of Lincoln, but he occurs in 1183–5; by 1186 he was chancellor.[3] As chancellor, he was nominal head of one of the leading cathedral schools of the country; of the school on which his friend Gerald of Wales was to spend many of his later years, and which, under one of Walter Map's successors, Master William de Montibus, was to be the foremost school of theology in England in the generation preceding the rise to ascendancy of Oxford.[4] But it is unlikely that Map was a frequent visitor

[1] For Westbury, see *Dist.* v. 4 (pp. 430–1), above, p. xiv, n. 3, and cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, i. 306 n., iv. 219; for Ashwell, *dist.* v. 6 (pp. 496–7). *Curia Regis Rolls*, vi. 93, show that it was alleged in Michaelmas term 1210 that Map had been presented by the king in the vacancy following Abbot Laurence's death, 1173–5, and that the monks of Westminster were trying to reassert their rights as patrons. In a plea of 1275 on the advowson of Banham (Norfolk) John Marshal claimed that his predecessor (of *c.* 1200) Walter Giffard had held the advowson and presented his clerk Walter Map: even if correct, this may refer to another Walter (cartulary of St. Mary's York, British Library Harl. MS 236, ff. 49^{v}–51^{v}; F. Blomefield, *An essay towards a topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, i (Fersfield, 1739), p. 234).

[2] *Distt.* i. 31, v. 5 (pp. 450–1; cf. *dist.* i. 23; *PR 24 Henry II* (PRS 27, 1906), p. 106—payment to Map in 1177–8 as royal envoy to the pope, with Jocelin archdeacon of Chichester and Osbert de Camera); *dist.* iv. 1 (1183); *dist.* iv. 2 (Henry's death).

[3] All the details of his Lincoln career have now been fully worked out and documented by D. E. Greenway in *Fasti*, iii. 16, 163 (chancellor), 13 (precentor), 36 and n. 2 (archdeacon), 75 (possibly prebendary of Langford Ecclesia). For his occurrence as canon, see also D. M. Smith in *English Episcopal Acta*, Lincoln, i (British Academy, 1980), no. 319. It may be conjectured that he was made chancellor by his former colleague in the royal service, Walter of Coutances, who was bishop of Lincoln 1183–4/5.

[4] On William de Montibus, see *Fasti*, iii. 16–17; H. Mackinnon in *Essays in*

to Lincoln while he was chancellor; and about the time when Henry II died and he was freed from the toils of the court, he was transferred from the chancellorship to the precentorship. From *c.* 1189 he was precentor, and in 1196 or 1197 St. Hugh, his bishop, moved him once more, this time to the archdeaconry of Oxford.[1]

By now Map was an old man, by the standards of his day; but his career was not yet over. His household is vividly described in the *De nugis*. Clearly, like all men of good will in the Middle Ages, he lived (or pretended to live) beyond his income. He blames his extravagance on his *familia*, his nephews (who think 'I was born for their benefit and not my own') and servants, who compelled him to expense and lavish hospitality by every kind of trick; above all by reminding him how much his fame would suffer if he lost his reputation for generosity. 'Don't you be anxious: God hasn't given away everything yet. You are but spending what you have. Trust in the Lord; it's common talk that they'll make you a bishop.'[2] Map was twice mentioned for a bishopric: at Hereford in 1199 and at St. Davids, after the failure of Gerald of Wales, in 1203; but neither scheme succeeded.[3] And so Walter died an archdeacon, on 1 April in 1209 or 1210.[4]

Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 32–45; see also Kuttner and Rathbone in *Traditio*, vii. 321 and n. 6; Giraldus, *Opera*, i. 93; R. W. Hunt in *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., xix (1936), 21–2. William succeeded Master Stephen, Map's successor as chancellor, in the early or mid 1190s (by 1194, *Fasti*, iii. 16).

[1] On Map as archdeacon, see Giraldus, *Opera*, iii. 200–1. *Magna Vita*, ii. 131, shows him as archdeacon and canon of Lincoln, and also canon of Hereford when he was proposed for the bishopric of Hereford in 1199. There is an act of his as archdeacon in *Cartulary of . . . St. Frideswide at Oxford*, ed. S. R. Wigram, ii (Oxford Hist. Soc., 1896), p. 247. He witnessed a charter of the bishop of Hereford in the years 1196 × 8 (PRO E326/10846).

[2] *Dist.* i. 10.

[3] *Magna Vita*, ii. 131; Giraldus, *Opera*, i. 306–7, iii. 321.

[4] He was alive in May 1208 (*Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, Record Commission, i. 1 (1835), p. 84a, cited *Fasti*, iii. 36). In 1210 he was dead: the monks of Westminster were claiming the advowson of his church at Ashwell, and Gerald of Wales refers to him as dead in the prologue to the second edition of the *Expugnatio Hiberniae*, which was written not later than the summer of 1210, since it adjured King John not to forget Ireland (Giraldus, *Opera*, v. 410). His obit was kept at Hereford on 1 Apr. (R. Rawlinson, *Hist. and Antiquities of . . . Hereford* (London, 1717), Appendix, p. (10)), so he presumably died in 1209 or 1210. The Ashwell case may make 1210 more likely, although the conditions of the interdict may have delayed such business in these years. His name is recorded in *Liber Vitae ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (facs. edn., ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, Surtees Soc., 1923, f. 23^{v}).

His career was prosperous, but not exceptional. It represented most of the aspects of the career open to talented secular clerks in the late 12th century. Gone were the days of monastic ascendancy in the world of learning or in leadership in the Church. After a career as a student in England and at Paris, and perhaps elsewhere, acquiring a substantial pile of learning, secular and theological, he rose in the service of a bishop and of a king. Like a number of other young men he served Gilbert Foliot and rose from being a clerk to being a canon; like many more he found employment and promotion in the hectic court of Henry II. Opportunity for promotion was swiftly becoming much wider. The growth of ecclesiastical administration, in the papal court, in the courts of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and abbots, was providing employment and incentive for ever larger numbers of promising young clerks; and secular courts, of kings and great nobles, were increasing their clerical staffs substantially. The upper, highly educated clergy grew from a tiny minority to a significant proportion of the population. A scholar and civil servant like Walter Map was a characteristic figure in his day and his society.

II. HIS WRITINGS

In one respect Master Walter Map was quite exceptional. The book he left behind him enables us to make the dry bones of his own and numerous similar careers live: the scholar, justice, royal clerk, canon, and archdeacon moves before us, vividly portrayed, with that strange mixture of devotion and worldliness one so often meets in men of his kind; a comfortable figure, witty and prosperous, however much of a hell he may pretend the court to be. The *De nugis* is not only very entertaining; it is a rough inventory of the mental furniture of a learned and witty 12th-century clerk, a marvellous guide to a fascinating lumber-room.

At least one part of the *De nugis* circulated as a separate tract; but no other work of Map's is known to survive, or even to have been written. Furthermore, the tract against marriage, which circulated widely, only bears his name in a single manuscript; and the *De nugis*, the only manuscript of

which makes no secret of the fact that the book was written by him, did not circulate at all. Map was moderately well known in the later Middle Ages and in early modern times as a literary figure, because a large quantity of the best Latin secular verse of the late 12th century was attributed to him, and because he was also made out to be the author of a cycle of French romances. Recent scholars have taken all his goliardic poetry away from Master Walter, and have demolished his claim to have written the prose cycle of *Lancelot.*[1] From France, perhaps from Champagne, in the period *c.* 1215–30, came the most substantial and popular of all the versions of the Grail legend, the prose cycle of Lancelot, consisting of the *Lancelot*, the *Queste del Saint Graal*, and the *Mort Artu.* The *Queste* and the *Mort Artu* claim to be translations from a Latin original preserved at the abbey of Salisbury, made 'by Walter Map at the request of King Henry his lord'. The romances liked to claim to be history, at least in the sense of being faithful copies of earlier works. The claim was ironical, deliberately ironical: far too many fictitious statements survive for there to be doubt on this score. These claims seem to go back to Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing in the 1130s, who stated firmly that his book was a translation from a Breton original, brought out of Brittany by his friend Walter, archdeacon of Oxford (died 1151).[2] This kind of claim reached its climax in the greatest of all the romances, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival.*

[1] See e.g. F. Lot, *Étude sur le 'Lancelot' en prose* (Paris, 1918), pp. 126 ff.; Ward, i. 345–56. For Map's genuine verses, see the lists in A. G. Rigg, 'Golias and other pseudonyms', *Studi medievali*, 3a serie, xviii, i (1977), 85; P. Lehmann in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss.*, philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse, 1922 (Munich, 1922), 2 Abh., pp. 12–15. Cf. below, pp. xxxi, n. 3, 515–16; Manitius, iii. 268–9; F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1957), ii. 91 n.

[2] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Epilogue, ed. A. Griscom (New York, 1929), p. 536; cf. C. Brooke in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to C. R. Cheney*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke, D. E. Luscombe, G. H. Martin and D. Owen (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 77–91, at p. 83, and for what follows, pp. 79 ff. On the date of Geoffrey's book, see Brooke in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), p. 231 n. 2, suggesting that it was completed in 1138; one element in it, bk. vii, the 'Prophecies of Merlin', must be earlier, for it was undoubtedly circulating by *c.* 1134–5 (Orderic, xii, c. 47, ed. M. Chibnall, vi. 380–9); cf. Brooke in *Church and Government*, p. 85 n. 27.

Wolfram tells us that Chrétien had got the story wrong, and that Wolfram had put him right by using Kyot the Provençal, who had it from an Arabic source. In fact Chrétien was the chief narrative source used by Wolfram—though Wolfram's 'sources' are a matter of secondary interest—and Wolfram's little mystification was a way of saying that he had altered Chrétien to suit his own somewhat Arabian fancy. He has spiced his confection by using the name of a contemporary French poet, Guiot of Provins, as the base for his imaginary Kyot of Provence. Why, then, was Walter Map worth the attention of the author or authors of the Vulgate cycle of Lancelot? It is highly improbable that Map wrote courtly romances. The ideals of courtly love were foreign to him. His tract against marriage, the *Dissuasio Valerii*, which was incorporated in the *De nugis* but also circulated separately, is one of the most brilliant anti-feminine satires produced in the Middle Ages, and was duly rewarded by a place among the spurious writings of St. Jerome.

Some 12th-century romances idealized courtly love; others, like Chrétien of Troyes, expounded it with full realization of its dilemmas, dangers, and inconsistencies; others, like Wolfram, criticized it while rejoicing in certain aspects of earthly love; others, like the author of the *Queste*, replaced the love of man by the love of God. The spectrum had many colours, and there is no reason why Map should not have written romances similar in tone to *Sadius and Galo* in *De nugis* (iii. 2)—which is a romance to point a moral, in which a subtlety of dialogue akin to Chrétien's is combined with a somewhat crude anti-feminism, and yet the form of a romance is preserved. If Map did indeed write romances, it would help to explain why a contemporary from the Welsh border should hint broadly in another romance that Walter Map was in the same line of business—an expert liar. Professor K. G. T. Webster[1] attempted to link Hue de Rotelande and the *Queste* by suggesting that Map was author

[1] *Speculum*, xv (1940), 272–9. Professor Webster (p. 278) cites Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomedon* (before 1191, perhaps written in the 1170s) as several writers on Map had done before:

> Sul ne sai pas de mentir l'art,
> Walter Map reset ben sa part . . .

of the lost Anglo-Norman original of the German *Lanzelet*.[1] But it is not certain that this original existed; nor could a work by Map have much resembled the German 'translation'. Webster also quotes Gerald of Wales. 'The famous and eloquent Walter Map—God have mercy on his soul—in his usual witty manner and with his eminent urbanity used often to say to me: "Master Gerald, you have written (*scripsistis*) and are still writing (*scribitis*) much, and I have spoken (*diximus*) many things. You have uttered writings (*scripta*), and I words (*uerba*). Your writings are far more praiseworthy and lasting than my words (*dicta*); yet because mine are easy to follow and in the vernacular, while yours are in Latin, which is understood by fewer folk, I have carried off a reasonable reward while you and your distinguished writings have not been adequately rewarded; because learned and generous princes have long since vanished from the world." '[2]

It is clear that this passage gives us the key to our problem: here Gerald, writing at much the same time as the author of the *Queste*, was giving an explanation of why Map was famous. What does it mean? Professor Webster argues that *dicta* signify more than table-talk, and suggests that 'words' may refer to French romances.

Map was capable of verbal subtlety, and of playing tricks of every kind on his friend; and he might have meant anything by this statement. But Gerald was a literal-minded man. He probably thought that Map meant what he said—Gerald was a writer, Map a talker. And if this was untrue, if Map was famous, not because he talked but because he rhymed, then it seems highly probable that Gerald would have told us so. It is true that the romances grew out of a largely oral

[1] Among other links he noted the occurrence of the theme of the three-day tournament in Hugh and in *Lanzelet*; but it is unwise to lay much stress on the occurrence of a common theme (cf. L. M. Gay, *Publ. of the Mod. Language Assoc. of America*, xxxii (1917), 477 f.); and a large part of the evidence for the existence of the Anglo-Norman original lies in the statement of the *Lanzelet* on its source (trans. Webster, Columbia, 1951, p. 151), which is hardly to be trusted without supporting evidence, and in this case the evidence is not strong.

[2] Giraldus, *Opera*, v. 410–11, translated by Webster, p. 275 (we have adapted the translation). For Map's views on Gerald's works, see also i. 412, iii. 92, 335–6; for Map's witticisms, see also iii. 145 (and below, pp. 515–16); and for correspondence between Gerald and Map, i. 271–89, 362–3. A. K. Bate in *Latomus*, xxxi (1972), 860–75, argues against any close friendship between Gerald and Map.

literature, and that the distinction between 'speaking' and 'writing' was not so sharp in the 12th century as now. This means that a man could play his part in the composing of romances without setting pen to paper, and this may well be what Gerald (or Walter) meant. But it was not the same thing as writing or dictating romances. Map lived at the centre of the world of romances. He was a clerk at the court of Henry II and Queen Eleanor. From the *De nugis* we know that he was a great story-teller. His fame at the time cannot have rested on this book, since there is no evidence that it circulated, and since it was written in Latin. It is surely beyond doubt that it is partly due to the widespread influences and ramifications, and generous patronage, of Henry and Eleanor's court, that the romance tradition spread so widely and so rapidly in the late 12th century.[1] It would indeed be surprising if the author of the *De nugis* had not played his part in this—even allowing for the restraint which would no doubt be expected of a respectable churchman. But the chance remark of Hue de Rotelande and the claim of the *Queste* and the *Mort Artu* imply more than this. Mystification was the fashion in the circles which produced them; it would be absurd to attempt to interpret these claims too precisely. No surviving romance can be attributed to him; he may well have written none. Something he did, or some role he played, which made him famous among poets. But one thing is clear: all the certainly authentic work of Walter Map is contained in the *De nugis curialium*.[2]

[1] Though only partly, because it can be argued that Eleanor's daughter Marie, who was related to almost every potentate between England and Jerusalem, and her half-brother Richard I, were even more influential in its spread. What is significant is that the romances were international, and flourished at a time when the great courts of Europe were singularly cosmopolitan. The passage in *Lanzelet* claiming a French source specifically claims that the story was brought to Germany (or Switzerland) by one of the hostages for Richard I after his release in 1194.

[2] Which includes, of course, the *Dissuasio Valerii* (on which, see P. Lehmann, *Pseudo-Antike Literatur des Mittelalters* (Leipzig–Berlin–Vienna, 1927), pp. 23–4, and below, pp. xlvii–xlviii); for odd scraps of verse see pp. xx, n. 1, xxxi, n. 3. James printed as an appendix to his edition (1914, pp. 260–2) a short passage which follows the *De nugis* in the MS, and an extract from a 13th-cent. MS beginning 'ex dictis W. Map'. The former is an extract from Eutropius, *Hist. Rom.* iii, 11 (see Manitius, iii. 268, n. 2); for the latter, see below, pp. 515–16.

III. THE *DE NUGIS CURIALIUM*: ITS DATE AND COMPOSITION

Map mentions his surname in the text of *De nugis* several times; his Christian name once.[1] He is named four times, furthermore, in the rubrics of the manuscript, and also in the rubric of the earliest and best of the manuscripts of the *Dissuasio Valerii*.[2] Nor is there any passage in the book incompatible with his authorship; and some of the author's statements about his own career—such as that he succeeded Geoffrey, Henry II's illegitimate son, in his London prebend—can be shown from other evidence to refer to Walter Map.[3]

At first sight, too, the book is easy to date, since it is full of contemporary references, many of them quite precise. For instance 'Henry [Henry II's son] . . . departed this life at Martel in the month in which I wrote this page at Saumur'; or again 'in this same year of calamity they tell us that Jerusalem, the holy city, has been taken and led captive by Saladin.'[4] The only difficulty is that the indications do not agree. The young Henry died in 1183, Jerusalem fell in 1187. Elsewhere a single chapter seems partly to belong to 1191 and partly to the 1180s.[5] The author has scattered indications with a lavish hand, and never tried to tidy them up.

In 1917 Dr James Hinton published his penetrating article on the composition of the *De nugis*, in which he argued that it was not a book in the ordinary sense of the term, but a collection of fragments, written at different times and clumsily placed together by another hand, which provided it with rubrics, after Map's death.[6] His argument has been generally accepted since, and much of it is clearly valid. But his picture of the composition of the book needs some qualification.

[1] *Dist.* v. 6 ('Map' 11 times), *dist.* iv. 2 *ad fin.* ('Walterus').

[2] See below, p. xlviii. He is named at the beginning of *distt.* i. 1, 25, and also at the beginning and end of the *capitula* (pp. lvi, lxii).

[3] See above, p. xvi, n. 4.

[4] *Dist.* iv. I; *dist.* i. 15.

[5] *Dist.* iv. 2. See Appendix, pp. li–liv, where an analysis of the datable sections of the *De nugis* is attempted.

[6] *Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America*, xxxii (1917), 81–132.

Many of the indications of date would fit the view that the *De nugis* was written in the early 1180s, perhaps even in the course of 1181 and 1182. Hinton, indeed, was able to show a measure of continuity in four substantial groups of stories, all of them evidently of the 1180s, probably of the early 1180s, one at least specifically indicating a date in 1181 or early 1182.[1] There are, however, a number of passages which must be later than 1182.

1. i. 9 contains a story about St. Hugh, who is described as elect of Lincoln, which dates it between May and September 1186.[2] It could be argued that only the words 'elect of Lincoln' were added in that year; but the whole passage reads like an insertion, and it is not in the draft of this section in v. 7. Later in the same chapter comes a reference to the death of Henry II, which must have been added after 6 July 1189.

2. i. 15 is on the fall of Jerusalem, and was evidently written shortly after the news reached England. As Jerusalem fell on 2 October 1187, it can be dated to the winter of 1187–8 (see below, p. li).

3. i. 25 seems to be a separate tract, written a few years earlier than the other chapters among which it now sits, probably in or after 1177, since the reference to the ravaging of Limoges on pp. 96–7 probably describes an event of that year. Hinton (1917), p. 102, ascribed this to 1183; if that were correct, i. 25 would be later than its present context; but see pp. 96–7 n. 4.

4. ii. 18 gives a marvellously garbled account of Byzantine history in the 12th century, culminating in a set of events which took place in 1183;[3] the reference to Pope Lucius III (died 1185) may indicate that the passage is later than 1185.

5. iv. 1 claims to be written in the month in which the Young King Henry died, June 1183.

6. iv. 2a was written approximately two years after Henry II's death, that is, in 1191.

[1] *Dist.* i. 1–12, 16–32; ii. 1–16; iv. 2b–16 (see esp. *Dist.* iv. 11 and Hinton, pp. 94–9, 100–4, 109–11). Hinton reckons these sections to have been written in 1181–2 (see esp. pp. 120–1); but see below, pp. li–liv.

[2] Hugh was elected on 25 May and consecrated on 21 Sept. 1186 (*Fasti*, iii. 3).

[3] The murder of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius II by Andronicus, if the events are correctly identified.

7. v. 3a must be contemporary with or later than i. 15, since it also refers to the fall of Jerusalem; i.e., *c.* 1188.

8. v. 6 in its present form must be later than April 1192, when Conrad of Montferrat was assassinated, and probably than 1193 or 1194, to allow time for the quarrels of Geoffrey archbishop of York and his chapter to mature; but it is a puzzling chapter which may have been revised.[1]

Each of these forms a single chapter or less, and only nos. 3 and 8 are of any size; none is comparable in length to the large fragments, of 12–16 chapters, assigned by Hinton to 1181–2. Indeed, it is hard to believe that these eight are fragments in quite his sense. 1 and 7 are clearly brief insertions added after their present context had been composed; 2, though not so brief, was clearly added after *dist.* i had taken what is substantially its present form. That is to say, half at least of the later passages are insertions into an existing context. The satire on the Cistercians (i. 25) and the satire on marriage (iv. 3–4) may be accepted as in origin separate tracts.

It seems likely, in fact, that what we have in the *De nugis* is not a series of fragments thrown together, but something which was composed more or less as a single book, into which additions small and large were later inserted. Hinton showed that there is a reasonable probability that most of *dist.* i, *dist.* ii. 1–16, and *dist.* iv (with a few exceptions) were composed in the early 1180s, perhaps in 1181–2.[2] Apart from the eight passages listed above, however, there is nothing to forbid the view that the whole book belongs to the early 1180s—the stories in *distt.* iii and v (1–4) and the later chapters of ii cannot be closely dated. The most natural hypothesis is that Walter Map dictated the bulk of the book *c.* 1181–2, then kept it by him and tinkered with it from time to time; every now and then inserting a slip or leaf of vellum with a new story or addition of some kind. A list of the indications of date will be found in the Appendix, below, pp. li–liv.

Apart from the divergences of date in different parts of the

[1] This is discussed more fully below, p. liii; see also Hinton (1917), p. 114 n.
[2] Hinton (1917), pp. 94–111, 117–21; cf. above, p. xxv, n. 1.

book, Hinton noticed five major peculiarities in the arrangement and rubrication of the *De nugis.*[1]

1. The rubrics are rough marginal notes on the subject matter, not chapter headings. But already before our single 14th-century MS was copied they had been treated as chapter headings, because they were made the basis of the chapter numbers. Thus 'de inferno', a general description of the opening satire on the court, is c. 1, yet 'de Tantalo' etc., subheadings to 'de inferno', are cc. 2–6. The rubrics, furthermore, are a trifle rough and ready, and tend to peter out towards the end.

It can be said at once that the incompetence of the rubrics is not sufficient (as Hinton seems to have thought) to indicate that Map was not their author, nor that they were made after his death. It is clear that the numbering of chapters is the work of a copyist, and not a very intelligent one. But the state of the rubrics conforms to the general condition of the book, which is untidy in every possible way, and with an untidiness which clearly reflects in part the mind of Master Walter. The chapters on heretics, to take a single example, are followed by a story about three hermits (i. 32), whom James declared to have been 'dragged in rather awkwardly'. 'Truly it is so', commented Hinton, 'but there can be no doubt that Map alone is responsible', and he proceeds to show the link between them in the biblical quotation with which both close.[2]

It is usually very difficult, and not of much moment, to decide who composed the rubrics to a book of this kind. If, as one presumes, the book itself was dictated by Map in odd moments, its rubrics may well have been put in by one of his secretaries as a guide to the contents. The inadequacies of the rubrics, even if they showed that Map was not himself responsible, would still not show that they were later than his death.

2. Hinton noted that the rubric of v. 3 refers to Earl Godwine, but that the chapter opens with a digression on the fall of Jerusalem, and only then returns to Anglo-Saxon history. The clear implication of this is that the passage on Jerusalem is an interpolation; and one presumes that it was

[1] Hinton (1917), pp. 81–9.
[2] Hinton (1917), pp. 101–2.

copied off an inserted slip of vellum by an unintelligent copyist who thrust it between the rubric and its chapter. Odd as it is, it throws no doubt on the rubric itself; indeed, it indicates that the rubric was already attached to the chapter while the manuscript still had inserted slips in it—that is, in its original form. This rubric, then, was written either in Map's own lifetime or at least before a fair copy was made of his book.

3. Hinton noted the absurdity of placing iv. 1 and 2 side by side: one is headed *Prologus*, and was written in 1183; the other is headed *Epilogus*, and was written in 1191; and they are followed by the rest of *dist.* iv, which seems to have been completed in 1181 (or early in 1182). These two chapters seem to have been meant to be prologue and epilogue to the whole work.[1]

4. iv. 2b–16 can be shown, not only to have been written as early as 1181, but to have been written before *dist.* ii. 1–16, in which there is a reference—'de quo superius' (p. 160)—back to *dist.* iv. 8.[2] There has clearly been some major derangement of the material in the book. Hinton conjectured that *dist.* iv should be placed in the middle of *dist.* i. On his hypothesis that the book consisted of fragments, put together in no particular order, this was a perfectly satisfactory suggestion. But if the book was not so fragmentary as he suggested, but more or less a whole, preserved in loose quires, a simpler and more fundamental derangement seems likely.

5. We have now entered the realm of conjecture, and there is no possibility of reconstructing the story of the composition of the *De nugis* with precision. The simplest solution of the problem of *dist.* iv is to say that it originally stood at the beginning of the book, and that the order ran iv, v, i, ii, iii. This would explain why the prologue, naturally attached to the start of the book, opens *dist.* iv; and if we rearrange the book accordingly, it has the effect of bringing v. 7, the

[1] The epilogue seems clearly to belong to the whole work (see below). *Dist.* iv opens with the 'prologue', 'epilogue', and the *Dissuasio Valerii*, once separate. This part of the work gives most the impression of being a collection of fragments, as Hinton thought. But see below.

[2] Hinton (1917), p. 89, indicated another misleading reference in *dist.* i. 30; but see our note, p. 124, n. 1.

draft description of hell, next to i. 1 ff., the revised version of the same chapter. The fifth peculiarity, in fact, is the position of v. 7; because there is no question that it is a first trial for i. 1 ff.; and it seems likely that i. 1 ff. was written very shortly after it. The rearrangement would also mean that the book originally opened with the *Dissuasio Valerii*, which was evidently complete before the rest of the book was written.

Since the *Dissuasio* was clearly issued by its author and allowed to circulate it is natural to suppose that it was finished before the *De nugis*, which was not; and this seems clearly implied by Map's own words in iv. 5: 'it is greedily seized upon, eagerly copied, and read with vast amusement'. Unless this is pure invention, it must mean that the *Dissuasio* was in circulation before the rest of *dist.* iv was completed. *Dist.* iv evidently remained at the beginning of the book when the prologue was written, that is, in 1183; but it seems likely that the distinctions had been shuffled before the epilogue was composed in 1191, for the epilogue refers to the court in a way natural to a book opening as the *De nugis* now does, with a satire on the court. The epilogue's present place, however, is inexplicable. Since it was evidently written on a loose slip or bifolium, it is possible that Map, finding his prologue unhappily sandwiched in the middle of the book, with gay abandon attached the epilogue to it; perhaps it is more likely to have been placed there by a careless scribe; and it must be emphasized that the whole of this reconstruction is conjectural.

If none the less the conjecture is correct, the story of the *De nugis* would be as follows. The bulk of it was drafted in 1181 and 1182, and it lay for a number of years in loose quires, roughly arranged in the order *dist.* iv, v, i, ii, iii.[1] It was still a draft, not a finished work, and included two

[1] For examples of collections of stories and letters preserved on loose bifolia, or small unbound quires, see *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. F. Behrends (OMT, 1976), esp. pp. li–lii (based partly on the work of Dr M. Gibson and Sir Richard Southern); JS, *Letters*, ii, p. lxii; *Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli, sociorum S. Francisci*, ed. R. B. Brooke (OMT, 1970), pp. 48–9. Hinton (1917), pp. 89 f., reckoned the following chapters incomplete: ii. 18, 31, v. 3–4; for repetitions apart from the satire on the court, see iv. 7, 8, and 10, which duplicate, in part, ii. 12, i. 14, ii. 13.

versions of the satire on the court; some chapters were never completed. From time to time the author added insertions small and large on slips of vellum; in 1183 he provided the whole work with a prologue. At some date unknown, he decided to make the satire on the court the opening of the book, and so cut his loose quires like a pack of cards, arranging the material in approximately its present order. He does not seem to have added new material after *c.* 1193, and it may be that he lost interest in the book at about that date. However this may be, by the time of his death (on this reconstruction) the book had the bulk of its present rubrics, though presumably not its distinction and chapter numbers.

When all is said and done, it makes little difference to our appreciation of the *De nugis* whether it was written in the manner described by Hinton or the manner outlined here. In either event it is the untidy legacy of an untidy mind. But in two ways the problem we have been investigating has significance: it has a bearing on the correct title of the book, and on Map's purpose in writing it.

The title *De nugis curialium* depends entirely on the rubrics, since it is never mentioned, hinted at or echoed in the text. It is not, however, dependent on a single rubric: it is repeated eight times. Typical of its form are the following entries, *incipit* and *explicit* of the first book. 'In libro magistri Gauteri Mahap de Nugis Curialium Distinctio prima'; 'explicit distinccio prima nugarum curialium'. Here and throughout the rubrics (without exception)[1] Map's name is spelt Mahap, whereas, as Hinton noted, it is Map in the text and in all other known documents. Whoever wrote these rubrics was perfectly clear that the author's name was Master Walter Map—whatever the reason for his spelling of it—and that the book had a title. The author's name could be deduced by careful reading of the text; the title could not. But whoever gave the book its title had a very specific idea of what he

[1] The opening of *dist.* iv in James's edition (1914, p. 138) carries the heading 'Walteri Map, de Nugis Curialium, distinctio quarta', but this is not in the MS. The spelling 'Mahap' may be due to Map himself or his first scribe (see above). We have been unable to discover any philological explanation of 'Mahap', which should imply a separated pronunciation of two vowels in hiatus (we are very grateful for the advice of Dr Ian Short on this point).

was doing: it is the sub-title of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*;[1] it involves the claim that the book is in some sense comparable to the *Policraticus*, even if only as a rather distant parody.

The *De nugis*, so far as we know, circulated not at all in the Middle Ages.[2] Even Gerald of Wales, who tells some of the stories contained in it, and knew its author, betrays no knowledge of it; and it has not influenced any later collection of satires or stories.

There is a very intriguing verse invective against Map which seems to have been written by the subprior of St. Frideswide's at Oxford while Map was archdeacon, and accuses him of saying derisory things against the White Monks, that is, the Cistercians, both in youth and old age.[3] He quotes one line of verse by Map and defends the Cistercians against him; like Gerald of Wales, he attributes Map's spleen to their failure to pay him tithe. The subprior twice calls Map's lucubration 'nuge', but as the verse attributed to Map is not in the *De nugis*, we cannot be sure this is a reference to the work; it might even have inspired Map to give it this title. It is, however, to be observed that the subprior's poem has a rubric which attributes to Map invectives against the Cistercians both in verse and prose; we may possibly have here the earliest hint of a knowledge of the book. But we cannot be sure; and apart from the subprior's verses, only fragments survive which can be attributed to Map with any

[1] Ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols., Oxford, 1909. It was completed in 1159; the *Entheticus* was probably written *c.* 1155 (see R. M. Thomson, in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Wilks, forthcoming). When Map speaks in i. 10 of being asked 'to philosophize', and again in the prologue to *dist.* v, there are possible echoes of John's prologue; but apart from the title, the links are not close.

[2] Cf. Hinton (1917), 125 f.; James (1914), pp. xiii ff. There are coincidences in Peter of Blois's *Epp.* 14, 95, and in *Ep.* 79 (*PL* 207. 243–7) he borrows from the *Dissuasio*—but this, of course, circulated separately. There are a number of stories etc. in common between the *De nugis* and the writings of Gerald of Wales, and Walter and Gerald were friends; but there is no evidence that Gerald knew the *De nugis* as such; no coincidences which could not be explained by oral transmission; and see p. xxii.

[3] Wright, *Latin Poems*, pp. xxxv–xxxvii, from Oxford, Bodl. Ashmole MS 1281 (7025), ff. 272^{v}–273^{v} (13th cent.), where they are attributed to 'Master W. Bothewald', canon and subprior of St. Frideswide's. It opens with the line 'Lancea Longini, grex albus, ordo nefandus', which seems to be an extract from Map's verse invective. Giraldus, *Opera*, i. 362–3, records a poem of Map's sent as a present to Giraldus himself.

plausibility, and they seem to have nothing to do with the *De nugis*.[1]

It survives in a single manuscript of the 14th century, which, as will be seen, was written for a monk of Ramsey at some period or periods resident in Oxford. It may indeed be that the *De nugis* had lived in Oxford meanwhile; but we cannot be sure. Our manuscript is the work of an unintelligent scribe; but he does not appear to have been copying an impossibly difficult exemplar. That is to say, the process of rearrangement, and the insertion of additional matter, seem to have taken place before our scribe set to work. It looks as if we have to postulate at least one copy between Map's original and the surviving manuscript; but the striking way in which the work was neglected should make us chary of postulating more lost manuscripts than are absolutely necessary. Some time between the 1190s and the 14th century a scribe made a copy of Map's original, inserting loose leaves, on occasion, with startling incompetence, and providing the whole book with the appearance of order by adding (again without skill), the distinction- and chapter-numbers. This may have happened in Map's lifetime; it may have happened soon after his death; it is equally likely to have happened in the 14th century. What is most unlikely is that a man of such incompetence should have deduced with accuracy the author's name and shown such ingenuity in providing the work with a title.

There is, in fact, no reasonable doubt that the author's name and the title of the book were added to the exemplar from which our manuscript ultimately derives, either in the author's lifetime or very soon after his death, by someone who knew what he was doing. And the natural interpretation of this is that the title is Map's own, or at least one to which he consented.

IV. THE SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THE *DE NUGIS CURIALIUM*

John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (*c.*1159) was addressed to one of the great courtiers of the day: Thomas Becket,

[1] See pp. xxxi n. 3, 516.

chancellor to King Henry II, later to be archbishop and martyr. In the prologue, John, with characteristic irony, explains his title: *Policraticus siue de nugis curialium et uestigiis philosophorum.* The study of philosophers' footprints, as John proposes to engage on it, means the pursuit of examples, or stories, drawn from the past; a pursuit which seems bliss to the scholar, a waste of time to the practical man of the court. John professes to despise the affairs of courts; courtiers equally despise the work of philosophers. In this mood John repents of having spent twelve years in trifling, that is in administration, in the service of the archbishop of Canterbury. In the same mood, in the *Entheticus*, probably written slightly earlier (the mid 1150s), he produced a violent satire on the court of Henry II, disguising real characters under mythological names. Of this the opening of Map's *De nugis* seems to be a sort of parody; he likens Henry's court to Hades and Hell, and peoples it with the inhabitants of Hades. It stands to John's court much as Falstaff stands to King Henry IV.

There the resemblance ends. The *Policraticus*, for all its author's wit, is a ponderous example of the genre of 'Mirrors for Princes'. The *De nugis* shifts from straightforward satire on the court to satire on religious orders, and rapidly passes to other themes. The *nuge* seem to have acquired a different meaning: trifles for the courtiers' spare time, idle tales to amuse them. It is, indeed, extremely difficult to define the subject of the book. It is diffuse in interest, and yet the title somehow draws the threads together. Some of it seems serious in purpose, some of it has a strong moral point. Some of it is purely frivolous. In the 12th century humour commonly had a streak of serious purpose in it, and some of Map's tales and some of his satire have real sting. Some of the tales are wholly serious. The book is suspended between being a parody of a 'Mirror for Princes' and providing *exempla* to edify its readers. But it was never made public, and it may well be that the author never made up his mind what his purpose was. None the less, the *De nugis* is not entirely aimless, and by no means so formless as has commonly been supposed.

'The subject you choose for me' writes Map in one of the

various passages in which he discusses his purpose,[1] addressing the man (whoever he was) who is supposed to have told him to write the book, 'is so vast that no toil can master it . . .: it is just the sayings and doings which have not yet been committed to writing, anything I have heard that is more than ordinarily inspiring: all this to be set down, that the reading of it may amuse, and its teaching tend to moral improvement. My own purpose in the matter is to invent nothing new, and introduce nothing untrue, but to narrate as well as I can what, having seen, I know, or what, having heard, I believe.' In general it echoes the prefaces of many medieval chronicles and collections of stories—*historia* in both senses, history and fiction;[2] and this mixture of motives, to edify and to amuse, was a common one. More precisely, the words 'sayings and doings' are an echo of the title of a book by the classical author Valerius Maximus, the *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, a handbook of useful stories for orators, which was the ultimate inspiration not only of books like Map's, but also of numerous volumes of *exempla*, or moral tales suitable for preachers, which were very popular in the Middle Ages. Happily Map's imitation of Valerius proceeded no further; the *Facta et dicta* is a notably tedious work; the *De nugis* equally entertaining. Map's book is an early example of the genre of *exempla* or *contes*; somewhat similar, no doubt, was the *Liber facetiarum* of his younger contemporary Gervase of Tilbury, written for Henry II's son, the young King Henry (died 1183)—and similar too, though more ponderous, is Gervase's other work, which survives, the *Otia imperialia*, 'spare time for the emperor', written for Henry II's grandson, the Emperor Otto IV.[3]

'I confess myself', runs a passage which reminds us of the romances, and of what Hue de Rotelande said of Map himself,[4] 'a foolish and dull poet—yet not a writer of lies; for he does

[1] *Dist.* i. 12; cf. *dist.* i. 10, 25, 31, ii. 32, iv. 1–2 and prols. to *distt.* iii. v. The 'Geoffrey' addressed by name in i, 10 has never been identified; if the same person is addressed in iii, prol., he seems to have been a teacher rather than an administrator at the time of writing.

[2] Cf. Bede's 'priorum gestis siue dictis' (*Hist. Eccl.*, Praef.).

[3] The *Liber facetiarum* is referred to in the preface to the *Otia imperialia* (ed. Leibnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, i (Hanover, 1707), p. 883); a new edition of the *Otia* is being prepared for OMT, ed. S. Grier and J. G. Caldwell.

[4] See above, p. xxi and n. 1.

not lie who repeats a tale, but he who makes it . . .' (i. 25 *ad fin.*). And later, 'You bid me record examples (stories—*exempla*) for posterity, such as may serve either to excite merriment or edify morals' (iii. 1). The *De nugis* contains some quite elaborate satire and invective; also moral tales, tales of a doubtful moral, funny stories, ghost stories, miracle stories—one of them very impressive and moving (ii. 3); and the final distinction mainly consists of a sort of schoolboy's history, full of howlers, a 12th-century version of *1066 and All That*. It contains everything, or almost everything, which Map cared to write about.

There is indeed some straight reporting in the book, but mighty little, and that mostly (perhaps) of stories which seem to us wildly absurd. In general, Map's claim to relate without 'lying' is as specious as the similar claims of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the authors of the romances—and sometimes sustained with an ingenuity as great as Geoffrey's. When recounting history or inveighing against his enemies Map had to keep in some relation to fact if what he said was to take effect. But he saw to it that this relation was not too precise. Much of his history makes no claim to be more than legend. But it was a *tour de force* to give an account of recent Byzantine history which is recognizable as such, yet never touches fact at any point (ii. 18); and this is not uncharacteristic of his achievement. In the prologue to the fifth distinction he contrasts the fate of Caesar and Aeneas, who live 'in the mighty praises' of Lucan and Virgil, with those of the Charlemagnes and Pepins who live only in popular ballads, kept alive by 'the troupe of buffoons'. So Map sets out to honour 'our modern Caesars' in worthy fashion. After all they deserve it; why do folk only care to be told about the past—'If . . . you see Hannibal or Menestrates, or any name sweet with the perfume of hoar antiquity, your spirits rise . . .' Who was Menestrates? In all probability, he was Map's invention, a deliberate piece of mystification, in the tradition of Geoffrey of Monmouth and John of Salisbury,[1]

[1] Cf. the Molmutine laws, which Geoffrey assures us Gildas had turned into Latin and King Alfred into English, and were still held in honour (*Historia*, ii. 17, iii. 5). For John of Salisbury, see, most recently, Janet Martin in *The World of John of Salisbury* (above, p. xxxi, n. 1), forthcoming.

not to mention the romancers. With this slight warning, we are prepared for a serious feast on the qualities of recent great men. He starts with King Apollonides, 'a king in the parts of the West', who lives by plunder, whom 'I have seen and know, and hate'. The name is clearly fictitious, but it has been pointed out that it opens with 'Ap', and this and other indications point to a Welsh prince; very likely it was the Lord Rhys himself. After this interlude we start a course of English history with King Edgar. There is in this course some straight reporting and some interesting detail. Map is the earliest writer known to give Æthelred II his nickname of 'No-counsel', *Unræd*, later corrupted to Unready. He shows us Earl Godwine busy acquiring ecclesiastical property, and Henry I as a benefactor to Cluny; and other evidence confirms these traditions. But his account of Æthelred's accession is garbled; he has confused the abbess of Berkeley, a house which Godwine suppressed, with the abbess of Leominster, whom his son seduced; and Map makes Henry build the whole of the third church at Cluny, which is incredible. His history is shot through with confusions or errors, and plentifully supplied with legends of a particularly improbable kind. One might be tempted to think, as has been said of Cardinal Gasquet, that his 'capacity for carelessness amounted almost to genius'.[1] A proportion of his errors could be attributed to gargantuan carelessness; but the cumulative impression must be that many of his errors were deliberate—he had to keep up his reputation for lying.

His account of recent Byzantine history is so garbled that no other interpretation can reasonably be put on it than that he (or someone) garbled it deliberately. In his account of English history, he becomes tolerably factual in the 1130s (v. 6). This is what we should expect; he was entering his own and his reader's lifetime. Then, without warning, he takes a jump from 1139, the year of the arrival of the Empress Matilda and the outbreak of civil war between her party and King Stephen's, to the treaty of Winchester in 1153, confusing in the process Milo, who became earl of Hereford in 1141 and died in 1143, and his son, Roger, who was earl

[1] D. Knowles, *The Historian and Character and other Essays* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 254, on Cardinal Gasquet.

in 1153. It is incredible that he really believed the 'nineteen long winters' of Stephen's reign so short as they appear in his narrative; they were, after all, approximately the first nineteen years of his own life.

The difficulty of interpreting Map's errors is nicely illustrated by his treatment of contemporary heresies in *dist.* i. 30–1. In c. 30 he sets out to describe the Publicans or Paterines —two of the labels commonly attached to the dualist heretics, whom we usually call the Cathars.[1] They were sometimes called *Publicani* by a corruption of the name of the eastern sect of the Paulicians, with whom they were connected, and Paterines for some reason unknown, after the orthodox popular movement of reform in 11th-century Milan. When he wrote they were exceedingly numerous in western Europe, especially in the south of France and northern Italy, where they had recently established a hierarchy of bishops. Although they had made only one brief incursion into England, they abounded in some parts of the Angevin empire; both these facts are correctly reported. We should expect a well-informed cleric with a theological training to have a fairly accurate grasp of their tenets, however much he might be prejudiced against them. It is indeed clear that Map was well informed. He relates the common gossip against the Cathars by hinting at unnatural vice and repudiation of marriage. Then he launches into a description of some obscene rites, which fits fairly precisely with Alan of Lille's account of one of the current explanations of the term 'Cathar'—and seems to be pure slander, yet was evidently current at the time.[2] In the

[1] See A. Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart, 1953), especially pp. 240 ff., for the labels. On their visit to England, Borst, p. 94 and n.; *Councils and Synods*, i. 920–6; see also the detailed discussion by Dr M. A. E. Nickson in her London MA thesis on 'Neo-Manichaean heresy in Germany and the Low Countries during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries' (1956), pp. 202–11.

[2] On the Luciferians, see E. Amann, *Dict. de théologie catholique*, ix. 1044–56, Nickson, pp. 93 ff. Map's account of their obscene rites agrees closely with that given in a letter of Gregory IX, based on testimony from the inquisitor Conrad of Marburg in the Rhineland (see Amann, col. 1049). This shows at least that Map had access to the common gossip. If, as Amann thinks, the Luciferians were not distinct from the Cathars, it was just gossip. In any event the confusion was also made by Alan de Lille, writing about the same time or slightly earlier than Map: 'Cathari dicuntur a cato, quia, ut dicitur, osculantur posteriora catti, in cuius specie, ut dicunt, apparet eis Lucifer' (he offers this only as one of the current interpretations; *PL*, 210, 366, cited Amann, col. 1047).

next chapter he describes a debate he himself held with the Waldensians at the Lateran Council of 1179, only two years or so before he was writing. In this debate, by a verbal trick, he made (or claimed he made) the Waldensians profess to believe that the Blessed Virgin was, as it were, the fourth person of the Trinity. It is incredible that Map really supposed them to believe this, even though Waldo's confession of faith at the Council, which survives, might be supposed to give him faint verbal encouragement. At the time of the Lateran Council, indeed, Waldo and his followers were perfectly orthodox.[1] Map's suspicion of them was perhaps justified, to this extent, that within a few years they had left—or been driven from—the Catholic fold, and were preaching heresy; but their faith was a simple, puritanical one, the nearest to that of the Protestant reformers of any medieval heresy; the Waldensians form now the oldest of Protestant communions. Map enjoys telling his readers nonsense about people whom he regards as contemptible heretics. This is not carelessness, though it may imply a somewhat callous indifference.

In recounting history or telling stories of the contemporary world Map uses a certain licence, enjoys a display of falsification which is often mild and sometimes not so mild. In doing this he was imitating the poets who lay midway between 'history' and 'romance', men like Master Wace, who embellished without altering the basic frame of the story they told. When he came to legend Map could be more inventive. The students of medieval folklore have found many analogues in Map's stories, sometimes close ones; we have tried to draw attention to these by reference in the notes to Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*.[2] But they have rarely found anything one could dignify by the name of a source, and the

[1] For i. 30, see esp. R. B. Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars* (London, 1975), pp. 72, 151–2; and for Waldo's Profession of Faith, ibid. pp. 73, 148–50; C. Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdéisme en Languedoc à la fin du XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle* (2nd edn., Louvain-Paris, 1969), pp. 27–30 (text), 30–6 (commentary). It opens 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti atque beatissime semperque Virginis Marie'; and Map's 'examination' of Waldo may take unfair advantage of this formula, which seems likely to reflect orthodox sensibilities rather than Waldensian devotion.

[2] Referred to as 'Stith Thompson' in the notes. For the treatment of such tales there is much to be learned from K. H. Jackson, *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* (Cardiff, 1961).

reason for this is plain enough: Map had a powerful original gift as a story-teller. He did not hanker after originality, as a modern novelist is bound to do; being of his age, he liked to tell unfamiliar stories about familiar heroes, to give a pretence of copying to what was really his own invention.

Gerbert of Aurillac, Pope Sylvester II (999–1003), was the centre of a large cycle of legends; but it is characteristic that Map, while presenting to us the familiar portrait of the pope who made a pact with the devil but escaped in the end, gives a legend which in most other ways is quite different from the other stories which circulated at this time (iv. 11). In the story of Parius and Lausus (iii. 3) Map has taken a well-known story based on the ceremonies of the Saturnalia and given it a brilliant and original twist. Typical of his method is the story of King Herla (i. 11). Herla takes his name from Herlechin or Herlekin, or Harlequin, leader of a ghostly troop of huntsmen, who meet us in the pages of Orderic Vitalis and Peter of Blois and other medieval writers. King Herla's tale in Map ends indeed with the ghostly hunt; but the rest of the story is utterly different from other versions of the tale of Harlequin.

In the *Dissuasio Valerii* (iv. 3) Map tells how Pacuvius, weeping, says to his neighbour Arrius: ' "Friend, I have a disastrous tree in my garden: my first wife hung herself on it, so did my second later on, and now my third has done the same." Said Arrius, "I wonder that after so many strokes of luck you find it in you to weep." And again, "Good gods, what expenses has that tree suspended for you!" And a third time: "Friend, give me some cuttings of that tree to plant." ' The basis of this little story comes from Cicero, the names from Aulus Gellius. The final version is better than any of the sources. It reveals, very strikingly, Map's classical learning, which is a conspicuous feature of the *De nugis*; and it reveals his fondness for rearranging the materials in his memory like the pieces of a mosaic. He liked to tickle the fancy by putting the familiar in unfamiliar contexts, with a burst of ebullient fancy and a touch of bravado. These are qualities very reminiscent of those which inspired Geoffrey of Monmouth.

In the story of Gado and Offa (ii. 17) Geoffrey's influence

can be seen quite directly. It is a brief, Latin, prose heroic legend with the features of a romance—save that, unlike Sadius and Galo (iii. 2), it is not a story of courtly love. M. Boutemy has noted the resemblance to Geoffrey's account of Arthur's continental campaign,[1] and it is quite clear that Map is imitating Geoffrey in this story. Map sets his battle-piece in Colchester, which he says was reputed to be the birthplace of St. Helena. This legend was probably invented by Geoffrey,[2] and must come from him. The Roman emperor and his name have been the subject of much scholarly ingenuity; echoes have been found of the rivalry of Offa and Charlemagne. Again, Geoffrey is the obvious source; no one before him would have thought of introducing Roman emperors into the history of dark-age Britain. Map marries Offa to the daughter of the Roman emperor, and says 'Many such unions between Romans and English are recorded'—which can only be based on Geoffrey or on bravado, and very probably on both. As for the emperor's name, it seems likely that it began as the Breton Conan,[3] and was adapted to suit the obscene joke which Map gratuitously attributes to 'a nun'. When he makes Gado a Vandal and sends him from India to Colchester, he seems merely to be indulging as Geoffrey so often did in bold fancy. Map, then, treated Geoffrey as Geoffrey himself had treated his sources, as a literary quarry from which likely and unlikely fragments could be cut at pleasure; and in choosing his central characters, he seems to have come even closer to Geoffrey's own technique. Gado clearly derives from the Old English legendary hero Wade or Wada; and Wade probably gave his name to Wat's dyke at the northern end of the Welsh border, just as Offa, the great king of Mercia (757–96), undoubtedly gave his name to Offa's dyke, which marked the boundary of Cymru from the Severn to the Dee.[4] The

[1] Boutemy, p. 44 n., cf. *Historia Regum Britanniae*, x. 4 ff.

[2] *Historia*, v. 6; it could have come to Map indirectly, but there seems to be so much of Geoffrey in the context that the hypothesis is redundant.

[3] Cf. e.g. *Historia*, v. 9 ff.

[4] On these dykes, see Sir Cyril Fox, *Offa's Dyke* (London, 1955), who discusses Map's story on p. 288, and says that the double association 'can hardly be a mere coincidence'. See ibid., p. 295 (and Lloyd, i. 198 and n.) for the literary authorities for Offa's dyke. It was first mentioned by Asser in his *Life of King Alfred*, and Asser's reference was repeated by 'Simeon of Durham' and the 12th-century *Life of St. Oswald*. It is also mentioned by John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, vi. 6, ed. C. C. J. Webb, ii. 19 (1159)) and Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, vi. 217. For Wade, see also R. M. Wilson, *Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London, 1952), pp. 16–19.

remains of Roman Caerleon inspired Geoffrey to place King Arthur's court there. In a similar way, it seems that the association of Offa's and Wat's dykes, the two most conspicuous monuments of human achievement on the Welsh border, gave Map the idea of associating 'Gado' and Offa.[1]

Map used Geoffrey as Geoffrey used his own sources, and as Geoffrey was used by many writers of romances. One cannot help feeling, indeed, that Map, unlike most historians of his day, knew how Geoffrey had worked. But this is not to say that Map was possessed of a dark secret or self-consciously imitated a forger. Geoffrey's *History* deceived, and intended to deceive. How seriously his deception was meant, whether it had any deep purpose, is doubtful. Still more doubtful is whether we can apply modern standards of honesty to Map. Educated men in the 12th century seem commonly to have drawn a distinction between history and fiction;[2] but there were many intermediate stages, and no 12th-century writer wrote history solely or mainly out of regard for the love of truth. There were men like William of Malmesbury who had a strong interest in discovering what had happened in the past, and strong weapons to help them in their study; but even William was also much concerned with history as entertainment, as story-telling—as, after all, Bede had been. It is this notion of history as literature—edifying and true, but also intended to amuse—which explains why so many of the best historians of the Middle Ages, and

[1] Offa seems to have been chosen, partly at least, as an English hero to set against Arthur; he is made, like Arthur, to fight the Romans, and seems to perform the role which Arthur performed in many stories of this age. It is perhaps natural that a native of the border, from east of the Dyke, should think of Offa; but Arthur is conspicuous by his absence from Map's pages—so conspicuous that it can hardly be the result of chance. Map presumably had some prejudice against Arthur at the time he was writing *De nugis*; but it remains a singular puzzle.

[2] Map draws such a distinction in i. 31; but this is one of many passages intended to impress his learned friend(s), rather than to illuminate his own mind. The distinction is between Old Testament history (from Cain to Nabal) and Greek mythology. He pretends to be concerned to show the moral content both of good history (*historia*) and of good 'story' (*fabula*), but in fact is concerned to show off his knowledge of the horror stories of antiquity.

especially those of the 12th century, wrote such readable chronicles, and why some of them read more like historical novels than sober history. History as 'literature' was fashionable in the ancient world, and is still fashionable today. It is clear that Geoffrey, in pretending to write 'history' and actually compiling 'lies', sinned against the canons of his age; but Wace and Chrétien were perfectly respectable; and so, we may be sure, was Walter Map. The author of the *Magna Vita* of St. Hugh tells us at length of the pains his hero took to ensure that no men of unsuitable morals were appointed to the meanest prebend in Lincoln cathedral.[1] We may be sure that the man whom Hugh made precentor of his cathedral and archdeacon of Oxford—even if Oxford was intended as an honourable exile[2]—was generally regarded as highly respectable.

This may perhaps explain why the *De nugis* was never finished, let alone made public. It was suspended between the serious and frivolous; it never makes up its mind which way to jump. As we have it, the book is a ragbag of different kinds of cloth; even allowing for the indifference of the 12th century to literary form, he would have had to devise some criterion of selection if he was to make a book of it.

Very interesting and confusing is his attitude to satire. His skill as a story-teller and satirist, the more remarkable gifts revealed by the *De nugis*, appear strikingly in the story of Sadius and Galo (iii. 2). It is not a pleasant story; the theme is indelicate. Yet it is a brilliantly contrived and ordered narrative;[3] the exposition sails close to the wind for a long distance without becoming wholly gross; and it is a satire with a strong moral undertone. Galo is a knight who becomes involved in two romances: the one genuine, quite a normal tale in the romance tradition, which ends (one presumes) with him and his lady living happily ever after; the

[1] *Magna Vita*, i. 119 ff.

[2] The status of Oxford as an intellectual centre may have been rising rapidly in the 1190s: see Sir Richard Southern in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to R. W. Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 266–73. Map's earlier appointment as precentor presumably implies that he had some expertise in music.

[3] Cf. R. E. Bennett, 'Walter Map's *Sadius and Galo*', *Speculum*, xvi (1941), 34–56.

other deliberately and cunningly inverted, in which instead of the knight pursuing the lady, the lady (in this case a queen) is made to pursue the knight, to her own ultimate destruction. Galo is the knight she pursues, Sadius his friend who tries by a somewhat crude device to put her off. This is the main theme, and Map had powerful weapons in anti-feminine satire; into it the other romance is fitted; and the story ends (more properly than it began) with Galo's triumph and the queen's exposure.

His other type of satire appears in his invective against the religious orders, in which he takes his place beside his friend Gerald of Wales as an eminent critic of the monks. Not all his references to religious orders are critical; he has good things to say of Grandimontines, Gilbertines and Carthusians; he talks of holy men he has known with deep respect. But he normally introduces a religious order to chastise it, and of the Cistercian order he has almost no good to say. He delights to tell how even St. Bernard failed to commit miracles he had set his hand to. His special line of attack was the rapacity of the Cistercians. 'Our God is not as their God . . . Says ours, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy." Says theirs: "Blessed is he that maketh any poor and needy" . . . Says ours: "No man can serve God and Mammon." Says theirs: "No man can serve God without Mammon" . . . It is prescribed to them that they are to dwell in desert places, and desert places they do assuredly either find or make . . . Because their rule does not allow them to govern parishioners, they proceed to raze villages, they overthrow churches and turn out parishioners, not scrupling to cast down the altars and level everything before the ploughshare . . . They make a solitude that they may be solitaries . . . Those upon whom comes an invasion of Cistercians may be sure that they are doomed to a lasting exile' (i. 25, pp. 90–5). The argument develops with the freedom of satire, and with something more; with the exuberant abandon of brilliant conversation, as of a man who knows that his listeners are enjoying the outrageous way in which every argument is carried to its logical extreme, however absurd, while they pick up on the way, relish, and take note of the really dangerous criticisms which pop out from time to time. Perhaps the translation

exaggerates the effect of this; M. R. James may well have been a finer master of English than Walter Map of Latin. James rendered the bite and edge of his original, but subdued the froth, the foaming rhetoric and word-play. But Map's argument rumbles on with splendid inconsequence. Above all, he delighted to have it both ways. If the Cistercians had gone in for display he would have accused them of luxury; but as they were still at this date notorious for the simplicity and austerity of their lives, he plays his trump card: the answer is plain—*avarice*. And to a man like Map, who cheerfully lived, or claimed to live, beyond his means, few of the deadly sins were deadlier than avarice.

One does not go to Map for a fair and balanced portrait of the Cistercian order. But there is no doubt that he gives us in his vivid fashion the elements of the common criticism of them. His personal spite was coupled with the sense of class distinction which existed between secular and regular clergy, and enhanced by the undoubted pharisaism of many of the Cistercians. Some of his accusations—of creating a desert to live in by depopulating villages—can be shown to be grounded by other evidence. The extent of depopulation, for instance, in Yorkshire, has been shown by R. A. Donkin to be far greater than had been suspected.[1] There is little evidence of what happened to the displaced peasantry; but even if all of them were adequately resettled (which would probably be too optimistic a view), one can imagine that Map's invective would have awoken many echoes among the peasantry and small landowners of areas in which the Cistercians had settled. Map's most telling stories, of forgery, of the removal of boundary marks, and the like, can be paralleled from Gerald of Wales, and may possibly be founded on fact. It would be rash to assert that they were. In writing his book, in spite of his claim (not wholly insincere) to be morally improving, Map seems to

[1] *BIHR* xxxiii (1960), 141–65. Giraldus (iv. 219–24, cf. 140) associates Map's prejudice against the Cistercians with the refusal of the monks of Flaxley to pay tithes which Map thought they owed to his church at Westbury; this is confirmed by 'W. Bothewald' (above, p. xxxi, n. 3), though he does not specify the house.

have had no very serious intention. The *De nugis curialium* was the commonplace-book of a great after-dinner speaker; and if one is entirely sober when one reads it, it is easily misunderstood.

V. THE TEXT

The *De nugis curialium* survives in a single manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 851 (3041), a miscellaneous volume of 208 leaves of great interest containing Walter Map, an anthology of medieval Latin verse mostly of the 12th to 14th centuries, and a remarkable text of *Piers Plowman* of some importance for the history of the poem. James printed in his edition (1914, pp. vii–xi) a full description of the volume made by R. L. Poole, and it has since been described in the *Summary Catalogue* and by Edmond Faral;[1] very recently, it has been the subject of an exceedingly thorough and valuable analysis by A. G. Rigg,[2] whose conclusions we accept, and whose paper makes any detailed description here unnecessary. He has convincingly argued that two hands (B and C) began to transcribe the anthology, part II; and that a third hand (A) then copied part I, containing the whole of Walter Map, and carried on the anthology, covering ff. 7–73^{v}, 83^{v}–115^{v}. Hand X, with some help from S, then completed the anthology, made some other notes and additions, and copied a text of *Piers Plowman*, ending at a point corresponding to A-text, Passus VIII, 184. This text is closest to A, but has features of B and C. The traditional interpretation is that it is a very corrupt text of A, contaminated by

[1] *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, ii, ed. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster (Oxford, 1922), no. 3041, pp. 574–6; E. Faral in edn. of *De Babione*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études, Sciences hist. et philol., 293, Paris, 1948, pp. xi–xiii. Dr B. D. Barker-Benfield and Dr M. Brett have kindly inspected it and reviewed some of the evidence on our behalf. The date before 1388 for the *ex libris* and rubrics is accepted by O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, iii (Oxford, 1973), p. 59, no. 650. There is a transcript of the MS in Bodl. MSS James 39 and 31 (3876, 3868), and extracts by Richard James in MS James 14 (3851). For details of the James MSS see M. R. James (1914), pp. xiv–xv n.

[2] 'Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (II)', *Mediaeval Studies*, xl (1978), 387–407. We are much indebted to Professor Rigg for his help and advice on the MS.

B and C, and reconstructed partly from memory, partly by scribal invention; a more recent interpretation is that it is the first version of the poem, earlier than what we know as the A-text.[1] Thus far the book appears to be a unity; and it is probably to the whole of ff. 7–141 that the splendid book-plate on f. 6^{v} was attached. 'Iste liber constat fratri Iohanni de Wellis monacho Rameseye' is inscribed with a river flowing from 'Wellis' and a charming portrayal of St. Christopher attempting to cross it. Though this forms a separate bifolium, the unity of what follows, and the rubricator's hand, seems to show that John of Wells possessed the whole of Walter Map at least, and probably the anthology and the opening of *Piers Plowman* as well. There was a well-known monk of Ramsey in the late 14th century called John of Wells, who was a scholar at Gloucester College, Oxford, and an opponent of Wyclif; he died at Perugia in 1388 on a mission for the English provincial chapter of Black Monks.[2] The book-plate implies a man of note, and as there is no evidence of any other monk of Ramsey of the name, the identification seems highly probable. It has been doubted on the ground that there are 15th-century elements in the manuscript.[3] But ff. 74^{v}–75, 76^{v}, the poem on the execution of Archbishop Richard Scrope in 1405, are an addition (by hand Y), and the only other section probably 15th-century is the later portion of *Piers Plowman*, ff. 141–208, which was evidently an addition too. It seems reasonably certain that Map's *De nugis* at least—and probably a good deal more of the manuscript as we have it—belonged to John of Wells, scholar of Oxford

[1] For the traditional view, *Piers Plowman: the B version*, ed. G. Kane and E. T. Donaldson (London, 1975), pp. 14–15, n. 95; cf. Rigg, art. cit., pp. 401–2. On this view the MS would have to be later than the completion of the C-text, which is ascribed on other grounds to a date pre-1388 in D. A. Pearsall's edition of the C-text (London, 1978, p. 9), and in A. V. S. Schmidt's Everyman edition of the B version (London etc., 1978), pp. xv–xvi. For the more recent interpretation, see the forthcoming *Piers Plowman: the Z-version*, ed. A. G. Rigg and Charlotte Brewer (Toronto, 1982); and for the conclusion of *Piers Plowman*, see also Rigg, *Mediaeval Studies*, xl (1978), 401. We must not enter this debate; but if the former view is correct, the MS can hardly be earlier than the 1380s; if the latter, it may well have been composed in the 1370s, perhaps even in the 1360s.

[2] On him see Rigg, art. cit., esp. 392–4; James (1914), pp. xi–xiii; T. F. Tout in *DNB*; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, iii (Oxford, 1959), 2008.

[3] By Emden, loc. cit.

and monk of Ramsey; that the MS was compiled in Oxford before 1388 (perhaps a lot earlier) and was supplemented by writings by another Ramsey monk, either at Oxford or Ramsey.[1] In spite of the charming 'ex libris', it is not a beautiful book, and sometimes—perhaps because the parchment was not well prepared—the text of the *De nugis* is surprisingly difficult to decipher. Moreover, the text had already suffered the loss of one or more folios (see p. 10). Although it leaves a number of uncertain readings, in the main our text is satisfactory, at least in the sense that the MS fairly faithfully reflects the confused state of the materials left by the author.[2] There are even a few variant readings offered, and these could be supposed to reveal knowledge of another MS.[3] It is much more likely that they copy variants on the parent MS: they rarely help us in the passages most obviously corrupt. The text of Map fills ff. 7–73^{v},[4] consisting of six quires of twelve leaves, numbered iii–viii in a 15th-cent. hand; after f. 7 one leaf is missing, and ff. 74–77^{v} were originally blank (see above). Chapters 3 and 4 (and the opening of 5) of *dist.* iv had already, as the author himself tells us, been published separately and anonymously under a mock-antique title: *Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum philosophum ne uxorem ducat.* In this state, as part of the medieval tradition of attacks upon the female sex,[5] they enjoyed remarkable success. In the libraries of this country there are over forty copies, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is said to possess eleven more, and the opuscule retained its popularity long enough to be included in the earliest printed editions of the works of St. Jerome. One does not carry very far the investigation of this mass of material before discovering that from the very beginning the text of

[1] For evidence linking the MS with Oxford, see esp. Rigg in *Mediaeval Studies*, xli (1979), 473–4 and n. 8, 501–5. It is tempting to infer that Map's *De nugis* had been preserved in Oxford (cf. p. xxxii above); but there are too many missing links in the chain of evidence for this to be more than conjecture.

[2] See above, pp. xxvi–xxxii.

[3] See Rigg, p. 396, following James, pp. vi–vii. The use of another MS for the *Dissuasio* is, of course, more probable: see below.

[4] Strictly, f. 72^{v}: see pp. lvi–lxiii for ff. 72^{v}–73^{v}, the table of contents.

[5] For the background, see P. Delhaye, 'Le dossier anti-matrimonial de l'*Adversus Iovinianum* et son influence sur quelques écrits latins du XIIe siècle', *Mediaeval Studies*, xiii (1951), 65–86, esp. pp. 79–83, on Map.

this anonymous pamphlet was exposed to corruption and correction to an unusual degree,[1] and nearly all these MSS are useless as evidence to the student of Map. So are the commentaries which gathered round these chapters in the course of the 14th century; James listed five of these in the introduction to his text (pp. xxxi–xxxviii) and his list was by no means complete.[2]

There are, however, in English libraries at least seven 13th-century copies of *Valerius ad Ruffinum*, and these have been collated for this edition as a check on MS Bodley 851. These are:

British Library, Add. 34749 (formerly Phillipps 1056), f. 75—from Waltham (A)
British Library, Arundel 14, f. 27^{v} (B)
British Library, Royal 8 C. IX, f. 103—from Reading
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 728 (2704), f. 93—from Carlisle
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 67, f. 80
Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 7. 7 (1335), f. 64^{v}
London, Lambeth Palace 550, f. 83^{v} (imperfect at the end).

Of these, the Waltham MS instantly attracts attention, not only by its early date, but because—alone of all the copies known to us—it betrays knowledge of the author's name and so suggests some close connection with the author; for the title is: *Epistola magistri Walteri Map̄ ad quendam socium suum ut dicitur uxorari uolentem.* And in fact this tiny book has the best text of them all. Next to it stands Arundel 14, which looks to be not later than about 1220. In the other five (of which the Digby and Trinity copies alone were used by James) we see already how the text begins to alter, and the medieval 'vulgate' to come into existence which differs in so many points from what Map wrote and what sense demands. But between them all we get a valuable check on the reliability, in these two

[1] One example will suffice: *Circes* (*in Circes pocula*) soon became *Sirtes*—but the medieval commentators took this in their stride.

[2] See R. J. Dean, 'Unnoticed Commentaries on the *Dissuasio Valerii* of Walter Map', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, ii (1950), 128–50. The circulation of the *Dissuasio* and its commentaries has been studied by Dr Robert A. Pratt, and has an interest of its own. For lost MSS of the *Dissuasio*, see Manitius, iii. 268.

chapters, of the manuscript which is our only source for all the rest.

The following *sigla* are used in the edition:

MS: Bodleian Library MS Bodley 851 (3041)
A: British Library, Additional MS 34749
B: British Library, Arundel MS 14
W: the 'vulgate' text of *Valerius ad Ruffinum*, as represented by the 5 MSS listed above.

MS Bodley 851 was presented to the Bodleian Library in 1601 by Cuthbert Ridley, and this led to the first serious signs of interest in the *De nugis*. Richard James made extracts from it and transcripts of it, and in 1669 Sir Roger Twysden made some attempt to arrange for an edition, which came to nothing.[1] The *De nugis* was at length edited for the Camden Society by Thomas Wright, and published in 1850; for the most part Map's reputation had depended on Giraldus until that date. Wright's text suffered from 'the practice of the Bodleian library, which does not allow its manuscripts to be lent out', as he quaintly observed, so that he could not collate it in person.[2] It was by no means so inadequate as this might suggest, but was, needless to say, greatly improved by M. R. James. We have in our turn made some improvement on James's text, but have based our work on his in tribute to an eminent scholar.[3] We have attempted to make clear in the apparatus how much amendment of the MS is due to James and how much to ourselves—and to preserve as much of James's work as is compatible with its new setting; the apparatus to the *Dissuasio* (iv. 3–4) has been entirely recast.

James's translation is in many ways a model of its kind. We have had to correct it in a number of places, chiefly for two reasons: the practice of his generation of omitting, or leaving 'in the decent obscurity of a learned tongue', the more indelicate passages; and his belief that Map used words

[1] See p. xlv, n. 1 for James's transcript etc.; Wright, pp. xi–xiv, for Twysden.

[2] Wright, p. xv. Extracts were printed by R. Pauli in *MGH Scriptores*, xxvii. 61–74 (1885). More recently the *De nugis* has been translated by F. Tupper and M. B. Ogle (1924), and excerpted by A. Boutemy, *Gautier Map* (1945, in French), and R. T. Jenkins, *Storïau Gwallter Map* (Llandybïe, 1941, in Welsh).

[3] See now Richard W. Pfaff, *Montague Rhodes James* (London, 1980).

without knowing what they meant. This was partly true, but it tempted James on some occasions to needless imprecision. Yet when all is said and done, he had an exceptional understanding of the translator's art, and a remarkable talent; we conclude with an extract from his own Translator's Preface of 1923.

'Walter Map is a very difficult author to translate. My aim, in making the English version of this book, . . . has been to produce something which shall be quite faithful to the sense which I think the writer is trying to convey, and at the same time shall be readable, and not over-antique in flavour. With this in view I have discarded a good many old ways of speaking, particularly the use of the second person singular, so that I write 'you' and 'yours' for 'thou' and 'thine'. And I have made it a rule to split up his long periods, and his accumulations of clauses introduced by participles, into shorter sentences governed by finite verbs. But these obvious expedients have not completely succeeded, even in my own opinion, let alone that of critics, in freeing my author from cumbrousness and obscurity. . . .

'He is also extremely allusive; he is constantly bringing in Biblical and classical turns of phrase; indeed, one of the startling and amusing things about his book is his extraordinary knack of perverting texts and giving them an entirely fresh meaning; as when he says of the Cistercians that they are hospitable to one another, but "not unto us, O Lord . . . not unto us!" [p. 99]. In rendering such passages I have naturally used, wherever I could, the language of the Authorised Version or Prayer Book Psalter, so that the reader may be aware of the quotation; but, of course, there are places where the Latin Bible has a reading totally different from that of the English. . . .'[1]

[1] James (1923), pp. ix–x.

APPENDIX

Indications of date in the De nugis curialium (see pp. xxiv–xxvi).

— = in or before; + = in or after; X = between

i. 9, pp. 10–11	Hugh 'iam electus Lincolniae', i.e. 25 May X 21 Sept. 1186 (*Fasti*, iii. 3); cf. above, p. xxv.
i. 9, pp. 10–11	Later in the same c., 'post mortem suam', sc. of Henry II, i.e. after 6 July 1189.
i. 12, *ad init.*	Probably —1185: see pp. 30–1 n. 2.
i. 12, *ad fin.*	Three bishops are mentioned: Bartholomew of Exeter, died 1184; Baldwin of Worcester, 1180–4, translated to Canterbury in 1184; Gilbert Foliot of London, died 1187. This suggests a date of 1180 X 4, between 10 Aug. 1180, when Baldwin was consecrated, and Dec. 1184, when Bartholomew died and Baldwin was postulated to Canterbury (*Fasti*, ii. 100; A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 43).
i. 15, *ad init.*	The year 1187 and the fall of Jerusalem (Oct. 1187) are mentioned, and the chapter was evidently written soon after news had come that Jerusalem was taken. It has been alleged that this was known in England *c.* 1 Nov. 1187 (Stubbs, note in *Itinerarium . . . Ricardi*, RS (1864, pp. cxv–cxvi; cf. Hinton (1917), p. 100). But so early a date scarcely seems credible. In any case, the chapter was doubtless written *c.*1187–8.
i. 20	Hinton (1917), p. 102 suggested that the reference to Jerusalem on pp. 60–1 indicated that the city had not yet fallen, i.e. —1187.
i. 23	This refers to the III Lateran Council of Mar. 1179, in such a way as to suggest that it may have been written not very long after it.
i. 25, pp. 96–7	This refers to the ravaging of the Limousin, probably in 1177; see p. 96 n. 4.
i. 26, 28–9	All refer to Henry II as alive, i.e. —6 July 1189.
i. 27	This refers to Gilbert of Sempringham as alive, i.e. —4 Feb. 1189; but it calls him 'cecus, centennis', which may suggest a date not long before his death.
i. 30, pp. 122–5	The last paragraph may perhaps suggest a date towards

the close of the 12th century, but probably not in any precise sense.

i. 31 This describes an incident at the III Lateran Council of 1179, and was evidenly written soon after, since Map implies that the Waldensians had not yet been formally condemned as heretics; his account suggests (but does not prove) a date not later than 1182 (cf. C. Thouzellier, *Catharisme et valdéisme en Languedoc à la fin du XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle*, 2nd edn. (Louvain-Paris, 1969), p. 38).

ii. 3 This recounts an event of 1173, but refers to John of Canterbury as archbishop of Lyons, i.e. 1182-93; but the relevant phrase may be a gloss.

ii. 7 The reference to Gerard la Pucelle may suggest that he was not yet a bishop, i.e. —1183.

ii. 18 The chapter appears to culminate in an event of the year 1183, and refers to Lucius III, Pope 1181-5.

ii. 25 If the reference is to Cadwallon ab Ifor Bach, his *floruit* seems to have been *c.*1200 and later (Lloyd, ii. 637 and n.).

ii. 27 Gilbert Foliot, *nunc* bishop of London, i.e. 1163-87.

ii. 28 The opening may imply that Roger, bishop of Worcester, had died, i.e. +9 Aug. 1179 (*Fasti*, ii. 99-100, which shows that 9 Aug. is the probable, but 10 Aug. a possible date; cf. M. G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 223-4).

Dist. iii contains no indications of date.

iv. 1 Map says that the young King Henry died at Martel on St. Barnabas' day 1182 (for 1183)—11 June 1183—'mense quo hanc paginam apud Salmurum scripsi'; i.e. this chapter was written in June 1183.

iv. 2 'Epilogus' 'Hunc in curia regis Henrici libellum raptim annotaui scedulis': if this refers to the *De nugis* at large, it dates it —1189. But he goes on to date the chapter itself to 2 years after Henry's death, i.e. presumably to 1191.

iv. 5 Gilbert Foliot, *nunc* bishop of London, i.e. 1163-87.

iv. 11, *ad fin.* He refers to the death of Pope Alexander III (30 Aug. 1181) and the election of Lucius III (1 Sept. 1181): 'et nunc hodie a Romanis electus est Lucius papa . . . qui fuerat anno preterito Hubaldus Hostiensis episcopus et sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalis'. 'hodie' suggests that this was written as soon as the news reached Map, i.e. *c.*Oct. 1181 (allowing 4-6 weeks); but 'anno preterito' may suggest it was written in 1182. The sentence could be read as an addition, but gives a useful date for the completion of this part of the *De nugis*: see p. xxv.

iv. 13, pp. 370-1 This seems to refer to Henry II as alive, —1189.

v. 1, pp. 406-7 The reference to Henry (II) and Louis (VII) might be taken to indicate a date before Louis' death, i.e. —1180; but it is quite compatible with one soon after that event.

v. 3, pp. 410-11 The reference to the fall of Jerusalem is evidently an insertion of 1187-8 (see above, and p. xxiv).

v. 5, pp. 436-7 Henry II 'nunc regnat', i.e. —1189.

v. 5, pp. 442-3 Louis VII is referred to as if dead, 'omnibus uite sue diebus', i.e. +1180.

v. 5, pp. 450-1 There is a reference to the III Lateran Council of March 1179.

v. 6, pp. 476-7 Henry II reigned 36 years, i.e. +1189. The pages which follow read indeed like an obituary notice of Henry II, but on pp. 484-5 there is a confusion of tenses —'fuit . . . est . . . est'—which may indicate that there is a stratum written in Henry's lifetime.

v. 6, pp. 478-9 Map refers to Geoffrey (Plantagenet) as archbishop of York: he was elected in 1189, consecrated 18 Aug. 1191. He also refers to Geoffrey's quarrels with his canons, which rapidly became notorious (see references on p. 478 n. 2). He was enthroned on 1 Nov. 1191 and trouble began almost at once, coming to a head in 1193-4: this passage can hardly be earlier than 1192, but need not be much later (cf. Brooke in *A History of York Minster*, ed. G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (Oxford, 1977), pp. 41-2).

v. 6, pp. 482-5 This passage refers to incidents of 1188-92, culminating in the murder of the Marquis of Montferrat on 28 Apr. 1192.

v. 6, pp. 488-9 There is again reference to Richard I as king, i.e. +1189; the incident described was of 1182.

v. 6, *ad fin.* This describes the resignation of Geoffrey as bishop-elect of Lincoln in Jan. 1182 at Marlborough, and the consecration of Walter of Coutances to the see on 3 July 1183 (*Fasti*, iii. 2).

v. 7 This was evidently written in Henry II's lifetime, —1189, and specifically refers, pp. 508-9, to an event of 1177. Pages 508-9 also refer to Ranulf de Glanville as chief justiciar, i.e. 1180 × 9.

The substantial 'fragments' in which Hinton established that there is reasonable evidence for continuity of composition are:

i. 1-12 The dating evidence above seems to establish that

	these were composed 1180 X 4 (Hinton argued for 1181).
i. 16–32	i. 31 suggests a date 1179 X 82, confirmed by the reference to III Lateran in i. 23; but i. 27 may be later, though still —1189 (Hinton argued for 1182).
ii. 1–16	?*c.* 1182 X 3, but the argument is not decisive (Hinton dated this 1182).
iv. 2b–16	iv. 11 seems definitely to be late 1181 or early 1182 (Hinton dated 1181).

The evidence we have sifted is consistent with Hinton's general date of 1181–2 for most of the *De nugis*, but suggests caution in accepting a date so precise; and it does not altogether support his suggested order of composition (see pp. xxviii–xxix). If our conjecture that *dist.* iv preceded i and ii is correct, the general date would be 1181 X 3.

LIST OF CHAPTERS

The Latin table is in the MS after the text of the De nugis*: we have not revised it to agree in every detail with the rubrics to the text.*

[*Capitula*]

f. 72v *Distinccio primi libri Magistri Mahap de nugis curialium.*

i. Assimilacio curie regis ad infernum

ii. De inferno
iii. De Tantalo
iiii. De Sisipho
v. De Yxione
vi. De Ticio
vii. De filiabus Beli
viii. De Cerbero
ix. De Caron
x. De germinibus noctis
xi. De Herla rege
xii. De rege Portingalensi
xiii. De Gischardeo de beloioco monacho Cluniacensi
xiiii. Item de quodam alio monacho Cluniacensi
f. 73 xv. De capcione Ierusalem per Saladinum principem paganorum
xvi. De origine ordinis Carthusiensium
xvii. De origine ordinis Grandimontensium
xviii. De origine ordinis Templariorum
xix. Quiddam mirabile
xx. Item aliud mirabile
xxi. De filio solidompni Babilonie
xxii. De sene Axassessi
xxiii. De origine ordinis Hospitalarium
xxiiii. De origine ordinis Cisterciensium
xxv. Incidencia Magistri Gauteri Mahap de monachis
xxvi. Item recapitulacio Grandimontensium
xxvii. De origine ordinis Simpligham

LIST OF CHAPTERS

The First Distinction Page

1. A Comparison of the Court with the Infernal Regions 3
2. Concerning Hell 9
3. Of Tantalus 9
4. Of Sisyphus 9
5. Of Ixion 9
6. Of Tityus 11
7. Of the Daughters of Belus } [lost] 11
8. Of Cerberus } [lost] 11
9. Of Charon [?] 11
10. Of the Creatures of the Night 13
11. Of King Herla 27
12. Of the King of Portugal 31
13. Of Guichard, a Monk of Cluny 37
14. Also of Another Monk of Cluny 39
15. Of the Taking of Jerusalem by Saladin 41

16. Of the Origin of the Carthusians 51
17. Of the Origin of the Order of Grandmont 53
18. Of the Origin of the Templars 55
19. A Wonder 59
20. Another Wonder 59
21. Of the Son of the Sultan of Cairo 63
22. Of the Old Man the Assassin 67
23. Of the Rise of the Hospitallers 69
24. Of the Origin of the Cistercians 73
25. A Digression of Master Walter Map on Monkery 85
26. Recapitulation of the Order of Grandmont 113
27. Of the Rise of Sempringham 115

xxviii. Item recapitulacio Carthusiensium
xxix. De quadam secta hereticorum
xxx. De quadam alia secta eorundem
xxxi. De secta Valdesiorum
xxxii. De tribus heremitis mirabiliter penitentibus

Explicit distincio prima. Incipit secunda.

i. Prologus
ii. De Gregorio monacho Gloucestr'
iii. De beato Petro Tharentasie
iiii. Item de beato Petro eodem [*sic*]
v. Item de eodem beato Petro
vi. De quodam heremita
vii. De Luca Hungaro
viii. De indiscreta deuocione Walensium
ix. De Helya Heremita Walensi
x. De Cadoco rege Walensi
xi. De apparicionibus fantasticis
xii. Item de eisdem apparacionibus
xiii. Item de eisdem apparicionibus
xiiii. Item de eisdem apparicionibus
xv. Item de eisdem apparicionibus
xvi. Item de eisdem apparicionibus
xvii. De Gadone milite strenuissimo
xviii. De Andronio imperatore Constantinopolitano
xix. De Gillescop Scoto uiro strenuissimo
xx. De moribus Walensium
xxi. De hospitalitate Walensium
xxii. De Luelino rege Walensi
xxiii. Item de eodem Luelino
xxiiii. De Conano sine pauore
xxv. De Cheueslino fure Walensi
xxvi. De furore Walensium
xxvii. De quodam prodigio
xxviii. Item aliud prodigium
xxix. Item aliud prodigium
xxx. Item aliud prodigium
xxxi. De quibusdam prouerbiis
xxxii. Conclusio premissorum

28. Again, A Recapitulation of the Carthusians 117
29. Of a Certain Sect of Heretics 119
30. Of Another Sect of the Same 119
31. Of the Sect of the Waldensians 125
32. Of the Wonderful Penance of Three Hermits 131

The Second Distinction

1. Prologue 133
2. Of Gregory, a Monk of Gloucester 133
3. Of Blessed Peter of Tarentaise 135
4. Again of the Same Blessed Peter 137
5. Again of the Same Blessed Peter 139
6. Of a Certain Hermit 141
7. Of Luke of Hungary 143
8. Of the Indiscriminate Devotion of the Welsh 145
9. Of Helyas, A Welsh Hermit 147
10. Of Cadog, the Welsh King 149
11. Of Illusory Apparitions 149
12. Again of Such Apparitions 155
13. Again of the Same Apparitions 161
14. Again of the Same Apparitions 161
15. Again of the Same Apparitions 163
16. Again of the Same Apparitions 165
17. Of Gado, that Most Valiant Knight 167
18. Of Andronius, Emperor of Constantinople 175
19. Of Gillescop the Scot, a Most Valiant Man 179
20. Of the Manners of the Welsh 183
21. Of the Hospitality of the Welsh 185
22. Of the Welsh King Llywelyn 187
23. Of the Same 189
24. Of Conan the Fearless 197
25. Of Cheueslin the Thief 199
26. Of the Rage of the Welsh 201
27. Of a Prodigy 203
28. Another Prodigy 205
29. Another Prodigy 205
30. Another Prodigy 207
31. Of Certain Proverbs 207
32. The Conclusion of what has gone Before 209

Explicit distinccio secunda. Incipit tercia.

i. Prologus
ii. De societate Sadii et Galonis
iii. De contrarietate Parii et Lausi
iiii. De Rasone et eius uxore
v. De Rollone et eius uxore

Explicit distinccio tercia. Incipit quarta.

i. Prologus
ii. Epilogus
iii. Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum philosophum ne uxorem ducat
iiii. Conclusio epistole premisse
v. Finis epistole premisse
vi. De Eudone puero a demone decepto
vii. De quodam monacho Cluniacensi contra uotum suum in castris militanti
viii. Item de fantasticis apparicionibus
ix. Item de eisdem apparicionibus
x. Item de eisdem apparicionibus
xi. De fantastica decepcione Gerberti
xii. De sutore Constantinopolitano fantastico
xiii. De Nicholao Pipe homine equoreo
f. 73v xiiii. De Salio filio admirandi maioris
xv. De Alano rege Britonum
xvi. De Sceua et Ollone mercatoribus

⟨*Explicit distinccio quarta. Incipit quinta*⟩

i. Prologus
ii. De Appollinide rege
iii. De origine Godwini comitis et eius moribus
iiii. De Cnutone rege Dacorum
v. De primo Henrico rege Anglorum et Lodouico rege Francorum
vi. De morte Willelmi Rufi regis Anglorum et gestis Henrici regis Anglorum secundi

The Third Distinction

1. Prologue 211
2. Of the Friendship of Sadius and Galo 211
3. Of the Variance between Parius and Lausus 247
4. Of Raso and his Wife 263
5. Of Rollo and his Wife 271

The Fourth Distinction

1. Prologue 279
2. Epilogue 283
3. A Dissuasion of Valerius to Rufinus the Philosopher, that he should not take a Wife 289
4. Conclusion of the Foregoing Epistle 311
5. End of the Foregoing Epistle 311
6. Of the Lad Eudo, who was Deceived by the Devil 315
7. Of a Certain Monk of Cluny who Against his Vow took Service in Camp 341
8. Again of Fantastic Apparitions 345
9. Again of Apparitions 345
10. Again of Like Apparitions 349
11. Of the Fantastic Illusion of Gerbert 351
12. Of the Haunted Shoemaker of Constantinople 365
13. Of Nicholas Pipe, the Man of the Sea 369
14. Of Salius the Son of the Chief Emir 375
15. Of Alan, King of the Bretons 377
16. Of the Merchants Sceva and Ollo 393

The Fifth Distinction

1. Prologue 405
2. Of the King Apollonides 409
3. Of the Beginnings of Earl Godwine, and his Character 411
4. Of Cnut, king of the Danes 421
5. Of Henry I, king of the English, and Louis, king of the French 437
6. Of the Death of William Rufus, king of the English [and the deeds of Henry II] 465

vii. Recapitulacio principii huius libri ob diuersitatem litere et non sentencie

Explicit distinccio quinta libri Magistri Gauteri Mahap de nugis curialium.

7. A Recapitulation of the Beginning of this Book, Differing in Expression but not in Substance 499

DE NUGIS CURIALIUM

IN LIBRO MAGISTRI GAUTERI MAHAP DE NUGIS CURIALIUM DISTINCTIO PRIMA

i. *Assimulacio Curie Regis ad infernum*

'IN tempore sum et de tempore loquor,' ait Augustinus,[1] et adiecit: 'nescio quid sit tempus.' Ego simili possum admiracione dicere quod in curia sum, et de curia loquor, et nescio, Deus scit,[2] quid sit curia. Scio tamen quod curia non est tempus; temporalis quidem est, mutabilis et uaria, localis et erratica, nunquam in eodem statu permanens.[3] In recessu meo totam agnosco, in reditu nichil aut modicum inuenio quod dereliquerim; extraneam uideo factus alienus. Eadem est curia, sed mutata sunt membra. Si descripsero curiam ut Porphirius diffinit genus, forte non menciar, ut dicam eam multitudinem quodammodo se habentem ad unum principium.[4] Multitudo certe sumus infinita, uni soli placere contendens: et hodie sumus una multitudo, cras erimus alia; curia uero non mutatur, eadem semper est. Centimanus gigas[5] est, qui totus mutilatus totus est idem et centimanus, ydra multorum capitum, qui labores Herculis cassat et contempnit, inuictissimi manum atlete non sentit, et Antheo felicior matrem habet terram, pontum et aera.[6] Non allidetur ad pectus Herculis; totus ei uires multiplicat orbis. Cum ille summus Hercules uoluerit, fiat uoluntas eius.[a]

Si quod Boecius de fortuna ueraciter asserit de curia dixerimus, recte quidem et hoc, ut sola sit mobilitate stabilis.[7] Solis illis curia placet qui graciam eius consecuntur. Nam et ipsa gracias dat: non enim amabiles aut merentes amari diligit,

[a] eius] *a blot in the MS*

[1] *Confessions*, xi. 25 (ed. M. Skutella *et al.*, Teubner edn. of 1969), p. 286.
[2] Cf. 2 Corinthians 12: 2.
[3] Cf. Job 14: 2.
[4] Porphyry, *Introd. in Aristot. categorias*, Boethius' translation, ed. L. Minio-Paluello in *Aristoteles Latinus*, i, 6–7 (Bruges–Paris, 1966), p. 6.
[5] Cf. Horace, *Carm.* ii. 17. 14.
[6] Allusions to two victims of Hercules: the hydra of Lake Lerna, and the giant Antaeus, squeezed to death by the hero. Antaeus was son of Earth and Sea.

THE FIRST DISTINCTION OF THE BOOK OF MASTER WALTER MAP CONCERNING THE TRIFLES OF THE COURT

1. *A Comparison of the Court with the Infernal Regions*

'IN time I exist, and of time I speak,' said Augustine:[1] and added, 'What time is I know not.' In a like spirit of perplexity I may say that in the court I exist and of the court I speak, and what the court is, God knows, I know not.[2] I do know however that the court is not time; but temporal it is, changeable and various, space-bound and wandering, never continuing in one state.[3] When I leave it, I know it perfectly: when I come back to it I find nothing or but little of what I left there: I am become a stranger to it, and it to me. The court is the same, its members are changed. I shall perhaps be within the bounds of truth if I describe it in the terms which Porphyry uses to define a genus,[4] and call it a number of objects bearing a certain relation to one principle. We courtiers are assuredly a number, and an infinite one, and all striving to please one individual. But to-day we are one number, to-morrow we shall be a different one: yet the court is not changed; it remains always the same. It is a hundred-handed giant,[5] who if he be all maimed, is yet all the same, and still hundred-handed; a hydra of many heads, that makes of none effect and despises the labours of Hercules, does not feel the force of that unconquered hero's hand, and—luckier than Antaeus—has for its mother earth, sea, and air.[6] It will not be crushed against the breast of Hercules; the whole world renews its strength. Yet when the supreme Hercules sees fit, his will be done.

If we apply to the court Boethius' true definition of fortune, we find it also correct in saying that the court is constant only in inconstancy.[7] To those alone is the court satisfactory who obtain her grace. For she does confer grace, inasmuch as it is not the lovable or those worthy of love whom she affects,

[7] Boethius, *Consol. Philosoph.* ii, pr. 1: 'seruauit fortuna . . . in ipsa sui mutabilitate constantiam'.

sed indignos uita gracia sua donat. Hec est enim gracia que sine racione uenit, que sine merito considet, que causis occultis adest ignobili.[a] Mistica uannus[1b] Domini iudicio uero, iusta uentilacione sibi segregat a zizania frumentum: hec non minori sollicitudine sibi separat a frumento zizaniam. Quod illa prudenter eligit, hec inprudenter eicit, et e conuerso, sicut et in quampluribus. Tot nos hortatur aculeis dominatrix curie cupiditas, quod pre sollicitudine risus eliminatur. Qui ridet, ridetur; qui sedet in tristicia, sapere uidetur. Vnde et iudices nostri gaudia puniunt retribuuntque mesticiam, cum ex bona consciencia boni iuste gaudeant, ex mala mali merito mesti sint; unde tristes ypocrite, leti semper deicole. Iudex qui dicit bonum malum et malum bonum[2] equaliter satis secundum se modestus est molestis ⟨et molestus modestis⟩, et eciam fit causa continue leticie bonis inhabitacio Spiritus sancti, causa mesticie malis inflacio squalidi serpentis, qui dum oberrat pectus praua pensantis, allia sibi nociua compilat, que comedendo delectant, comesta fetent. Hec allia nobis in curia potissimum ille propinat qui nobis inuidit ab inicio. Cui ⟨ei⟩us delectat decipula, displicet Domini disciplina.

Quid autem est quod a pristina forma uiribus et uirtute facti sumus degeneres, cetera queque uiuencia nullatenus a prima deuiant donorum gracia? Creatus est Adam statura gigas et robore, factus est et angelicus mente donec subuersus est; uita cuius, licet ab eterna facta sit temporalis et ab integra mutilata, multo longeuitatis est leuata solacio. Perdurauit in posteros illa diu morum uirium uirtutum et uite felicitas; sed circa tempora prophete Domini Dauid, eam ipse descripsit annorum octoginta, que fuerat octingenta uel amplius ante laborem et dolorem.[3] Nos autem nunc septua-
f. 7v ginta non duramus indempnes, / immo statim postquam

[a] ignobili *Winterbottom;* ignobilis *MS* [b] uannus *James (and Virgil);* manus *MS*

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* i. 166.
[2] Cf. Isaiah 5: 20, and the prayer cited by Ogle, pp. 202–3.
[3] Cf. Psalm 89 (90): 10.

but to them that are unworthy to live she sheweth her grace. Grace of a truth it is that comes without reason, settles without desert, alights on the ignoble for no known cause. The mystic fan[1] of the Lord separates to itself the wheat from the tares by a true judgement, a righteous winnowing. This of the court with not less anxious care parts for itself the tares from the wheat. What the former in its wisdom chooses, the latter in its unwisdom casts away, and vice versa, as so often happens. Covetousness, the Lady of the Court, urges us on with so many prickings that our mirth gives way to anxiety. He that laughs is laughed at, he that sits in sadness is accounted wise. Nay, our judges set a penalty on joy and a premium on sorrow, whereas properly the good are happy in the consciousness of right, and the bad depressed in the consciousness of wrong, so that hypocrites should be always sad, and true worshippers of God cheerful. The judge who calls evil good and good evil[2] is consistently enough, according to his own views, mild to the fierce and fierce to the mild. The indwelling of the Holy Spirit is a source of continual joy to the good, the upswelling of the scaly serpent a source of sadness to the evil. Trailing about the heart of the evil thinker he gathers a poisonous garlic, which pleases in the eating and thereafter does but stink. This garlic is especially offered to us here in this court by him who envied us from the beginning. The man who is attracted by his snare is repelled by the Lord's correction.

Now how comes it that we men have degenerated from our original beauty, strength, and force, while other living creatures in no way go astray from the grace first given to them? Adam was created a giant in stature and muscle, and in mind, too, equalled the angels until he was overthrown: and, though his life was limited by time instead of being eternal, and was cut down from a whole to a fragment, it was yet lightened by the solace of a great longevity. This excellence of morals, strength, powers, and life lasted long among his posterity; but about the time of David, the Lord's prophet, it is described by him as lasting fourscore years, whereas it had been eight hundred or more, before the time of labour and sorrow.[3] We however now do not last out seventy years without loss of vigour: nay, as soon as we have

inceperimus sapere, mori cogimur aut desipere. Terre, maris et aëris animancia preter homines quelibet ea qua creata sunt uita gaudent et uirtutibus, quasi non deciderint a gracia Creatoris. Quid autem hoc est, nisi quod ipsa iussam tenent obedienciam, nos ipsam ab inicio spreuimus? Multo desolacius dolendum nobis est quod stantibus uniuersis soli demones et nos cecidimus, quod seductores nostros habemus socios, quod nostra nos in breuitatem uirtutis et uite dampnauit iniquitas, et ex imitacione primi pessimi ⟨facti sumus⟩.[a]

Quis adinuenit metallorum decoctionem, alterius in alterum reduccionem? Quis durissima corpora flexit in liquorem? Quis marmoream soliditatem fusili plumbo secari docuit? Quis hyrci sanguinibus adamantem subici comperit?[1] Quis silicem conflauit in uitrum? Certe non nos; non comprehendit huiusmodi septuaginta curriculum annorum. Sed qui septingentis aut octingentis uacare potuerunt sapiencie,[2] prosperitate rerum et persone felices, abissum rimari phisis et in lucem profunda producere ualuerunt. Hii post astra uitam animalium uolatilium et piscium distinxerunt et naciones et federa, naturas herbarum et seminum. Hii centennium cornicibus, millennium posuere ceruis, coruis[b] autem estatem incredibilem; credere tamen eis decet, presertim de feris, que cum ipsis ante carnium esum imperterrite manebant, ut modo nobiscum canes, quorum nos uita non fallit aut consuetudo. Multas nobis inuenciones reliquerunt in scriptis: plurime deuolute sunt ad nos parentatim a primis, et non est a nobis nostra pericia sed ab ipsis in nos pro nostra capacitate transfusa.

De curia nobis origo sermonis, et quo iam deuenit? Sic incidunt semper aliqua que licet non multum ad rem, tamen

[a] *Either a supplement, such as is suggested, is needed, or* et *must be omitted*
[b] coruis, ceruis *MS; cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. vii. 153 (Webb)*

[1] See *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England*, ed. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (NMT, 1953), p. 118 n., and sources cited, from Pliny to Isidore.
[2] Cf. *Historia Scholastica*, c. 36, *PL* 198. 1087.

attained discretion, we are driven either to death or dotage. The creatures of earth, sea, and air—everything except man—rejoice in the life and powers with which they were created. They, it seems, have not fallen out of their Maker's favour. And what should this mean but that they still keep the obedience enjoined upon them, while we have spurned it from the beginning? The more our desolation indeed as we lament that while all else has kept its standing, we alone and the devils have fallen—that our deceivers are our companions in sorrow, that our own sin has condemned us to a short span of life and powers, and that because of our following of the first man we have fallen to be the worst.

Who was it that discovered how to melt metals and transmute one into another? that fused the hardest bodies into a fluid? that taught how solid marble could be cut with running lead? Who was it who found out that adamant would yield to the blood of a he-goat?[1] Who melted flint into glass? Not we, assuredly. A course of threescore and ten years leaves no room for such discoveries. On the other hand, men who could spend seven or eight hundred years in the acquisition of wisdom,[2] and were blessed with health and riches, these could well plumb the abyss of nature and bring deep things to light. It was they who, after the study of the stars, marked out the lives of beasts, birds, and fishes, their tribes and alliances, the natures of plants and seeds; they who assigned a life of a hundred years to the crow, of a thousand to the stag, and to the raven an age which can scarce be credited. Credited however they should be by us, particularly in what concerns wild creatures, since these lived with them unaffrighted before flesh-eating prevailed, just as dogs do with us, whose life and habits are open to our observation. Many of their discoveries they have left us in writing: many more have been handed down by the heads of generations from the first, and so our accomplishments are not our own, but have been transfused into us from them according to the measure of our receptivity.

Well, the court was the subject with which I started, and see the point at which I have arrived! Such topics are always liable to emerge, perhaps not much to the purpose, yet refusing to be put aside; nor is it a very serious matter so long as

differri nolunt, nec refert, dum non atrum desinant in piscem,[1] et rem poscit apte quod instat.

ii. *De inferno*

Infernum aiunt locum penalem. Quid si presumam audax effectus, et temerarie dicam curiam non infernum, sed locum penarum? Hic tamen dubito an eam recte diffinierim; locus tamen uidetur esse, nec ergo infernus.[2] Immo certe quicquid aliquid uel aliqua in se continet, locus dici potest. Sit ergo locus; uideamus si penalis. Quis ibi cruciatus qui non sit hic multiplicatus?

iii. *De Tantalo*

Num ibi legisti Tantalum fugiencia captantem a labris flumina?[3] Hic multos uides bona sitire proxima que non consecuntur, et similes haurientibus in apprehensione falli.

iiii. *De Sisipho*

Sisiphus ibi saxum ab imo uallis ad precelsi montis apportat uerticem, quod relapsum relapsurum a ualle reuehit. Sunt et hic multi qui montem ascensi diuiciarum nil actum putant, et relapsum in auaricie uallem animum reuocare conantur ad montem adhuc ulteriorem; quo quidem consistere non potest, quia contemplacione cupitorum uilescunt adepta. Cor illud bene comparatur saxo Sisiphi, quia scriptum est 'Tollam cor lapideum et dabo carneum'.[4] Det Dominus cor curialibus carneum, ut in aliquo moncium pausare possit.

v. *De Yxione*

Sibi sepe dissimilis, super, subter, ultra, citra,[a] Yxion ibi uoluitur in rota. Nec hic desunt Yxiones, quos uolubilitas torquet fortune. Ascendunt ad gloriam, ruunt in miseriam, sperantque deiecti, nec erit ulla dies qua non hec reuolucio

[a] Sibi . . . citra] *MS joins this sentence to the end of cap. iiii, with* dissimilis *altered to* dissimile *to agree with* cor

[1] Cf. Horace, *Ars poet.* 4. For the restlessness of the court, and the comparison with hell, cf. Peter of Blois, *Epistola* 14, *PL* 207. 42–51, esp. 50.

[2] The logic of this passage is far from clear (see pp. 500–1); but it somehow leads us from the court to hell and so to Hades and the legendary characters who inhabited it.

[3] Cf. Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 68–9.

[4] Cf. Ezekiel 11: 19.

they do not end in a black fish's tail,[1] and the intrusive subject is one which fitly demands treatment.

2. *Concerning Hell*

Hell, it is said, is a penal place; and if I may presume so far, in an access of boldness, I would rashly say that the court is, not hell, but a place of punishment. Yet I doubt whether I have defined it rightly: a place it does seem to be, but it is not therefore hell.[2] Nay, it is certain that whatever contains a thing or things in itself, is a place. Grant, then, that it is a place: let us see whether it be a penal one. What torment has hell which is not present here in an aggravated form?

3. *Of Tantalus*

Have you read how Tantalus down there catches at streams which shun his lips?[3] Here you may see many a one thirsting for the goods of others which he fails to get, and like a drinker, misses them at the moment of seizure.

4. *Of Sisyphus*

Sisyphus there bears a boulder from the bottom of a valley to the summit of a lofty hill; and when it has rolled back, he carries it up again from the vale, only to fall once more. Here too there are many who reckon it nothing to have climbed the hill of riches, but try to urge their souls, fallen back into the valley of covetousness, to the summit of a hill yet further removed; and on that again their soul cannot abide, for what they have gained grows cheap when they gaze at what they desire. Well may such a heart be likened to the stone of Sisyphus, for it is written: 'I will take away their stony heart and give them an heart of flesh.'[4] God give an heart of flesh to these courtiers and enable them to find rest upon one or other of the hills!

5. *Of Ixion*

Ever changing his posture of a minute before, Ixion down there is whirled round on his wheel, up, down, hither and yonder; and Ixions are not wanting here, turned about by the whirl of fortune. They rise to glory and fall to wretchedness. When down they still hope, and no day passes without seeing

fiat; et cum sit undique timendum in rota, nullius in ea sine spe casus est; tota terribiliter horret, tota contra consciencias militat, nec minus inde proficit alliciendo.

vi. *De Ticio*

[*Here ends f. 7v, and after it a leaf is lost, which contained the text of the following chapters:* vi. De Ticio, vii. De filiabus Beli, viii. De Cerbero, *and the first part of* ix. De Caron. *Portions of the text are doubtless incorporated in the recapitulation, Dist.* v. 7.]

[ix. *De Caron*]

f. 8 . . . uerumptamen uenatores hominum, quibus iudicium est datum de uita uel de morte ferarum, mortiferi, comparacione quorum Minos est misericors, Radamantus racionem amans, Eacus equanimis.[1] Nichil in his letum nisi letiferum. Hos Hugo prior Selewude,[2] iam electus Lincolnie, reperit repulsos ab hostio thalami regis, quos ut obiurgare uidit insolenter et indigne ferre, miratus ait: 'Qui uos?' Responderunt: 'Forestarii sumus.' Ait illis: 'Forestarii foris stent.' Quod rex interius audiens risit, et exiuit obuiam ei. Cui prior: 'Vos tangit hec parabola quia, pauperibus quos hii torquent paradisum ingressis, cum forestariis foris stabitis.' Rex autem hoc uerbum serium habuit pro ridiculo et, ut Salomon excelsa non abstulit,[3] forestarios non deleuit, sed adhuc nunc post mortem suam[4] litant coram Leuiatan carnes hominum et sanguinem bibunt. Excelsa struunt, que nisi Dominus in manu forti[a] destruxerit, non auferentur. Hii dominum sibi presentem timent et placant, Deum quem non uident[5] offendere non metuentes.

Non dico quin multi uiri timorati, boni et iusti nobiscum inuoluantur in curia, nec quin aliqui sint in hac ualle miserie iudices misericordie, sed secundum maiorem et insaniorem loquor aciem.

[a] *MS. adds* non: *om. Winterbottom*

[1] These three were judges of the dead in Hades (cf. Ovid, *Met.* ix, 435 ff.).

[2] i.e. Witham: this passage, or the words 'iam electus Lincolnie' at least, must have been written 25 May × 21 Sept. 1186 (*Fasti*, ed. D. E. Greenway, iii. 3): see above, p. xxv. For St Hugh's dealings with foresters, cf. *Magna Vita*, iv. 5–6, ed. Douie and Farmer, ii. 26 ff., where the same pun is attributed to him ('foris . . . stabunt a regno Dei').

such a revolution; though, on the wheel, there are fears on every side, yet no one's fall on it is hopeless. All terrible as it is, and full of horror, all in arms against the conscience, yet it attracts none the less: it draws its victims ever on.

6. *Of Tityus*	*Lost*
7. *Of the Daughters of Belus*	"
8. *Of Cerberus*	"
9. [*Of Charon?*]	[*The beginning gone.*]

. . . but hunters of men, to whom judgement is committed of the life and death of beasts, bearers of death, compared to whom Minos is mild, Rhadamanthus reasonable, Aeacus equable.[1] They get no nearer to mirth than murder. Once Hugh, Prior of Selwood,[2] now Elect of Lincoln, found these men repulsed from the door of the King's chamber; and hearing them give vent to loud abuse, and observing their rage, he was surprised, and said: 'Who are you?' 'We are the keepers' they replied. Said he to them: 'Keepers, keep out.' The King within heard the words, laughed, and came out to meet the Prior, who said to him: 'The saying touches you nearly, for when the poor, whom these men oppress, are let into paradise, you will be keeping outside with the keepers.' However, the King took this word, spoken in earnest, for a jest, and (as Solomon took not away the high places)[3] did not suppress the foresters: no, even now, after his death,[4] they eat the flesh of men in the presence of Leviathan, and drink their blood. They set up high places, which will not be taken away unless the Lord destroy them with a strong hand. They fear and propitiate their lord who is visibly present; God, whom they see not,[5] they fear not to offend.

I do not mean to deny that there are many God-fearing, good and righteous men mixed up (*or* entangled) among us here at Court, nor that there are in this vale of misery some merciful judges. It is of the larger and wilder portion of the band that I speak.

[3] 3 (1) Kings 15:14.

[4] i.e. after Henry II's death in 1189: see p. li.

[5] Cf. John 4: 20.

x. *De germinibus noctis*

Sunt et ibi germina noctis, noctua, nicticorax, uultur et bubo, quorum oculi tenebras amant, oderunt lucem.[1] Hii circuire iubentur, rimari solerter et referre ueraciter, quid Iouem ex uirtute [uel diei][a] contingat, quid ex uicio [uel noctis] Diti condempnetur. Qui cum accuratas ubique ponant insidias, fetorem cadauerum auidissime sectantur, quibus uoratis tacitis et celatis queuis alia redeuntes accusant preter ea que sibi de latrocinio latenter appropriant. Mittit eciam hec curia quos uocat iusticias, uicecomites, subuicecomites, bedellos, ut scrutentur argute. Hii nichil intactum linquunt, nichil intemptatum, et apum instar innocencia puniunt, uenter tamen euadit impune;[2] insident floribus ut mellis aliquid eliciant; et cum in potestatis inicio coram summo iudice iurent quod fideliter et indempniter Deo ministrabunt et sibi, reddentes que sunt Cesaris Cesari, que Dei Deo,[3] premia peruertunt eos ut auellantur ab agnis uellera, uulpes illese linquantur que probate sunt argento, scientes quod 'res est ingeniosa dare'.[4]

In iusticiis autem dictis plerumque clerici laicis immiciores[b] inueniuntur. Cuius ego rei racionem non intelligo, nisi quam uiro nobili Randulfo de G⟨l⟩anuilla[5] respondi, querenti cur hoc: scilicet quod generosi parcium nostrarum aut dedignantur aut pigri sunt applicare litteris liberos suos, cum solis liberis de iure liceat artes addiscere, nam et inde liberales dicuntur. Serui uero, quos uocamus rusticos, suos ignominiosos et degeneres in artibus eis indebitis enutrire contendunt, non ut exeant a uiciis sed ut habundent[c] diuiciis, qui quanto fiunt periciores tanto perniciores. Artes enim gladii sunt potentum, qui pro modis utencium uariantur. Nam in manu

[a] *The words* uel diei *and* uel noctis *were glosses on* Iouem *and* Diti
[b] immiciores] *the first five letters rewritten in the MS*
[c] habundant *MS*

[1] Cf. John 3: 19.
[2] For the analogy of bees and courtiers, cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi, 17 (puniunt = pungunt; cf. Bradley, p. 393).
[3] Matthew 22: 21.
[4] Cf. Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8. 62.
[5] Chief justiciar to Henry II, 1180–9. On Ranulf and his family, see now R. Mortimer in *BIHR* liv (1981), 1–16 and refs.; J. S. Falls in *Mediaeval Studies*, xl (1978), 312–27; S. J. Bailey in *Cambridge Law Journal* (1957), 163–82; (1958), 178–88; F. West, *The Justiciarship in England 1066–1232* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 54–63.

10. *Of the Creatures of the Night*

There, too, are creatures of the night, the screech-owl, the night-crow, the vulture, and the owl, whose eyes love darkness and hate light.[1] These are commissioned to go round about, to seek out diligently and to report accurately what of good happens that may concern Jupiter, what of harm falls to be condemned by Dis; though they place careful ambushes everywhere, their first concern is to follow up the odour of carrion. This they devour in secrecy, or conceal, and upon their return lay any accusations they please, besides what they gain for themselves in private by robbery. This Court, too, sends out beings whom it calls justices, sheriffs, undersheriffs and beadles, to make strict inquisition. These leave nothing untouched or untried and, bee-like, sting the unoffending—yet their stomach escapes uninjured.[2] They alight on flowers to draw out of them what honey they can, and though when they take office they make oath before the Supreme Judge that they will faithfully and without damage serve God and him, 'rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that be God's'[3] yet gifts turn them aside; that the lambs may be stripped of their fleeces, the foxes go unharmed, for they have been approved by silver, knowing that 'it is a clever thing to give.'[4]

Now among such justices as I describe, the clerical officers are usually found more oppressive than the laymen; and I do not understand why this should be, unless my reply to the noble Ranulf de Glanville[5] gave the true answer. He asked this question, and I answered: 'It is because the gentry of our land are too proud or too lazy to put their children to learning, whereas of right only free men are allowed to learn the arts, which for that very reason are called 'liberal'. The villeins on the other hand (or rustics, as we call them) vie with each other in bringing up their ignoble and degenerate offspring to those arts which are forbidden to them; not that they may shed vices, but that they may gather riches; and the more skill they attain, the more ill they do. The arts are as the swords of mighty men: their force varies with the method of him who holds them: in the hand

benigni principis pacifici sunt, in manu tiranni mortiferi. Redimunt suos a dominis serui, cupiditas utrimque militat, et uincit cum libertas libertatis addicitur hosti. Quod singu-
f. 8v laris ille / uersificator[1] ait preclare manifestans, ubi dicit:

Asperius nichil est humili cum surgit in altum

et cetera, et iuxta

nec belua tetrior ulla
quam serui rabies in libera terga furentis.

Vir ille predictus hanc approbauit sentenciolam.

Contigit autem nuper quod abbas quidam se contulit ex hiis iusticiis unum fieri, coegitque crudelius spoliari pauperes quam aliquis laicorum, forte sperans episcopare per adeptam ex preda graciam; cui post paucos dies obuians ulcio dentes proprios in se fecit immittere corrosisque perire[a] manibus. Vidi cornices appendere datis terre seminibus, quatinus alie uidentes appensas timeant et uitent ut ille fieri, uitantque. Verumptamen quos Dominus mundi filios uocat, et 'prudenciores filiis lucis' asserit, determinans 'in generacione sua',[2] non terrentur nec metuunt ut abbas fieri, cum ipsi in oculis habeant alios ⟨quo⟩que[b] duos magnates quos idem circuitus paralisi percussos in grabatis grauiter eneruat.

Hec de curia que uidimus testamur. Obuolucionem autem ignium, densitatem tenebrarum, fluminum fetorem, stridorem a demonibus magnum dencium, gemitus exiles et miserabiles a spiritibus anxiis, uermium et uiperarum et anguium et omnis reptilis tractus fedos, et rugitus impios, fetorem, planctum et horrorem, per singula si per allegoriam aperire uelim, in curialibus non desunt michi significaciones; sed longioris sunt temporis quam michi uacare uideam. Sed curie parcere curiale uidetur; et sufficit ex hiis secundum dictas concludere raciones, quod curia locus penalis est. Non dico

[a] immitere *(sic MS)* ... perire] *These words have been written in subsequently, but by a contemporary hand* [b] quoque *Mynors;* que *MS*

[1] Claudian, *in Eutrop.* i. 181, 183–4. The reluctance of the English aristocracy to enter the Church is interesting and puzzling, but seems in general a clear contrast to the situation in France and Germany in the central middle ages (see studies in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI–XII*, Misc. del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 7–8 (Milan, 1974–7, esp. by B. Guillemain, C. Brühl, and R. and C. Brooke).

[2] Cf. Luke 16: 8.

of a merciful prince they bring peace, in that of a tyrant, death. The villein redeems his son from the lord, and on each side covetousness fights, and wins when freedom is conferred on freedom's foe. The famous poet[1] points this out clearly where he says:

Nothing is harsher than the ennobled clown,

and what follows; and again:

Nor any fiercer beast
Than a slave's vengeance on a freeman's back.

The great man I mentioned approved my little discourse.

It happened of late that an abbot procured himself to be made one of these justices, and he had the poor despoiled more savagely than any layman, hoping perhaps to gain a bishopric by the favour accruing from his prey; but vengeance met him after not many days, and caused him to turn his teeth upon himself and to die with his hands all begnawed. So have I seen crows hung up over the seed committed to the ground, that others might see them hanging, and fear and shun their fate: and they do shun it. Yet they whom the Lord calls the children of this world and describes as 'wiser than the children of light'—adding the qualification 'in their generation'[2]—are not deterred, nor afraid of becoming as this abbot, though they have before them the example of two other magnates whom one and the same circuit keeps helpless on their beds, smitten with palsy.

So far I bear witness concerning the court of what I have seen. But, for the rolling flames, the blackness of darkness, the stench of the rivers, the loud gnashing of the fiends' teeth, the thin and piteous cries of the frightened ghosts, the foul trailings of worms and vipers, of serpents and all manner of creeping things, the blasphemous roarings, evil smell, mourning and horror—were I to allegorize upon all these, it is true that correspondences are not wanting among the things of the court, but they would take up more time than I have at my disposal. Besides, to spare the court seems only courteous; and it is enough to conclude from the above, according to the reasons here set forth, that the court is a place of punishment. I do not however say

tamen quod infernus, quia non sequitur, sed fere tantam habet ad ipsum similitudinem quantam equi ferrum ad eque.

Nec possumus in dominum et rectorem nostrum culpam refundere, cum nichil in mundo quietum sit, nec ulla possit quispiam diu tranquillitate letari, Deo in singulis argumenta ponente, quod non sit hic querenda mansura ciuitas;[1] cum etiam non sit tante sapiencie uir qui uni soli sic possit dispensare domui, ne ipsam aliquis perturbet error. Ego enim modici numeri moderator sum, et tamen illius modice familie mee frena tenere nequeo. Studium meum est quomodo possim omnibus prodesse, ne quid eis in cibo et potu uel ueste deficiat. Ipsorum autem est sollicitudo modis omnibus exculpere de mea substancia quod suam augeat; quicquid habeo 'nostrum' est, quod eorum quisque, 'suum'. Si quid aduersus aliquem uere dixero, negat, et habet complices. Si quis michi de familia testis est, adulatorem dicunt. 'Stas cum domino; mentiris ut ei placeas; bene dona sua mereris; at certe nos ipsi ueraces erimus, etsi displiceamus ad horam.' Hec me strident audiente. Quid ergo fit ei uel dicitur seorsum? Certe tam uiliter et deiecte tractabitur, quod exinde ueritatem horrebit. Illi autem inmisericordes debitorum meorum et fenoris uentrem suum dorsumque de meo placare contendunt. In eis ille laudatur qui dominum prodit ut seruo prosit, et de fideli sodalicio probatur; et qui menciendo deceperit inter alios ridet, quia derisit dominum, et cum errare fecerit, laudat errorem, et conuersus michi pingit ciconiam.[2] Si sapienter aliquid egero quod eos in aliquo molestet, uenit aliquis mesto uultu, deiecta facie, fictoque suspirio 'Non te pigeat' inquiens,
f. 9 'karissime domine; populus loquitur quod hanc rem fecisti; michi satis placet, scit Deus, et bona uidetur accio, sed ipsi nimis obiurgant.' Post illum uenit seorsum alter in simili sentencia. Tercius autem in eadem scola sequitur,

[1] Cf. Hebrews 13: 14. [2] Cf. Persius, i. 58.

that it is hell; that does not follow: only it is almost as much like hell as a horse's shoe is like a mare's.

We cannot throw the blame of this upon our lord and master; for in this world there is nothing quiet, and no one can long enjoy any sort of tranquillity: God strives to show us at every point that we must not seek here an abiding city:[1] and, again, there is no man so wise that he can govern even a single household without some mistake or disturbance arising in it. I myself am the ruler of but a small establishment, and yet I cannot hold the reins of my little team. I try to be good to them all so far as I can, that they may suffer no lack either in food, drink or raiment: *their* object, on the other hand, is to scrape together out of my substance by any and every means something to increase their own. All that I have they call 'ours', all that they have, 'their own'. If I bring a just charge against any of them, he denies it, and finds others to back him. Should any member of the household bear witness on my side, he is called a flatterer. 'You are on the master's side, you tell lies to please him; you earn his presents well; never mind; we will stick to the truth, even if for the time being we fall out of favour.' Such remarks are hissed out in my hearing. What, I wonder, is done or said to him outside the presence? It is certain that he will be so abused and bullied that he will contract a horror of truth ever afterwards. For my debts and the interest I have to pay they have no pity, but vie with each other in propitiating their own bellies and backs at my expense. The one who cheats his master to treat a fellow-servant, gains their praise and is approved as a faithful comrade. He who has lied successfully goes and laughs among his fellows, to think he has got round the master. If one has made me go wrong, he is delighted at the mistake, and turns round and makes a long nose at me.[2] Do I take some prudent step which inconveniences them? Up comes one with a long face, an air of depression, and with a pumped-up sigh he says: 'Don't take it to heart, dear master. People are talking about your having done this; as far as I am concerned, God knows I'm perfectly satisfied; it seems to me the right thing to do; but you should hear the language they're using.' After him comes another—independently—with the like discourse. A third follows with the same lesson,

et non cessant donec dubitare fecerint aut uera discredere. Nullus eorum specificat, ut dicat 'ille de tua sic et sic loquitur accione,' sed 'populus sic loquitur.' Qui populum accusat, omnes excusat; non certificat cui contendere possim, ne reueletur dolus. Quicunque minister placere parcitate conatur, offensam omnium incurrit, et dicunt ei: 'Bona fuit domus antequam intrares; tu domum peruertisti, tu pudor es et dedecus et domus et domini; ha! tu uidebis quam inde retribucionem efferes; o quam pius es in bursam domini! quid putas ex hac auaricia prouenire? Quid de tot redditibus et diuiciis amodo faciet dominus? "Thesaurum" ais? Numquid et te faciet heredem? aut ipsum iugulabis ut asportes? Certe thesaurum ei fecisti detraccionem et odium omnium amicorum suorum, qui prius eum ut dominum diligebant. Tu buffoni similis es, qui terre parcit et fame deperit: tu putas quod Deus domino desit uel fallat? Sciolus tibi uideris, et stultus es.' Hiis et huiusmodi litibus quidam ex meis ministris lacessitus ad me flendo querelam hanc attulit. Tum ego: 'Frater, uade. Verum est quod "nemo potest duobus seruire dominis;"[1] tu docente Domino bonus et fidelis es, ipsi diabolo ducente peruenerunt ad reprehensionem fidelitatis. De duobus hiis nemo qui sapiat pessimum eligit optimo relicto.' Tum ille: 'Non possum ad omnes solus; malo uobis omnia resignare quam his distrahi rixis; uale.' Hac bonum perdidi cautela ministrum letificauique[a] familiam. Tum ego uersuciam eorum uidens uocaui palam omnes, et proposui quomodo perdidissem seruum bonum, nesciebam quorum affectum litibus. Tunc omnes ceperunt excusare cum iuramento dicentes[2] 'Proditor tuus est qui

[a] letificauitque *MS*

[1] Matthew 6: 24.
[2] Cf. Luke, 14: 18; Matthew, 26: 72.

and still they come, until I am driven to doubt or disbelieve the facts. None of them ever specifies my critics or tells me: 'So-and-so says this of what you have done': it is always, 'People are saying this and that', and by putting the blame on 'people' every individual is exonerated; no one is marked out with whom I can argue the point, otherwise the trick would come out. Again, if I have a servant who tries to please me by economies, he earns the hatred of the whole body: they say to him: 'It was a good house before you came into it; you've upset the whole place; you're a shame and disgrace to the place and to master, you are: ah, you'll see what you'll get by it all! O how considerate we are for master's purse! Why, what good do you suppose will come of all this pinching? What's master to do with all this money coming in? Store it up, say you? Yes, and make you his heir, I suppose —or else you'll cut his throat and walk off with it. I'll tell you what you are making him store up, and that's the bad opinion, yes, and the dislike of all his friends—people that used to look up to him as if he were their lord and master. Why, you're like the silly man that spared his land and died of starvation. Do you suppose that Providence will forsake master, or deceive him? You think you're so clever, and what you really are is a fool.' One of my servants was so persecuted by abuse of this kind that at last he came and complained of it to me with tears. 'Brother,' I said to him, 'you must go. It is only too true that "no man can serve two masters."[1] You have followed the Lord and dealt well and faithfully: these others, under the guidance of the devil, have arrived at the point of reviling faithfulness. Here are two alternatives: no man of wisdom will choose the worst and forsake the best.' 'Well', said he, 'I can't stand out against them all single-handed. I'd sooner give up the whole business to you than be torn in pieces by these quarrellings. Goodbye, sir.' My prudence in this cost me an excellent servant and gave the greatest satisfaction to my household. I saw what they had been at, and so called them all together and laid before them how I had lost a good servant in consequence of the quarrelsomeness of some of them—I knew not whose. Everyone began at once to excuse himself with oaths.[2] 'The man', said they, 'who robs you of a good servant is nothing short of a

tibi bonum seruum aufert.' Consilium ergo quesiui cui possem tradere curam et ministerium prioris, non ut eligerem quem uellent sed quem nollent; securus enim eram quod michi consilium canis darent. Vetus est et nota parabola, quod tractante domino cum uxore sua quid in ollam de petasone mitterent, ait domina 'latus', dominus 'spinam'; cui canis: 'Spinam, uir' quasi 'uince—uir es—ut de melioribus pascar.' Sciebam autem quod illi simile consilium darent, id est, ad suam utilitatem, mea neclecta. Videns ergo quid uellent, distuli quod petebant, pueroque, qui tunc adhuc flagella timebat, curam omnium, cum interminacione ne quid inconsulto me faceret, commisi. Timebat ille primo, bonusque fuit. Tum illi furtis insistebant, insidias ei ponentes. Ille querebat amissa, querebatur et flebat. Ego sciebam quid ageretur. Illi culpam in me refuderunt, quod tot et tantam[a] ydiote curam commisissem, et adiecerunt 'Omnes mirantur et dolent de uobis, si fas esset dicere.' 'Dicite: sit fas.' 'Certe, quod tam bonus tam subito mutatus es, et in tam notabilem lapsus auariciam, et omnia scire uelis et artissima retinere custodia. Confundimur omnes ad ea que de uobis loquuntur.' Hiis dictis consilium inierunt crudele satis. Exibant in uicos et plateas, et se missos a me fate-
f. 9v bantur, ut compellerent errantes intrare.[1] / Qui domi erant mecum ipsos cum multa ueneracione suscipiebant, dicentes me nimis eos desiderare, frequenterque uenire precabantur. Ad me uero currentes nunciabant hospites uiros uenerabiles adesse, cogebantque congratulari nolentem. Dispergebant ergo cibum et potum, et, quod me nolle sciebant, ipsi gule coram me nimis enormiter indulgebant, et districte cogebant potentes et inpotentes, uolentes et nolentes, ut effunderentur omnia, quasi meo prestantes obsequium honori solum id agentes; recte quoque[b] secundum preceptum Domini non cogitabant de

[a] tantam] *So the margin of the MS; the text has* tam [b] quoque *MS, originally* quod

[1] Cf. Luke, 14: 21, 23.

traitor to you.' I proceeded to ask their advice; to whom should I entrust the office and duties of him who had gone? my intention being to choose, not the man they wanted, but the man they didn't want; for I was sure they would give me the dog's advice. (The fable is an old one and well known: the husband and wife were discussing which part of the flitch of bacon they should put in the pot: the woman said the side, the man the bone. 'The bone, husband', put in the dog, meaning 'You're the husband, you have your way, and I shall get the better dinner.'). Well, I knew that their advice would be of the same sort; they would consider their own profit and neglect mine. I ascertained what their wish was, postponed its fulfilment, and handed over the charge of everything to a lad who had not yet outgrown his fear of the whip, strictly charging him to do nothing without my knowledge. At first he was afraid, and did well. Then the rest began carrying out their depredations, and setting traps for him. He looked about for what was missing, complained of his losses, shed tears. I knew what was going on. The others threw the blame on me for entrusting matters of such moment to an inexperienced fool, and went on to say: 'Everyone is surprised at you and really quite upset—if I only dared say.' 'Say on; you have leave.' 'Well, they can't think how you have changed so all of a sudden, and become so stingy that everyone talks of it, always wanting to know everything, and keep everything locked up close. We're quite put out of countenance by all that's said about you.' After this they hit on a plan which was really very hard on me. They would go into the streets and lanes and say I had sent them to compel travellers to come in.[1] The servants in the house received the guests with the greatest respect, said that I was most anxious to see them, and hoped they would come often. Then they would run in to me and announce that guests had arrived, men of good position, and made me welcome them, in no wise desiring to do so. Then they made meat and drink fly, and gorged themselves to any extent in my presence (which they knew I hated), and recruited the high and the humble by *force majeure*, willing and reluctant, with the result that everything was squandered, feigning to do this exclusively to increase my reputation; correctly enough, according to the Lord's teaching, they took

crastino,[1] mittebant enim omnia foras. Cum ebrietatis eos arguebam, letos se fuisse non ebrios iurabant, et me crudelem, qui quod honori meo gratanter inpenderant reprehendebam. Cum ab ecclesia mane redibam, ignem copiosum uidebam, et hesternos hospites, quos abisse sperabam, circumduci;[a] dicebantque michi secreto mei: 'Prandium petent, longe putant hospicium, nesciunt quid inuenient. Iacta manubrium post securim; bene cepisti, sit bonus finis. Non sis solicitus: Deus nondum omnia partitus est. Tu non pensas, nisi quod habes; confidas in Domino. Rumor pupplicus est quod te episcopum facient. Absit omnis parcitas! Effunde prorsus omnia, securus aude quod uis; audaces Fortuna iuuat.[2] Tantum potest constringi crustum quod mica nil ualebit. Sume uires et animos; nichil retineas, ne successus prepedias uenientes.' Cum hospites illi recedunt, statim inuitant alios. Preueniunt eos ad me plangentes quod hospitum frequencia fatigat eos nimium, et me destruunt, quasi doleant de quo letantur.

Inter hanc familiam nepotes[3] habeo, qui dominantur in rebus meis, nec est qui possit eis contradicere. Hii forcius contra me militant;[b] hii quicquid eis impendo debitum dicunt, nec inde grates habent aut sciunt michi; hiis si totam attribuero substanciam aliquo retento quod eis expedire possit, nichil actum aiunt, immo detrectant et irati conuertuntur in arcum prauum,[4] tanquam non michi sed eis natus sim, et quasi domini sint et ego seruus, qui nil michi sed eis omnia adquisierim. Paterfamilias in Terencio, qui similes habebat rerum suarum saluatores, ait 'Solus meorum sum meus;'[5] hoc etsi non singuli, multi patres dicere possunt. Certe me iam uicerunt mei, sed ut uerius est, sui, quia sibi solis attente seruiunt. Dum noui sunt multa reuerenter agunt, necligenter autem postea. Quidam paterfamilias in nobis est, qui singulis annis nouos sibi prouidet seruientes; unde plures ipsum arguunt

[a] circumduci *Brooke;* circum duce *MS; the correction is far from certain*
[b] *MS originally* mutant

[1] Cf. Matthew, 6: 34; cf. Ogle, pp. 212 ff.
[2] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* x, 284.
[3] See pp. xiv–xv.
[4] Cf. Psalm 77 (78): 57.
[5] Cf. Terence, *Phormio*, 587.

no thought for the morrow,[1] for they turned everything out of doors. When I charged them with being drunk, they swore they were not drunk, but only happy, and that I was a hard man to blame them for the pains they had been glad to take in my honour. When I came back from church in the morning, I would find a huge fire, and the guests of yesterday (who I hoped had gone) drawn up round it. My servants would whisper to me: 'Dinner will be wanted. They think there isn't an inn for a long distance: they don't know what they'll find there. Better throw the handle after the axe: you've begun well; end well too. Don't you be anxious: God hasn't given away everything yet. You are but spending what you have. Trust in the Lord; it's common talk that they'll make you a bishop. Away with pinching! spend the lot, venture all you fancy, fortune favours the brave.[2] One can lock up a crust till not a crumb is any use. Pluck up a good courage, keep nothing back, or you may spoil the luck that is on its way to you.' When this lot of guests is gone, they ask in another at once. Before these have arrived, they come to me and complain that the crowd of guests is wearing them out, and they ruin me while pretending to deplore what they really enjoy.

Among this household I have some nephews[3] who are completely masters of my property; no one can say them nay. They are the stoutest enemies I have; anything I spend on them they reckon as a due, and neither feel nor pay me any thanks for it. Were I to assign them the whole estate and keep back something which might be useful to them, they will reckon it nothing: they would even abuse me and be much annoyed, starting aside like a broken bow:[4] their view being that I was born for their benefit and not my own, and that they are masters and I the servant, who have got together nothing for myself but everything for them. The father in Terence, who had similar saviours of his property, says: 'My only possession is myself'[5] and indeed many though not all fathers may say the same. Certainly my people have got the upper hand of me: 'Mine', did I say? Rather their own, for they pay no attention to anybody but themselves. While they are fresh they exercise a good deal of care, but drop it later on. I know of a master of a house in our circle who gets a new set of servants every year. A good many people

inconstancie, michi uero sapiens uidetur et prouidus, quia timidos eos et attentos habet.

Hec omnia pro rege nostro: quomodo compescet milia milium et ad pacem gubernabit, cum nos modici patres moderari paucos nequeamus? Certe domus omnis unum habet seruum et plures dominos; quia qui preest seruit omnibus, quibus seruitur domini uidentur. Curia tamen nostra pre ceteris in periculoso turbine uiuit fluctuans et uaga. Regi tamen nostro nullatenus inferre calumpniam audeo, quod in tanta tot milium et diuersorum cordium aula multus error multusque tumultus est, cum singulorum nec ipse nec alius possit nomina retinere, nedum corda
f. 10 agnoscere; et nemo preualeat ad / plenum temperare familiam cuius ignorat cogitaciones aut linguam, id est, quid eorum corda loquantur. Dominus diuidit aquas ab aquis, populos a populis, scrutator cordium et purgator eorum, et supra residens et potenter imperans; sed impossibile uidetur quin nostri sub aquis gigantes gemant.[1]

Omnes audisti curias inquietas preter illam ad quam inuitamur solam. Quam Dominus regit ciuitas pacem habet, et illa nobis manens[2] promittitur. Et me, karissime mi Galfride,[3] curialem (non dico facetum—puer sum et loqui nescio[4]—sed dico) in hac sic uere descripta curia religatum et ad hanc relegatum hinc philosophari iubes, qui me Tantalum huius inferni fateor? Quomodo possum propinare qui sicio? Quiete mentis est et ad unum simul collecte poetari. Totam uolunt et tutam cum assiduitate residenciam poete, et non prodest optimus corporis et rerum status, si non fuerit interna pace tranquillus animus; unde non minus a me poscis miraculum, hinc scilicet hominem ydiotam et imperitum scribere, quam si ab alterius Nabugodonosor fornace nouos pueros cantare iubeas.[5]

[1] Cf. Genesis 1: 6; Wisdom 1: 6; Psalm 28 (29): 3, 10; Isaiah, 10: 13; Job, 26: 5.
[2] Cf. Hebrews 13: 14.
[3] See above, p. xxxiv and n. 1.
[4] Cf. Jeremiah 1: 6.
[5] Cf. Daniel 3.

consequently think him fickle, but to me he seems a wise and careful man, for he always find his servants respectful and attentive.

Well, all this has been urged in defence of our king. How is he to keep in order thousands of thousands and govern them peaceably, when we small fathers of households cannot control the few we have? The truth is, that every house has one servant and many masters. The head serves everyone; those by whom he is served are to be reckoned as masters. Our court, I take it, lives in a more perilous whirl than other households, fluctuating and variable. Yet I dare not in any wise lay this to the charge of our king, for in a hall (palace) that holds many thousand diverse minds there must be much error and much confusion; neither he nor any other man can remember the name of each individual, much less know their hearts; and no one can entirely control a household whose thought and speech—I mean the speech of their hearts—he knows not. The Lord divides the waters from the waters, the peoples from the peoples: he is the searcher of hearts and the cleanser of them, sitting on high and ruling in power: but no one can prevent our giants murmuring beneath the waters.[1]

You have heard that all courts are unquiet save that only to which we are bidden. That city alone which the Lord rules has peace, and it is promised to us as 'an abiding city'.[2] And you, my dear Geoffrey,[3] would have me courtly (not to say witty: 'I am a child, I know not how to speak.')?[4] Yet, I repeat, you bid me, me who am bound in and banished to this court which I have here truly described, me who confess myself the Tantalus of this hell, to philosophize. How can I, who thirst, give you to drink? Letters are the employment of a quiet and collected mind. What a poet needs is a permanent, safe, continuous abode; and not the most prosperous state of body or circumstances will avail if the mind be not tranquil within. You are asking an inexperienced and unskilled man to write, and to write from the court: it is to demand no less a miracle than if you bade a fresh set of Hebrew children to sing out of the burning fiery furnace of a fresh Nebuchadnezzar.[5]

xi. *De Herla rege*[1]

Vnam tamen et solam huic nostre curie similem fuisse fabule dederunt, que dicunt Herlam regem antiquissimorum Britonum positum ad racionem ab altero rege, qui pigmeus uidebatur modicitate stature, que non excedebat simiam. Institit homuncio capro maximo secundum fabulam insidens, uir qualis describi posset Pan, ardenti facie, capite maximo, barba rubente prolixa pectus contingente,[a] nebride preclarum stellata, cui uenter hispidus et crura pedes in caprinos degenerabant. Herla solus cum solo loquebatur. Ait pigmeus: 'Ego rex multorum regum et principum, innumerabilis et infiniti populi, missus ab eis ad te libens uenio, tibi quidem ignotus, sed de fama que te super alios reges extulit exultans, quoniam et optimus es et loco michi proximus et sanguine, dignusque qui nupcias tuas me conuiua gloriose uenustes, cum tibi Francorum rex filiam suam dederit, quod quidem te nesciente disponitur, et ecce legati ueniunt hodie. Sitque fedus eternum inter nos, quod tuis primum intersim nupciis, et tu meis consimili die post annum.' His dictis ei tygride uelocius et terga uertit et se rapuit ab oculis eius. Rex igitur inde cum admiracione rediens, legatos suscepit, precesque[b] acceptauit. Quo residente solempniter ad nupcias, ecce pigmeus ante prima fercula, cum tanta multitudine sibi consimilium quod mensis repletis plures foris quam intus discumberent in papilionibus pigmei propriis in momento protensis; prosiliunt ab eisdem ministri cum uasis ex lapidibus preciosis et integris et artificio non imitabili conpactis, regiam et papiliones implent aurea uel lapidea suppellectile, nichil in argento uel ligno propinant uel apponunt; ubicunque desiderantur assunt, et non de regio uel alieno ministrant, totum de proprio effundunt,

[a] *MS adds* quod; *om. or add* erat *Winterbottom*

[b] precesque *James;* que preces *MS*

[1] This tale is a version of the ghostly hunt of Herlechin, Herlekin, or Harlequin, who has given King Herla his name. His followers are called Herlethingi in *Dist.* iv. 13 below. Cf. Stith Thompson E 501. 1. 7. 1 (and F377, supernatural lapse of time); Tupper and Ogle; *Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall (OMT, 1968–80), iv. 236–51, esp. 242, and commentary, ibid. pp. xxxviii–xl and references, esp. to L. Sainéau in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xx (1905), 177–86; F. Lot in *Romania*, xxii (1903), 422–41; also Peter of Blois, *Epistola* 14 (see p. 8 n. 1); and Hinton, *Notes*, p. 467. The early part of the story seems to be Map's own.

11. *Of King Herla*[1]

One court and one only do stories tell of that is like our own. A king of the most ancient Britons, Herla, it is said, was on a time interviewed by another king who was a pygmy in respect of his low stature, not above that of a monkey. This little creature was mounted on a large goat, says the tale, and might be described in the same terms as Pan; his visage was fiery red, his head huge; he had a long red beard reaching to his chest, which was gaily attired in a spotted fawn's skin: his belly was hairy and his legs declined into goats' hoofs. Herla found himself tête-à-tête with this being, who said: 'I am the king over many kings and princes, an unnumbered and innumerable people, and am sent, a willing messenger, by them to you. I am unknown to you, it is true, but I glory in the renown which has exalted you above other monarchs, inasmuch as you are a hero and also closely connected with me in place and descent, and so deserve that your wedding should be brilliantly adorned by my presence as a guest, so soon as the King of the Franks has bestowed his daughter upon you. This matter is being already arranged, though you know it not, and the ambassadors will be here this very day. Let this be a lasting agreement between us, that I shall first attend your wedding and you mine on the same day a year hence.' With these words, swifter than a tiger, he turned and vanished from view. The King returned home struck with wonder, received the ambassadors and accepted their proposals. When he took his place in state on the wedding day, before the first course the pygmy made his appearance, with so vast a crowd of similar beings that the tables were filled and a larger number sat down to meat outside the hall than within it, in pavilions brought by the pygmy, which were set up in a moment of time. Out of these pavilions darted servants bearing vessels each made of a single precious stone, by some not imitable art, and filled the palaces and the tents with plate of gold and jewels; no food or drink was served in silver or wood. Wherever they were wanted, they were at hand: nothing that they brought was from the royal stock or elsewhere; they lavished their own provision throughout,

et de secum allatis omnium excedunt preces et uota. Salua sunt Herle que preparauerat; sui sedent in ocio ministri, qui nec petuntur nec tribuunt. Circumeunt pigmei, graciam ab omnibus consecuti, preciositate uestium gemmarumque[a] quasi luminaria pre ceteris accensi, nemini uerbo uel opere uel presencia uel absencia tediosi. Rex igitur eorum in mediis
f. 10v ministrorum / suorum occupacionibus Herlam regem alloquitur sic: 'Rex optime, Deo teste uobis assum iuxta pactum nostrum in nupciis uestris; si quid autem diffinicionis uestre potest amplius a me peti quam quod cernitis, accurate supplebo libens; si non, uicem honoris inpensi cum repetam non differas.' His dictis, responso non expectato, se subitus inde papilioni suo reddit, et circa gallicinium cum suis abscessit.

Post annum autem coram Herla subitus expetit ut sibi paccio seruetur. Annuit ille, prouisusque satis ad repensam talionis, quo ductus est sequitur. Cauernam igitur altissime rupis ingrediuntur, et post aliquantas tenebras in lumine, quod non uidebatur solis aut lune sed lampadarum multarum, ad domos pigmei transeunt, mansionem quidem honestam per omnia qualem Naso regiam describit Solis.[1] Celebratis igitur ibi nupciis, et talione pigmeo decenter inpenso, licencia data recedit Herla muneribus onustus et xenniis equorum, canum, accipitrum, et omnium que uenatui uel aucupio prestanciora uidentur. Conducit eos ad tenebras usque pigmeus, et canem modicum sanguinarium[2] portatilem presentat, omnibus modis interdicens ne quis de toto comitatu suo descendat usquam, donec ille canis a portatore suo prosiliat, dictaque salute repatriat. Herla post modicum in lumine solis et regno receptus ueteranum pastorem alloquitur, petens de regina sua rumores ex nomine, quem pastor cum admiracione respiciens ait: 'Domine, linguam tuam uix intelligo, cum sim

[a] gemmarumque] que gemmarum *MS (the* que *added)*

[1] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* ii, 1 ff.

[2] This is the only known use of these words for 'bloodhound' in this period, but that seems to be the meaning. Cf. *MLD*, fasc. C, p. 258.

and what they had brought with them more than satisfied the utmost wishes of all. Nothing of Herla's preparations was touched: his own servants sat with their hands before them, neither called for nor offering aid. Round went the pygmies, gaining golden opinions from everyone: their splendid clothing and jewels made them shine like burning lights among the company: never importunate, never out of the way, they vexed no one by act or word. Their King, while his servants were in the midst of their business, addressed King Herla in these terms: 'Noble King, I take God to witness that I am here present at your wedding in accordance with our agreement. Yet if there be anything more of your contract than you see here that you can prescribe to me, I will gladly supply it to the last point; if there be nothing, see that you do not put off the repayment of the honour conferred on you when I shall require it.' And so, without awaiting a reply, he swiftly betook himself to his pavilion, and about cock-crow departed with his people.

After a year had passed, he suddenly appeared before Herla, and called on him to fulfil his agreement. To this he consented, and after providing himself with supplies sufficient for an adequate repayment, he followed whither he was led. The party entered a cave in a high cliff, and after an interval of darkness, passed, in a light which seemed to proceed not from the sun or moon, but from a multitude of lamps, to the mansion of the pygmy. This was as comely in every part as the palace of the Sun described by Naso.[1] Here the wedding was celebrated, the pygmy's offices duly recompensed, and when leave was given, Herla departed laden with gifts and presents of horses, dogs, hawks, and every appliance of the best for hunting or fowling. The pygmy escorted them as far as the place where darkness began, and then presented the king with a small bloodhound[2] to carry, strictly enjoining him that on no account must any of his train dismount until that dog leapt from the arms of his bearer; and so took leave and returned home. Within a short space Herla arrived once more at the light of the sun and at his kingdom, where he accosted an old shepherd and asked for news of his Queen, naming her. The shepherd gazed at him with astonishment and said: 'Sir, I can hardly understand your speech, for you

Saxo, tu Brito; nomen autem illius non audiui regine, nisi quod aiunt hoc nomine dudum dictam reginam antiquissimorum Britonum que fuit uxor Herle regis, qui fabulose dicitur cum pigmeo quodam ad hanc rupem disparuisse, nusquam autem postea super terram apparuisse. Saxones uero iam ducentis annis hoc regnum possederunt, expulsis incolis.' Stupefactus ergo rex, qui per solum triduum moram fecisse putabat, uix hesit equo. Quidam autem ex sociis suis ante canis descensum inmemores mandatorum pigmei descenderunt, et in puluerem statim resoluti sunt. Rex uero racionem eius intelligens resolucionis, prohibuit sub interminacione mortis consimilis ne quis ante canis descensum terram contingeret. Canis autem nondum descendit.

Vnde fabula dat illum Herlam regem errore semper infinito circuitus cum exercitu suo tenere uesanos sine quiete uel residencia. Multi frequenter illum, ut autumant, exercitum uiderunt. Vltimo tamen, ut aiunt, anno primo coronacionis nostri regis Henrici cessauit regnum nostrum celebriter ut ante uisitare. Tunc autem uisus fuit a multis Wallensibus immergi iuxta Waiam Herefordie flumen.[1] Quieuit autem ab illa hora fantasticus ille circuitus, tanquam nobis suos tradiderint errores, ad quietem sibi. Sed si nolis[a] attendere quam plorandus fiat, non solum in nostra sed in omnibus fere potentum curiis, silencium michi libencius et certe iustius indicere placebit. Libetne nuper actis aurem dare parumper?

xii. *De rege Portigalensi*

Portingalensis rex,[2] qui uiuit, et adhuc suo modo regnat, cum a multis impeteretur hostibus, et ad dedicionem iam fere
f. 11 cogeretur, in / subsidium ei quidam[b] aduenit iuuenis, corpore prestanti et forma uenusta; qui cum ipso commorans, uirtute bellica tam preclarus apparuit, ut non uiderentur eius opera possibilia uiro uni. Hic pacem desiderio regis et regni restituit,

[a] nolis *Mynors, and James's translation;* uelis *MS* [b] quidam *Wright;* quidem *MS*

[1] Cf. *Dist.* iv, 13. 'Iuxta Waiam' is an odd phrase in this context, and something may be amiss.

[2] Presumably Afonso, the first king of Portugal; the story does not seem to be recorded elsewhere. In 1146 he married Matilda of Savoy, who was then about 10 years old; they had three or more children before her death in 1158. He lived until 1185. See Previté-Orton, pp. 292–3 and nn.

are a Briton and I a Saxon; but the name of that Queen I have never heard, save that they say that long ago there was a Queen of that name over the very ancient Britons, who was the wife of King Herla; and he, the old story says, disappeared in company with a pygmy at this very cliff, and was never seen on earth again, and it is now two hundred years since the Saxons took possession of this kingdom, and drove out the old inhabitants.' The King, who thought he had made a stay of but three days, could scarce sit his horse for amazement. Some of his company, forgetting the pygmy's orders, dismounted before the dog had alighted, and in a moment fell into dust. Whereupon the King, comprehending the reason of their dissolution, warned the rest under pain of a like death not to touch the earth before the alighting of the dog. The dog has not yet alighted.

And the story says that this King Herla still holds on his mad course with his band in eternal wanderings, without stop or stay. Many assert that they have often seen the band: but recently, it is said, in the first year of the coronation of our King Henry, it ceased to visit our land in force as before. In that year it was seen by many Welshmen to plunge into the Wye, the river of Hereford.[1] From that hour the phantom journeying has ceased, as if they had transmitted their wanderings to us, and betaken themselves to repose. Yet if you are not willing to note how lamentable this unrest may be, not only in our own Court, but in almost all those of great princes, you will have to enjoin silence on me: I shall be quite satisfied, and it will assuredly be fairer. Will you listen for a brief space to an account of certain recent events?

12. *Of the King of Portugal*

The king of Portugal[2] who yet lives, and still reigns after his manner, was once beset by many enemies, and almost forced to submission, when there came to his aid a youth of noble build and remarkable beauty. He remained with the king, and so distinguished himself in warlike deeds that his achievements seemed beyond the power of any individual. He re-established peace to the hearts' desire of the king and the kingdom,

ingressusque merito in domini sui precipuam familiaritatem, magisque ab ipso excultus est—sepe scilicet quesitus, frequenter uisitatus, in multis remuneratus—quam ei cesserit in felicitatem. Nam eius curie magnates, quantum se minus solito senciunt honorari a domino suo, tantum ipsum eis detraxisse fauoris autumant, et quantum ipsum uident in amorem prefectum altius, tantum ipsum eis abstulisse queruntur; et in furorem inuidie uersi studiosius deprimere nituntur per maliciam, quem summa uirtus extulit in graciam. Armatum uel aliquo modo conscientem inuadere formidant. In pessimum ergo persecucionis genus degenerant accusacionem, et qua parte dominum suum inermem senciunt et nudum, attemptant. Sciunt eum zelotipie fatuum inepcia, mittuntque duos ex ipsis ad regem, qui quasi senes Babilonici deferant reginam innocentem, ut illi Susannam, adulteratam cum iuuene.[1] Rex igitur ea parte uulneratus ad cor qua ipsum lorica sapiencie non tegebat, ad mortem doluit, cecaque precipitacione precepit, ut ipsi sceleris auctores in innocentem animaduerterent crudeliter et secretissime. Data est igitur insidiis innocencia. Proditores scelus celare iussi, iuueni se familiarius uerbis, obsequiis, et[a] omnibus amoris conciliant simultatibus,[2] et in eius graciam falsis amicicie conscendunt gradibus. Abducunt eum quasi uenaturum in nemoris densitatem et secreta deserti, iugulatumque lupis et serpentibus derelinquunt, solique manifestant ei qui deceptus hoc iusserat; cuius quia nondum resedit furor, domum properat, ingrediturque ad talamos, archanam et insolitam sibi conclauem, eiectisque aliis in solam uesanus irruit reginam grauidam et iuxta partum, qua pedibus pugnisque contusa, homicidium duplex uno perfecit impetu. Aduocatis igitur seorsum nequicie sue scelerosis complicibus, tanquam iuste sit auctor ulcionis de culpa triplici coram ipsis

[a] *MS adds* in; *om. Winterbottom*

[1] Cf. Daniel 13 (= Susanna in the AV Apocrypha).
[2] Possibly a slip—or medieval usage—for *similitatibus* = *similitudinibus*.

and was as of right received into the closest intimacy with his sovereign, who showed him more favour—sending for him constantly, visiting him often, rewarding him richly—than tended to his prosperity. The nobles of the court, seeing themselves less honoured than before by their lord, imagined that the favourite had by so much diverted favour from them, and the more highly they saw him exalted in the king's affection complained that they were defrauded by him to that extent. Maddened with envy, they used every effort to overthrow by malice him whom pre-eminence in virtue had raised to favour. They shrank from openly attacking one who was forearmed or in any way prepared for it; so they sank to the lowest form of persecution, that is, accusation. They directed their aim to the spot in which they knew their lord to be bare and open to attack. They knew him to be madly prone to groundless jealousy, and sent to him two of their number, [commissioned] like the elders of Babylon, to accuse the innocent queen—a second Susanna—of adultery with the youth.[1] The king, pierced to the heart, through that spot where the mail-coat of wisdom left him bare, was smitten with mortal anguish, and with blind rashness ordered the inventors of the crime to avenge him on the innocent man with the utmost savagery and secrecy. Thus was innocence delivered over to the snare. The traitors, warned to say nothing of the crime, ingratiated themselves with the youth by words, acts of courtesy, and every feigned appearance of affection,[2] and climbed into his good graces by a false ladder of friendship. They took him away under cover of a hunting expedition to the depths of a forest in a distant lonely region; there they slew him, left him to the wolves and snakes, and divulged the murder only to the dupe whom they had made to order it. He (for his madness had not yet abated) hastened homeward, burst into the bed-chamber, an inner room which he scarcely ever entered, dismissed its other occupants, and furiously attacked the queen—now near her confinement—brutally setting upon her with feet and fists, and thus put an end to two lives by a single onslaught. He then privately summoned to him his villainous accomplices in crime, and in their presence proceeded to boast himself in exaggerated terms for his threefold offence, as having accomplished a

magnifica gloriatur iactancia. Illi uero ipsum quasi uirum animosum et fortem attollunt multa laudum prosecucione, ut quem stultum fecerant perdurantem in stulticia teneant. Siluit aliquamdiu dum non est egressa sedicio; sed quia diu non potest, ut aiunt, latere cedes clamdestina,[1] tandem irrepsit in aures populi, et quanto tenebat uoces timor tiranni pressius, in tanto crudescebat infamia susurracione frequenti forcius. Est autem rumor uetitus licito sermone uelocior cum erumpit, et propagata uiritim admiracio, quo priuacius dicitur, eo multiplicius pupplicatur. Hoc autem inde est, quod omnis auditor quod ab alio celandum accipit amico alii secure committit. Mestam ut uidet rex et in nouo silencio curiam, et egressus urbem curie compati, augure consciencia iam sibi de fama metuit, et nostri more defectus post acta quid egerit attendit, edoctusque a pluribus inuidiam qua ipsum proditores sui seduxerant inconsolabiliter dolet, et iram tunc primo iustam in ipsos inuentores et executores
f. 11v sceleris ultus, oculis / priuatos et genitalibus, inflictaque nocte perpetua resectaque uoluptate de cetero uiuere dimisit in mortis ymagine.

Huiusmodi sunt lusus curie, et tales ibi demonum illusiones; et quicunque delectatur aliquod uidere portentum, ingrediatur curias potentum. Et tu, cum nostra procellosa ⟨sit⟩ pre ceteris mater affliccionum et irarum nutrix, inter has precipis poetari discordias? Videris me calcaribus urgere Balaam quibus in uerba coegit asinam.[2] Quibus enim aliis possit quispiam induci stimulis in poesim? At ualde timeo ne michi per insipienciam cedat in contrarium asine, et tibi in contrarium Balaam, ut dum me loqui compellis incipiam rudere, sicut illa pro ruditu locuta est, fecerisque de homine asinum, quem debueras facere poetam. Fiam tamen asinus pro te, quia iubes; tu caueas, si me ruditus

[1] This seems to be related to the proverb 'murder will out', recorded from the 14th century on (*Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd edn., ed. F. P. Wilson, Oxford, 1970, p. 551).

[2] Numbers 22; esp. 27–33.

righteous vengeance. They on their part extolled him with lavish praise for his spirit and valour, hoping to keep their dupe under a lasting delusion. For a time the conspiracy, kept within doors, made no sign; but, since, says the proverb, a secret murder cannot be long hid,[1] at length it crept into the ears of the people, and the more firmly the fear of the tyrant repressed their voices, the more bloody did his infamy appear by the incessantly whispered reports. A forbidden tale, when it does break out, travels swifter than words which are licensed, and a wonder, passed from mouth to mouth, gains the wider publicity from the secrecy of its propagation. And why? Because everyone who is told of a matter which he must not divulge always commits it to another for safe keeping. The king perceived that his court was depressed and kept an unwonted silence, and when he went abroad, that the city was in evident sympathy with the court. His conscience divined somewhat: he feared for his good name, and—how common a mistake it is with us!—after the deed was past, he saw what he had done. From many a mouth he learnt of the hateful scheme by which his betrayers had led him astray. His grief was inconsolable. He sated a wrath, now at last justified, upon the contrivers and accomplishers of that wickedness, whom he blinded and castrated and so left them to a living death, in perpetual night, and deprived of all bodily enjoyment.

Such are the tricks of the court, and such the deceits of devils that have place there; so, whoever enjoys beholding enormities, let him enter the courts of the mighty. And you would have me play the poet in the midst of these strifes, though our court is stormy beyond all others, a mother of affliction and a nurse of wrath! It seems to me that you are using Balaam's spurs on me—the spurs with which he drove his ass to speak:[2] for what other would avail to drive anyone into writing poetry? I am much afraid that my stupidity will cause our parts—mine of the ass, and yours of Balaam—to be reversed, so that when you try to make me speak I shall begin to bray—as the other spoke instead of braying—and you will have made an ass out of a man whom you wanted to make into a poet. Well, an ass I will be, since you wish it: but beware, should the brainlessness of my braying make me

ruditas ridiculum reddiderit, ne te iussionis irreuerencia probet inuerecundum. In pluribus est timor meus: me macies accusabit sciencie, me lingue dampnabit infancia, me contempnet quia uiuo modernitas. Tu duos primos timores excusas, qui iubes; ego tercium auferre nolo, quia uiuere uolo. Materiam michi tam copiosam eligis, ut nullo possit opere superari, nullis equari laboribus: dicta scilicet et facta que nondum littere tradita sunt, quecunque didici conspeccius habere miraculum, ut recitacio placeat et ad mores tendat instruccio. Meum autem inde propositum est nichil noui cudere, nichil falsitatis inferre; sed quecunque scio ex uisu uel credo ex auditu pro uiribus explicare.

Gillebertus Foliot nunc Lundiniensis episcopus,[1] uir trium peritissimus linguarum latine gallice anglice, et lucidissime disertus in singulis, in hoc senio suo quo luminis fere defectum incurrit, cum paucos modicos et luculentos fecerit tractatus, quasi penitenciam perdite uacacionis agens, nunc a litore carinam soluit, magnumque metiri pelagus aggressus, moras redimere festinat amissas, nouumque ueteris et noue legis opus festino contexit pollice. Bartholomeus eciam Exoniensis episcopus,[2] uir senex et facundus, hoc tempore scribit. Baldewinus autem Wigorniensis episcopus,[3] homo multarum literarum et sapiens in hiis que ad Deum sunt, feriare fastidit a calamo. Hii temporis huius philosophi, quibus nichil deest, qui omni plenitudine refertam habent residenciam et pacem fori⟨s⟩, recte ceperunt, finemque bonum consequentur. Sed quo michi portus, qui uix uaco uiuere?

xiii. *De Giscardeo monacho Cluniacensi*

Gischardeus de Belloioco,[4] pater huius Imberti cui nunc cum filio suo conflictus est, in ultimo senectutis sue Cluniaci

[1] Bishop of Hereford (1148–63) and London (1163–87), and one of Map's patrons (above, p. xvi); for his blindness see also below, pp. 314–15; on him, see *GF*, *GFL*, and for this passage, *GF*, p. 72.

[2] 1161–84. See A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter* (Cambridge, 1937).

[3] 1180–4. He had formerly been archdeacon of Totnes (dioc. Exeter), and monk and abbot of Forde, and was translated to Canterbury in 1184; he died on crusade in 1190 (Morey, pp. 120–1; Knowles, *MO*, pp. 316–22; Stubbs, introd. to *Epistolae Cantuarienses* (RS), pp. xxxiii ff.; JS *Epp.* ii, index, s.v. Baldwin).

[4] Guichard III, sire de Beaujeu (Beaujolais), near Cluny, died a monk at Cluny in 1137; he was succeeded by his son Humbert II, who also took the habit at Cluny shortly before his death in 1174. There is no other record of his conflict with his son, Humbert III. On them, see Hinton, *Notes*, pp. 449–50; G. Constable

ridiculous, lest the want of respect shown in your request prove you to lack modesty. For myself, I have many fears: want of knowledge will accuse me, inaptness of speech will condemn me, the present generation will look down upon me because I am still living. The first two fears you put on one side by your orders to me: the third I do not care to abolish, for I wish to go on living. The subject you choose for me is so vast that no toil can master it, no effort cope with it: it is just the sayings and doings which have not yet been committed to writing, anything I have heard that is more than ordinarily inspiring: all this to be set down, that the reading of it may amuse, and its teaching tend to moral improvement. My own purpose in the matter is to invent nothing new, and introduce nothing untrue, but to narrate as well as I can what, having seen, I know, or what, having heard, I believe.

The present bishop of London, Gilbert Foliot,[1] a man thoroughly at home in three tongues, Latin, French, and English, in each of which he speaks with the greatest clearness and eloquence, in this his old age, when almost total blindness has come upon him, having already composed a few small but brilliant tractates, is now, as if atoning for a wasted leisure, unmooring his boat from the shore; he is to venture on the exploration of the open sea, and is hastening to redeem the time he has lost by compiling with a swift pen (thumb!) a work on the Old and New Testaments. Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter,[2] again, an old and accomplished man, is now engaged in writing; while Baldwin, bishop of Worcester,[3] a man of much learning, and wise in the things that belong to the Lord, grows weary if his pen be idle. These men are the philosophers of our day, who want for nothing, and have abodes filled with all manner of supplies, and tranquillity outside: they have begun well and will make a good ending. But whither, I would ask, am I to look for a harbour, who have barely leisure to live?

13. *Of Guichard, a Monk of Cluny*

Guichard of Beaujeu,[4] the father of that Humbert who is now engaged in a strife with his son, took the monastic habit at

in *Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ii (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 166, 214 and references.

assumpsit habitum, distractumque prius, tempore scilicet milicie secularis,[a] animum copiam adeptus et iam quietem adegit; in unumque collectis uiribus, se subito poetam persensit, suoque modo—lingua scilicet Gallica—preciosus effulgens, laicorum Homerus fuit. He michi utinam inducie, ne per multos diffuse mentis radios error soloecismum faciat. Hic iam Cluniacensis monachus iam dicto Imberto filio suo, licet uix impetratus ab abbate et conuentu,[1] totam terram suam, quam idem filius per potestatem hostium et suam impotenciam amiserat, armata manu restituit, reuersus-
f. 12 que deuotus in uoto persistens, / diem suum felici clausit exitu.

xiiii. *Item de quodam alio monacho Cluniacensi*[2]

At aliter alii; longeque miserabilius contigit uiro nobili et strenuo, qui similiter eiusdem loci monachus simili modo casu eodem necessario reuocatus ad arma, multa bellorum infortunia magnifice fortique perpessus animo, a fractura semper nouus renascebatur ad prelium et, quasi rediuiuo furore succensus, acerbior inuolabat in hostes et, siue fugerent siue resisterent, eis indefessus adherebat ut glutinum; et cum numerosa manu sperassent eum hostes opprimere, fortitudine non multitudine uinci didicerunt. Exardentes igitur in iram, multiplicatis exercituum uiribus, inopinum in arto duarum rupium surripiunt, conclusumque fere tenebant. Nulla spes apprehensis, salus nulla compressis, eoque segnius agebant quo securius. Ille autem inimicorum in medio, turbinis instar in puluere, quasi tempestas deseuiens, dispergit hostes, et tanta uirtute stupidos reddit, ut in sola uideant salutem fuga. Imminet eis impiger ille cum suis in respectu paucis; milites autem aduerse partis innumeri, ut dominos suos ab ipso saluarent, facti sunt unius preda monachi. Vnus autem capitalis eius hostis,

[a] secularis *James; MS apparently* singularis *altered to* sangularis

[1] It seems that Map thought *impetro* could be a deponent verb; or *impetratus* might mean 'released at Humbert's pleading'.

[2] *Dist.* iv. 7 is another version of the same story.

Cluny in the decline of his old age, and in his ease and new-found quiet, set himself to concentrate his mind, which hitherto in his life as a soldier had been always subject to distractions. When he had collected his mental forces, he suddenly perceived himself a poet, and shining forth brilliantly in his own way, that is, in the French tongue, he became the Homer of the laity. Ah, would that I could obtain some such respite! As it is, I fear the confusion of a mind which has to diffuse itself in all directions may lead me into solecisms. This Guichard, when he had become a Cluniac monk, regained by armed force for his son Humbert the whole of his land, which that son had lost through the strength of his enemies and his own want of strength: but the Abbot and monks could hardly be prevailed upon to permit him to fight.[1] He then returned to Cluny, remained faithful to his vow, and closed his life with a happy ending.

14. *Also of Another Monk of Cluny*[2]

But to each man his lot: far more deplorable was that of another noble and active man who, like Guichard, had become a monk of that house, and was recalled to active service by a like emergency. He suffered repeated reverses in battle with magnificent and unbroken spirit, rose again from defeat as if newborn to the fight; kindled as it were with quickened rage, he flew ever swifter on the foe; whether they stood their ground or took to flight, he stuck to them—unwearied—like glue, and when they hoped to overwhelm him by numbers, they learned that it was only might and not mass that could beat him. At length, goaded to rage, they greatly increased their force, and surprised him in a narrow place between two cliffs, where they held him almost a prisoner. No hope, no rescue seemed possible for the cooped-up band thus caught; and the enemy, secure of victory, were all the slower to strike. But the old man, thus beset by enemies as in a dust storm, suddenly, like some raging tempest, scattered his foes, and confounded them with such a display of valour that they saw no safety but in flight. Still untired, he hung upon their rear, with a band, scanty compared with theirs; while numberless soldiers on their side, attempting to rescue their lords from him, fell a prey to a single monk. One special enemy of his,

cum iam euasisset, per circuitum properans precessit eum, suisque permixtus incognitus ibat, retro semper intendens ad monachum, sue neclector uite ut eius uitam extingueret. Monachus estu tam laboris quam solis pene suffocatus, accito puero, uineam ingreditur, arma deponit, et dum pertranseat exercitus, aure se sub uitis alte tricatura semi-nudum securus exponit. Proditor ergo uia cum uiantibus relicta, suspenso gressu furtim illabens, monachum misso letali telo perforat, et refugit. Ille se morti proximum sciens, puero qui solus aderat peccata fatetur, penitenciam sibi petens iniungi. Ille ut laicus se nescire iurat. Monachus autem, ut in omnibus erat acer agendis, acutissime penitens ait: 'Iniunge michi per misericordiam Dei, karissime fili, ut in nomine Iesu Christi sit in inferno anima mea penitenciam agens usque in diem iudicii, ut tunc miser⟨e⟩atur mei Dominus, ne cum impiis uultum furoris et ire uideam.' Tunc puer ei cum lacrimis ait: 'Domine, iniungo tibi in penitenciam quod hic coram Domino distinxerunt labia tua.' Et ille uerbis et uultu annuens deuote suscepit, et decessit. In memoriam hic reuocentur uerba misericordie que ait 'In quacunque hora ingemuerit peccator, saluus erit'.[1] Quomodo potuit hic ingemiscere, et non fecit? Si quid ex contingentibus omisit, inter nos sit disputacio, et anime illius misereatur Deus.

XV. *De capcione Ierusalem per Saladinum*

Sicut annos remissionis uel iubileos a remissione uel a iubilo[2] scimus ⟨es⟩se dictos, annos scilicet remissionis et gracie, securitatis et pacis, exultacionis et uenie, laudis et leticie, ita annus ab incarnacione Domini millesimus centesimus octogesimus septimus nobis est nubileus a nubilo dicendus, tam nubilo temporis quam tenebris infelicitatis, annus

[1] On the history of this famous phrase, see Ogle, pp. 218–21. The next sentence ends strangely: it is just possible that God should be the subject of *fecit*. But it is perhaps simpler to take *fecit* as 'put into effect = neglected an opportunity to repent'.

[2] Literally, 'from the wild cry', *iubilum*. On the history of jubilee years, see G. Lambert, in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, lxxii (1950), 234–51; R. Foreville, *Le Jubilé de S. Thomas Becket* (Paris, 1958), pp. 29 ff. The link between jubilee and crusade seems first to have been made by St. Bernard (*Epistola* 458, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, *Opera S. Bernardi*, viii (Rome, 1977), p. 435; cf. Foreville, p. 29 and n.).

however, who had escaped, hurried by a circuitous route and got before him, and so went on unperceived among his company, casting backward glances ever at the monk and caring nothing for his own life if he might but end his enemy's. The monk, wellnigh exhausted by the heat of the fight and of the sun, called a lad to him, and entered a vineyard, where he put off his armour and, until the troops should be gone by, heedlessly bared himself half naked to the breeze under the trellis of a tall vine. At this the traitor left his comrades and their route, and on tiptoe stealing softly upon him, pierced the monk with a deathly weapon and so fled. The other, feeling himself near to death, confessed his sins to the lad, his only companion, and prayed that a penance might be enjoined upon him. The lad swore that as a layman he was ignorant of such things. The monk, quick as he was in every contingency, and most profoundly penitent, said: 'Enjoin me by the mercy of God, my dear son, that in the name of Jesus Christ my soul abide in hell doing penance until the day of judgement, that thus the Lord may have mercy on me, and I may not with the wicked behold the face of indignation and wrath.' Then the lad said, with tears: 'Lord, I enjoin upon you for a penance that which your lips have here uttered before the Lord.' And he, consenting with words and looks, received it, and so died. Here let there be recalled to mind the words of that mercy which says: 'In whatsoever hour the sinner shall lament, he shall be saved.'[1] How could this man have lamented and did not? Whether he left undone any of the accessories, we may discuss among ourselves; and may the Lord have mercy on his soul.

15. *Of the Taking of Jerusalem by Saladin*

Just as we know that the years of remission, or jubilee years, are named from the jubilee,[2] as being years of forgiveness and grace, of safety and peace, of exultation and pardon, of praise and joy, so the year of the Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and eighty-seven must be called by us a nubilous year—from *nubilum* [a cloud]—alike for the cloudiness of the weather and for the gloom of misfortune: a year of

timoris et belli, meroris et oneris, blasphemie tristicieque, quem hyemales continue turpauerunt inundaciones a medio Maii donec Septuagesima fieret,[1] que negata nobis annona, fructibus suffocatis, feda quoque germinum noxia et inutilia
f. 12v creauerunt / communemque fecerunt animalium stragemque hominum. Cumque Neptunus semper aut sepe Cybeles inopiam sua copia leuet, clausit a terra misericordie uiscera mare, solitumque sorori negauit impendium. Addidit etiam tanquam oblitus misereri Dominus ad dolorem turpitudinis temporum sterilitatem terre, maris et aëris, spiritum discordie soluit ab inferis, et quem cruce carnis assumpte ligauerat, in orbe toto ludere concessit et pro uoto pessimo Christianis illudere. 'Nondum completam iniquitatem Moab'[2a] ait Dominus, et distulit eam perdere, donec impleretur; sed nostra uidebitur tam completa, tam cumulata fatuitas, ut non tantum in nostra uel in nos irruat iniquitatis ulcio, sed in personam propriam putetur admittere uindictam Sathane uictor eius Dominus Iesus. Nam in eodem infelicitatis anno captam aiunt et captiuatam sanctam ciuitatem Ierusalem[3] a Saladino principe paganorum, pesteque cruenciori depopulatam quam fleuerit Ieremias in Trenis, qui flens ait 'Sacerdotes eius gementes, uirgines eius squalide'.[4] Iam in ea nec sacerdotes gemunt nec uirgines squalide sunt, quia non sunt. Ad modicas uastauerat populum hunc Titus reliquias, ultor iniuriarum Domini, licet inscius;[5] iste totum funditus adnullauit, facta prorsus omnium ibi Christianorum delecione. Sepulcrum et crux Domini preda sunt canum, quorum fames in tantum lassata fuit et sanguine martirum saciata, ut plures ad redempcionem admiserint, non tam cupiditate pecunie uel defectu malicie, quam ignauia relanguentis et fesse rabiei. Non enim deerant colla submissa,

[a] Moab *James;* malo *MS*

[1] Although Map says that the floods were *hyemales*, he also tells us that they ruined the corn and fruit harvests, so that he is evidently describing floods in summer. 'From . . . May to Septuagesima' seems a very long stretch of time in the context, and 'in eodem . . . anno captam aiunt . . . Ierusalem' suggests that this chapter was actually written in 1187 (see p. li). It is possible that Map regarded the year 1187 as ending on 24 Mar. 1188; or it may simply be that 'Septuagesima' is a scribal error for 'Sept(embrem)'.

[2] Cf. Genesis 15: 16.

[3] Taken on 2 Oct. 1187.

[4] Lamentations 1: 4.

fears and fights, of mourning and heaviness, of blasphemy and sadness: fouled by continuous wintry floods from the middle of May to Septuagesima,[1] floods which deprived us of harvest, drowned the fruit, and brought foul and noxious or useless plants to birth, dealing equal havoc among beasts and men. And whereas Neptune always or usually compensates by his abundant yield for the defects of Cybele, (this year) the sea shut up his bowels of mercy from the land and refused his sister his wonted payment. Moreover the Lord, as if he had forgotten to be gracious, added to the misery of the foul weather barrenness of sea, earth and air, and let loose out of hell the spirit of discord, permitting him, whom by the cross of his humanity He had bound, to riot all over the world and mock at Christendom to the full of his wicked will. 'The measure of the iniquity of Moab is not yet full,' saith the Lord:[2] and he put off destroying her till it should be full. Yet our folly must seem so fulfilled, so heaped up, that the punishment of iniquity will fall not on us and ours only, but one may almost suppose that the Lord Jesus, the conqueror of Satan, is allowing his vengeance to touch even himself. For in this same year of calamity they tell us that Jerusalem, the holy city,[3] has been taken and led captive by Saladin, the lord of the paynims, and is laid waste by a fiercer plague than that which Jeremiah bewailed in the Lamentations, where he says with tears, 'Her priests sigh, her virgins are afflicted.'[4] No priests now sigh in her, no virgins are afflicted, because they are not. Titus destroyed this same people down to a small remnant when (though he knew it not), he avenged the wrongs of the Lord;[5] but Saladin has wholly annihilated them and absolutely blotted out every Christian there. The sepulchre and cross of the Lord are the prey of dogs whose hunger has been so glutted and sated with the blood of martyrs that they have admitted many persons to ransom, not so much because they desired the money or lacked the evil will to slay, as because their fury was slackened and worn out. There was no want of necks stretched out;

[5] Josephus as in Eusebius, *vers. Rufin.* iii. 5, 6 (*Eusebius' Werke*, ed. E. Schwartz and T. Mommsen (Leipzig, 1903), ii. 195–211). Cf. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ii. 5 (ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford, 1909), i. 74–9).

sed defecerunt gladii. Redemptis autem non est subsequuta libertas, sed qui se redemerant dati sunt in stipendia militum, facti mercedes et merces eorum. Cum tot illi contribulatissime ciuitati prophete ⟨pre⟩dixerunt ululatus et pestes, clades et mortes, hac uice uidetur Dominus eorum oracula cumulasse. Sepe liberauit eam Dominus, et in omni furoris inpetu non est oblitus eius misereri; at nunc ubi nulla seminaria, nulle reliquie, nichil est residuum, que nunc liberacio, que nunc expectacio, que nunc misericordie spes? Certe Dominus Iesus, licet nemo uideat unde possit aut quomodo rei prorsus perdite subueniri. Nam idem ipse qui surditati fuit auditus, cecitati uisio, putri mortuo uita, nos per inpossibilia multa docuit in nullo desperandum.

Factus est olim uelut inimicus seruo suo Dauid amator eius Dominus, ob numeracionem populi quam fecerat, quasi meritas ei laudes uictoriarum abrogans, et quasi sibi sueque multitudini preliorum ascribens euentus, et per angelum percussorem septuaginta milia trucidauit hominum.[1] Castigacio fuit, non ulcio, que superbiam humiliauit, que non hostium fecit uictoriam, non inimicorum extulit laudem, non ciuium excitauit inuidiam, non uerecundiam lesit, non inflixit dedecus, non residuitatem abstulit; que modum habuit, que direxit regem, que populum pro parte seruauit seminarium; hec patrem sentire dedit non hostem, uirgam non gladium. Non fuit ibi rerum uastacio uel possessionis alienacio, nec est translatum imperium; archa resedit, sacra manserunt residuisque securitas; mortuos numerauerunt, planxerunt, sepelierunt; felici gauisi sunt infelicitatis exitu.

Sed quis huius infinite miserie finis, quia quorum
f. 13 uincula dirrumpi permisit Dominus / effrontes et effrenati demones totum sibi quod honestatis, quod boni, quod Dei, per suos appropriauerunt uel deleuerunt; quod ignominie, quod malicie, quod suum extulerunt, et in summa ibi pace⟨m⟩ stabilissimo sancxerunt obtentu,[2]

[1] Cf. 2 Kings (2 Samuel) 24, esp. 15–16.
[2] The meaning of the Latin is obscure.

rather there were no swords left to smite them. Not that those who were ransomed gained their freedom; no, they were handed over to soldiers in lieu of pay, and became at once their wages and their wares. Many as are the cries of woe, the plagues, disasters, and death which prophets have pronounced against this bitterly afflicted city, this time it seems as if the Lord had fulfilled their oracles to the uttermost. Often has he delivered her, and in every onset of his fury he has not forgotten to be gracious to her: but now, when no seed, no remnant, no relic, is left, what deliverance, what expectation, what hope of mercy can there be? There is, assuredly, the Lord Jesus: though no man can see whence or how help can come to a place which is utterly destroyed. He, the same who was hearing to deafness, sight to blindness, life to the corrupted body, has taught us, by many impossible things, that we must never lose hope.

Long ago the Lord, who loved him, became as it were an enemy to his servant David: it was because of the numbering of the people which he had undertaken, as if refusing to God the due praise for his victories and ascribing the issues of his battles to himself and his host: and by a destroying angel God slew seventy thousand men.[1] That was a chastisement, not a vengeance; it humbled his pride: it did not give victory to an enemy, increase a rival's renown, stir up the people's hatred; it did not wound his honour, or inflict shame upon him: it did not take away the remnant. It was kept within limits, it corrected the king, and spared a part of the people for a seed. In it the father was evident, not the enemy: the rod, not the sword. Then there was no laying waste of property or transference of ownership: the kingdom was not removed, the ark abode in its place, the service continued, the remnant were safe. They numbered their dead, bewailed them and buried them; and they rejoiced at the blessed ending of the calamity.

But what end can there be to the present infinite misery, now that those whose bonds the Lord has allowed to be loosed, these shameless and uncontrolled devils, have by the hands of their ministers either seized or destroyed all that is comely, all that is good, all that is God's, and have set up all that is shameful, all that is wicked, all that is their own: in fine, they established peace there with a pretence of great stability,[2]

sic autem ut iam fiat uoluntas eorum sicut in inferno sic et in terra. Castigati sunt illi, non mortificati, sed isti mortificati, non castigati. Moti sunt hinc multorum pedes, et effusi gressus[1] plurimorum, non attendencium quod non est hic[a] nostra Ierusalem. Nos autem non sic; sed qui futuram inquirimus,[2] quo manifestior nobis est mundi uilitas et maior attricio, magis hinc ad illam properemus, et sit melior ad futura spes et a cura terre liberior.

Equs, bos, camelus et asinus, et quodcunque uegetum est animal, a luto festinat eripi uel a fossa toto resilire conatu; nos autem in luto manebimus infixi? Sanius est ut irracionalium racione regamur, quibus natura melius ordinem dictat quam nobis nostra sapiencia. Fere sapiunt; fere uere, ceruus, aper, dama, capreolus certam habent legem et tempus accubitus et concubitus, soporis et uigilie, uicesque non transgrediuntur positas sibi; ab hostibus cauere nunquam torpent, uestigia circumspectissime ponunt adusque cubilia, quoniam ab eis est indagacio, quasi scientes; si Catonis habeant et tocius consilia senatus cautele sue nichil adicient ad fugam; si dimittuntur diutissime uiuunt, pastus eis unicus folium et herba, natura promptus non arte delicatus; potus aqua, nec raritate cara nec communitate uilis. Hac immutabiliter serie decurrunt tempora fere. Verumptamen que nobiscum habitant animalia mansueta, tanquam a nobis contracto uicio, cum innaturalius uiuant, ut equi, tauri, galline, columbe, uices tamen dierum et noccium obseruant ex natura. Quamuis etiam usu uenerio nostrorumque ciborum appetitu frequenter excedant et indebita concupiscant, nos tamen eorum excedimus excessus. Vnde cum nobis uirtutem abstinencie bruta loquantur, nec sit aliquid oculis ostensum in quo non ostendat Dominus aliquam instruccionis formam, dum[b] assuescimus quod prohibet, quamuis

[a] huic uel hic *MS, the first two words marked for deletion* [b] *MS adds* a' *(? for* autem*)*

[1] Cf. Psalm 72 (73): 2.
[2] Cf. Psalm 1: 4; Hebrews 13: 14.

on condition that their will be done on earth, as it is in hell. Israel of old was chastised, not slain: in our day they are slain, not chastised. Of many, very many, the feet are gone, the treadings have slipped,[1] because they do not reflect that not *here* is our Jerusalem. With us, however, let it not be so; let us who seek for a Jerusalem that *shall* be,[2] make more speed hence to it, the more evidently we see the cheapness of this world, and its decay: and let our hope for the future things be better, and freer from care of earth.

The horse, the ox, the camel, the ass—every beast that has any spirit—strives with all its might to be drawn out of the mire or to leap out of a ditch, and shall we men remain stuck in the mud? It is a more wholesome thing to guide ourselves by the reason of unreasoning creatures, to which nature dictates a better rule of life than our wisdom can devise. Wild creatures *have* wisdom: really wild creatures, the stag, the boar, the hind, the roe, have fixed rules and a fixed time for feeding, for coupling, for sleep and waking, and do not transgress the limits set for them: they never slacken in their vigilance against enemies, they plant their footsteps most carefully right up to their lairs (since it is thence that they are tracked), as if they were rational creatures. Indeed, if they had the craft of Cato and of the whole senate, they could be no more wary than they are in their flight. If left at liberty, they attain a great age: their only food is leaves and grass, prepared by nature, not refined by art: their drink is water, which is not enhanced by rarity nor depreciated by its belonging to all alike. And so the life of the wild beast runs on in an unchangeable course. On the other hand, such domesticated creatures as dwell with us, as for example horses, bulls, poultry, and pigeons, though, as if they had contracted evil habits from our company, they live less naturally, still keep to the dictates of nature in respect of their days and nights; and although they do often exceed in their love affairs and in their greed for the food we use, and lust after things they should not, yet we far exceed their excesses; so, though the brutes preach to us the virtue of temperance, and though there is nothing set before our eyes in which the Lord does not show forth some kind of instruction, yet we, whilst we grow inured to what he forbids, even if we avoid

grandia uitemus, obruimur arena, secundum quod ait Gregorius,[1] transitque multitudo leuium ad conformitatem grauium. Nos autem quos non cessat informare sapiencia preciosa queque clamitans in plateis,[2] incertis inordinatis⟨que⟩ erramus actibus, nostreque saluti tam anime quam corporis obuiam ultro ferimur desipere sapientes in beneplacito carnis, cum sola sit intollerabilior quam femina diues,[3] inutile probans, utile reprobans; que nos cum complicibus suis demonibus et mundo sic infatuauit, ut precepta Christi non teneamus ad uitam eternam, nec aforismos Ypocratis ad temporalem. Vices utrique saluti debitas necligendo transilimus, cumque raro uel nunquam aliquid tempestiue fiat a nobis, merito nos excepisset, qui dicit 'omni rei sub celo tempus et tempora'.[4]

Tres scimus a Domino suscitatos, intus, foris, in tumba: que distichio breui episcopus Cenomannensis Hildebertus[5] exposuit sic:

> Mens mala, mors intus; malus actus, mors foris; usus
> Tumba: puella, puer, Lazarus ista notant.[6]

Suffecerunt due femine mouere Dominum paucis etiam precibus ad suscitacionem quadriduani; tot autem hominum et feminarum milia noui uel ueteris ordinis quem suscitant? Quo nobis elemosinarum, ieiuniorum, precum assiduitas, qua secus pedes Domini cum Maria sedentes, ipsum sollicitare non cessant, ut aiunt? Sed forsan omnem implere iusticiam[7] cupientes in hospitando Christum cum Martha satagunt circa frequens ministerium, ne quid desit dum sola ministrat, et illud
f. 13v unum necessarium accurate / minus quam nobis esset necessarium appetunt. Dum ergo turbantur erga plurima, sicut ait Paulus, quisque pro se, sic per gratiam Dei propria sollicitudine suscitari poterimus, in ipso confidentes non in homine; liberabitque nos ab homine malo bonus homo Christus.[8]

[1] Possibly a reference to *Moralia*, vii. 2, *PL* 75. 768 (so Webb).
[2] Cf. Proverbs 1: 20–1 and the antiphon cited by Ogle, p. 201.
[3] Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* vi, 460.
[4] Cf. Ecclesiastes 3: 1.
[5] Hildebert of Lavardin, the poet, was bishop of Le Mans (1096–1125) and archbishop of Tours (1125–33): P. Von Moos, *Hildebert von Lavardin* (Stuttgart, 1965); F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1953), pp. 265–73.
[6] *PL* 171. 1279 (cf. Luke 8: 55, 7: 15; John 11).
[7] Cf. Matthew 3: 15; and for Mary and Martha, Luke 10: 38 ff.
[8] Cf. Luke 10: 41; Romans 14: 12; Psalms 117 (118): 8, 139: 2 (140: 1).

great faults, are overwhelmed by the sand, as Gregory says,[1] and the accumulation of small faults passes into the habit of grave ones. We whom wisdom ceases not to teach, crying precious counsel in the streets,[2] still wander uncertain and unregulated in our acts, run counter to our own health both of soul and body, and are wise in unwisdom, wise according to the good pleasure of the flesh, which alone is less bearable than a rich woman,[3] approving the useless, disapproving the useful; with her accomplices, the devil and the world, she has made such fools of us, that we neither keep the precepts of Christ for the next life nor the aphorisms of Hippocrates for this; all the prescribed bounds of health and salvation we neglect and overleap; and as we hardly ever do anything at its proper season, an exception might well have been made in our case by him who says, 'For everything under the sun there is a season and a time.'[4]

Three dead persons we know were raised by the Lord: within the house, without the house, in the tomb. Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans,[5] shows the meaning of this in a short distich, thus:

> 'The corpse within the house, the evil mind: the corpse outside, the evil act;
> The tomb, the evil habit: the girl, the youth, Lazarus, signify these three things'.[6]

A few prayers uttered by two women were enough to move the Lord to raise a man four days dead: but so many thousands of men and women, whether they belong to an old order or a new, whom do they avail to raise? What do we gain by all their assiduity in alms, in fasts, in prayers?—with which, sitting at Christ's feet with Mary, as they say, they do not cease to entreat him? Yet perhaps, in their anxiety to fulfil all righteousness[7] they are cumbered, like Martha, about much serving, in their entertaining of Christ, lest anything should be lacking while she waited single-handed, and they seek that one thing needful with less zeal than is needful for us. So then while they are careful about many things, we, each one by himself, as Paul says, shall be able through the grace of God to be raised up at our own entreaty, trusting in him and not in men, and we shall be delivered from the evil man by the good man, even Christ.[8]

xvi. *De origine Carthusiencium*[1]

Gra⟨tia⟩nopolitanus episcopus uiderat in sompnis septem soles ex diuersis partibus in montem qui Cartusia dicitur, in ualle Griseuoldana, conuenire moramque facere. Qui cum inde studeret secum in crastino, multum diuinans et non inueniens, ecce sex clerici uiri magnifici, septimusque cum eis magister eorum Bruno, pecierunt instanter locum illum ut oratorium ibi facerent. Letus igitur episcopus, et uisionis sue felicem uidens exitum, secundum ipsorum racionem eis de proprio cellas et ecclesiam extruxit, et eos cum benediccionibus introduxit. Est autem mons altissimus, et in medio cacuminis profunda uallis et ampla, sterilis et inculta, fontibus tamen habunda. Tresdecim habent cellulas; in una prior, in aliis singulis singuli fratres. Panem eis prior in sabbato ministrat ad totam ebdomadam, legumen et olus; tribus diebus in septimana pane tantum contenti sunt et aqua. Non comedunt carnes nec infirmi; non emunt pisces nec comedunt, nisi dati fuerint eis unde possit omnibus distribui; semper induti cilicio, semper cincti, semper orant aut legunt. Nemo nisi prior cellam utroque pede potest egredi; priori licet pro uisitandis fratribus. Diebus festis in ecclesia conueniunt; missam non cotidie sed certis diebus audiunt. Hii non insidiantur uicinis, non cauillant, non rapiunt; non ingreditur ad eos femina, non egrediuntur ad eas.

Ad peticionem cuiusdam uiri potentis in terminis episcopatus sancti Iohannis de Moriana, propagauit ex se Chartusia domum ad ymaginem suam, que cupiditatis instinctu diabolum sequens, amenitate pascuorum et ubertate notata,

[1] At this point Map starts a survey of the Orders which he resumes at c. 23. The parallels with Giraldus and Nigel de Longchamps (written 1179 × 80) are noted; the most elaborate such survey from this period is in *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry* of *c.*1221; the edition by J. P. Hinnebusch (*Spicilegium Friburgense*, 17, 1972) has very useful bibliographies. For the Carthusians, cf. Nigel de Longchamps, 2227–56 and n.; Giraldus, *Opera*, iv. 248–54; *PL* 153. 761–84 (Guigo, *Life of St. Hugh of Grenoble*); *PL* 189. 943 ff. (Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis*, c. 28). The Carthusian Order was founded by St. Bruno, formerly Master of the Schools at Reims, who gathered a group of hermits round him in the Grésivaudan, as the valley of the Isère above Grenoble is called. The story of the dream of the bishop of Grenoble is not otherwise known; nor can the renegade house in the diocese of Saint-Jean de Maurienne be identified. There is a curious story in the *Magna Vita* (ii. 58–61) of a man from Maurienne who after

16. *Of the Origin of the Carthusians*[1]

The bishop of Grenoble had seen in a dream seven suns meeting from various directions at the mountain called the Chartreuse in the valley of Grésivaudan, and abiding there. He pondered much upon this, and on the morrow, when he was still seeking a solution and not finding it, behold there arrived six clerics—distinguished men—and a seventh with them who was their leader, Bruno: and these earnestly besought the bishop for leave to found an oratory at that very spot. The bishop rejoiced at seeing this happy issue of his vision, and proceeded to build at his own expense cells and a church, according to their own specification; and settled them there with his blessing. The mountain in question is a very high one: in its summit is a deep and spacious valley, which, though barren and uncultivated, abounds in springs of water. The brethren have thirteen cells, one for the prior, and a single brother in each of the others. The prior gives out their bread for the week on the Saturday, and beans and cabbage at the same time: on three days in the week they are content with bread and water only. They eat no meat, even when ill: fish they neither buy nor eat unless they have enough given to them to divide among their whole number: they always wear the hairshirt and girdle, and are always engaged in prayer or reading. None but the prior is permitted to have both feet outside his cell at the same time: the prior is allowed to do this in order that he may visit the brethren. On feast-days they assemble in the church; they do not hear mass every day, but only at stated times. These monks do not plot against their neighbours, nor gossip, nor defraud. No woman may approach them, nor may they go out to receive a woman.

At the request of a certain magnate in the diocese of Saint-Jean de Maurienne, the Chartreuse has engendered another house after its own likeness: but this, impelled by covetousness, has followed the devil. It is famed for the pleasantness and fertility of its pastures; it has greedily

extraordinary military adventures became a Cistercian monk, but paid regular visits to the Chartreuse; some link between these tales is perhaps possible. On the Carthusians, see Knowles, *MO*, pp. 375 ff.; *Magna Vita*, passim. Map returns to the Carthusians at i. 28, below.

censum ex quibuscunque potuit auarissime[a] collegit, et in ardorem auaricie caritate mutata, locuplex pessimi propositi pruritus implere non destitit; inuasit uicinos terminos, aliquid undique uigilanter exculpens tum ui tum furto, quocunque modo rem[1] faciens, quodque uentris[b] potuit modus, potuit et procurauit census. Castigata frequenter a priore Chartusse, deindeque fustigata, non abstitit, sed inpinguata dilatata recalcitrauit. Recessit,[2] et sibi similem matrem domum Cisterciensem aduocauit, que sibi uiscera cupidissime caritatis aperuit, et in iniuriam prioris matris in specialem filiam adoptauit, manuque forti uiolenter obtinet.

xvii. *De origine Grandimontensium*[3]

Grandimontenses a Grandimonte Burgundie principium habuerunt a Stephano, qui statuit eis ut quantum receperint primo locum ad inhabitandum tantum perpetuo nec plus possideant; minorem facere licet, maiorem non. Ibi maneant inclusi. Preceptor eorum presbiter sit, cui nulla dispensacione liceat septum egredi. Nemo solus exeat; nichil extra possessionis habeant; nullum animal intra preter apes, que uicinos non ledunt. Quod eis caritatiue datur comedunt, et quod intus elaborare poterint. Cum defecerint omnino uictualia, tunc duos post unius diei sine cibo ieiunium ad stratam proximam mittunt, qui primo uianti dicant 'Fratres esuriunt.' Si Dominus audierit eos, per illud subsidium pausant; sin autem, illa die sine cibo ieiunant, et in crastino pontifici suo nunciant. Si non ipse subuenerit, ad Dominum clamant,
f. 14 qui non obliuiscitur miseriri.[4] Laici forinsecas / habent curas, clericis interius cum Maria sine sollicitudine seculi sedentibus. Vnde grauis orta sedicio dominum Papam adiit; clerici conabantur foris et intus prefici, laici statuta

[a] auarissime *Webb;* amarissime *MS* [b] uentris *Mynors*; uenter *MS*

[1] Cf. Horace, *Ep.* i. 1. 66. [2] Cf. Deuteronomy 32: 15.

[3] Giraldus, *Opera*, iv. 254–60, similarly follows an account of the Carthusians with the Order of Grandmont, or Grandimontines, cf. Nigel de Longchamps, 2183–226 and nn. They were founded by a noble of the Auvergne called Stephen (Étinne) de Muret *c.*1100, first at Muret, but soon removed to Grandmont. See *Scriptores Ordinis Grandimontensis*, ed. J. Becquet (Turnhout, 1968); Becquet in *Dict. de Spiritualité*, iv (1961), 1504–14; Knowles, *MO*, pp. 203–4. Map returns to Grandmont in i. 26, below, q.v.

[4] Cf. Psalm 76 (77): 10.

got together property from every possible quarter; its charity is changed to burning avarice and, fertile in evil purpose, it has not been slack to satisfy its itching. It has overstepped its neighbours' bounds. It watches to scrape together something from every side, makes gain at all costs[1] by force or fraud; what its belly has room for, its purse can buy, and does buy. Often has the prior of Chartreuse corrected it and subsequently chastised it severely, but it has not desisted: it has waxed fat and kicked, and now has broken away[2] and adopted a mother like to itself in the shape of the house of Cîteaux. She has opened to it the bowels of a most covetous charity, and adopted it as her own daughter, to the prejudice of the former mother, and still keeps it with a strong hand.

17. *Of the Origin of the Order of Grandmont*[3]

The order of Grandmont (from Grandmont in Burgundy) take their beginning from Stephen, who prescribed to them that they might own just so much and no more than they received for an habitation in the first instance. They might diminish the limits, but never exceed them. There they were to remain shut up. Their director was to be a priest, and under no dispensation might he ever go outside the precinct. None of them might go out alone: they might not have any outside property; and, inside, no creature except bees, which do no harm to neighbours. They live on what is given to them in charity, or what they can prepare within doors. When all their provisions are exhausted they fast entirely for one day and then send two of their number to the nearest high road, there to address the first passer-by with the words 'The brethren are an hungered'. If the Lord hearkens to them, by this means of help, they refresh; if not, they fast for that day also, and on the morrow apply to their bishop. If he does not help them, they cry to the Lord who forgetteth not to be gracious.[4] The lay brothers manage all external business, the clerics within sit in Mary's place, freed from all cares of the world. This provision has given rise to a formidable disagreement, on which the lord Pope has been approached. The clerics were anxious to have the first place alike in internal and external business; the lay brothers wished the statutes of

Stephani stare uolebant, et adhuc sub iudice lis est,[1] quia nondum meruit bursa iudicium.

xviii. *De origine Templariorum*[2]

Miles quidam a pago Burgundie, nomine Pagano, Paganus ipse dictus, uenit Ierusalem peregrinus. Hic audito quod ad cisternam equorum extra Ierusalem non longe fierent a paganis irrupciones in Christianos adaquantes ibi, et per eorum insidias frequenter interfici, misertus eorum, zeloque iusticie quantum facultas erat eos defendere conatus est, et frequenter eis in subsidium a latibulis aptis exiliit, multosque confecit ex hostibus; quod ipsi dolentes, cum tot ex suis excubabant ut ipsorum assultibus nemo posset obuiare. Coegerunt ergo deseri cisternam. Paganus autem, nec piger[a] nec uinci facilis, sollicite[b] Deo sibique procurauit auxilium;[3] domum sibi magnam appropriauit intra septa templi Domini quibus potuit modis a canonicis templi regularibus, ibique uili ueste tenuique uictu contentus, omne fecit in sumptus[c] equorum et armorum deuotus impendium; quoscunque potest peregrinos uiros bellicos predicacione, precibus, et omnismodis asciscit, ut ad obsequium ibi Deo prestandum perpetuo dediti perseuerent, aut saltem ad tempus uoueant. Sibi suisque coequitibus secundum arma uel officia signum crucis aut clipei modum ponit distinccione certa; castitatem suis et sobrietatem asserit.

Inter hec eorum inicia, accidit quod quidam ex Christianis miles altissime fame, notusque paganis et pro interfectis ab eo plurimis parentum et amicorum inuisus, fortuitu captus ab eis ad stipitem ducitur. Assunt ibi ex nobilibus multi sagittantes, qui singulos ictus singulis emerant a rege

[a] piger *Winterbottom*; impiger *MS. But cf. Livy 32. 16. 11* 'oppidani primo haud impigre tuebantur moenia' *and E. Löfstedt, Syntactica (Lund, 1965), ii. 215–16 (Holford-Strevens)* [b] *MS adds* de [c] sumptus *Winterbottom;* socios *MS*

[1] Cf. Horace, *Ars poet.* 78.

[2] The Templars were founded by Hugh de Payens, whose name Map has corrupted to Paganus (Payne): he came from Payens on the Seine, near Troyes. The Order was established *c.* 1118, and its rule, drawn up with the assistance of St. Bernard, was confirmed by the pope in 1128. See Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 26 ff.; *NCE* xiii (1967), 992–4 (G. Grosschmid); and for the Hospitallers ibid. vii (1967), 154–8 (L. Butler). Cf. Nigel de Longchamps 2051–68 and nn. The

Stephen to remain unaltered; and the question is still undecided[1] for as yet the purse has not earned a verdict.

18. *Of the Origin of the Templars*[2]

There was a certain knight called Paganus, after a village of Burgundy of the same name, who went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There he was told that at the horse-pool not far outside the city the pagans were in the habit of attacking the Christians who went there for water, and that the latter were often slain by the liers in wait. This excited his pity: in his zeal for righteousness he tried, so far as he had opportunity, to defend them, and often darting out from his concealment at the nick of time to help them, he slew many of the enemy. The Saracens were resentful, and encamped on the spot in such numbers that no one could dream of facing them, so that the reservoir had to be abandoned. But Paganus, who was no coward and was not easily beaten, thought out and procured a means of help for God and for himself.[3] He obtained somehow from the Regular Canons of the Temple that a large hall within the precincts of the Temple of the Lord should be assigned to him, and there, sufficing himself with humble attire and spare diet, he devoted all his expenditure to the cost of horses and arms. By persuasion, prayer and every means in his power, he induced all such pilgrims as were men of arms either to surrender themselves for life to the service of the Lord in that place or at least to devote themselves thereto for a time. He assigns to himself and his fellow-knights according to their rank and office the sign of the cross or the fashion of the shield by way of clear distinction. He prescribes chastity and sobriety to his order.

During these early stages it happened that one of the Christians, a knight of the highest repute, and well known to the paynims, who bore him a grudge for the deaths of many of their kinsmen and friends, was taken captive by them. They led him to the stake. Their nobles flocked to the spot to shoot him: many of them indeed had purchased from their

legend in this chapter perhaps unites the story of Regulus with that of Damon and Phintias.

[3] 'Dr Bradley would read *deditoribus* for *de Deo sibique*, and render: "zealously set to work to devise help for those who had surrendered the reservoir".' M.R.J.

talentis in sanguinis ulcionem effusi ex suis. Astabat ei rex, cupiens eum sibi si negasset confederari, et ad omne uulnus adulans omnimodis eum attemptabat allicere; quem ut tota uidit constancia fortem, adhuc non deiectus a spe solutum reseruari iussit et curari, multoque luctamine diu conatus uotum exequi, defraudatum se dolet. Quia tamen ipsum Dominus pro quo paciebatur graciosum ei fecerat, cupiens eum liberari ab expectacione tam seue ulcionis, puerum ei designauit ex nomine quem Christiani uinctum habebant paganum, pro quo se dimissurum eum spondebat, dominumque suum petebat obsidem pro reditu. Hoc miles pacto Ierusalem petit, edocetque regem suum quod egerit. Rex igitur et clerus et populus laudes Deo solempnes agunt pro receptione tanti coadiutoris. At ut miles accepit puerum decessisse, reditum parat ad diem statutum. Prohibent hoc fieri rex et totum uniuersaliter regnum, et absolutum a patriarcha detinent, missas, elemosinas et quicquid ad huiusmodi redempcionem pertinet, profuse promittentes; et cum sic posset Deo, quantum uidebatur, satisfieri, nil illi satis est, promissumque procurat reditum. Quod ut suis innotuit, ipsum communi consilio secure sed honeste deputant custodie, donec dies reditus elabatur, ut fracta promissione non uideatur ultra teneri ad soluendum. Sustinet ille, uel
f. 14v euadere casu sperans uel aliqua / dispensacione dimitti, donec diem proximum uidet, et tunc desperans in adinuentionem exiit mendacii, spondetque certissime residenciam, dummodo sibi soluantur pollicita. Liber igitur ad omnium exit laudes et gaudia, nocteque sequenti uiam arripit, properatque totis uiribus ne committatur obses amabilis, et pro tempore singulariter et inmense terribilis expectabatur a

king the privilege of shooting an arrow at him for a talent apiece, in order to avenge the blood of their kindred, which he had shed. The king was present, and desiring to make terms with the knight if he would deny his faith, plied him with persuasions at every fresh wound, and strove by all means to entice him: but finding that he held out with the greatest constancy, he did not lose hope, but ordered him to be loosed, respited, and cared for. After repeated struggles and long efforts to attain his object he had to lament his failure. But since the Lord for whom this knight suffered gave him favour in the king's eyes, the latter, anxious to free him from the fear of so cruel a vengeance, propounded to him the name of a paynim youth whom the Christians held captive, and promised to exchange the one for the other, demanding at the same time his master (keeper) as the hostage for his return. On these conditions the knight went to Jerusalem and told his sovereign how he had fared. The king, clergy, and people offered a solemn thanksgiving to God for the recovery of so powerful a champion. But the youth had died, and the knight, learning this, prepared to return (to the Saracens) on the day appointed. The king and the whole of his subjects unanimously forbade this: they had him absolved by the patriarch and forcibly detained, promising without stint masses, alms, and all that is necessary for the expiation of a broken vow. But though, according to all appearance, God might have been satisfied by such means, the knight was not, and went on preparing for his promised return. When his friends became aware of this, they took counsel, and committed him to a secure yet honourable confinement till the day of return should be over, so that, the promise once broken, he might not seem to be bound any more to keep it. He bore with them, hoping for a chance of escape, or for some permission to depart, until he saw the day imminent. Then in despair he had recourse to a lie, and faithfully promised that he would remain if they would keep their promises to him. He emerged therefore free, amid the praises and rejoicings of all: but on the following night he set forth, making all the haste he could lest the master, whom he loved, should be prejudiced. And becoming for the moment a unique and outstanding object of fear he was waited for by

rege suo et ab ultoribus expetebatur. Cumque factus esset rex clam in derisum, ut solent in delicto potentes, ipse causabatur obsidem, et circa uesperam diei et spei suscipit insperatum peditem, ut profugum, multaque festinacione defectum; uix loquitur, et sicut loquitur ueniam exorat quod ipsi uota distulerit. Mirantur omnes et miserentur, et ipse rex fide bona captiui sui placatus per graciam Christi liberum dimisit.

xix. *Quiddam mirabile*

Circa tempus idem, clericus quidam a Sarracenis sagittabatur ut negaret. Quidam autem qui negauerat astans improperabat ei quod stulte crederet, et ad singulos ictus aiebat 'Estne bonum?' Ille nichil contra. Cumque uideret eius constanciam, uno sibi caput amputauit ictu, dicens 'Estne bonum?' Caput autem resectum tamen proprio ore loquens intulit 'Nunc bonum est.'

Hec et his similia primitiuis contigerunt Templaribus, dum Dei caritas et mundi uilitas inerat. Vt autem caritas uiluit et inualuit opulencia, prorsus alias audiuimus, quas et subiciemus, fabulas; at et prius eorum primi[a] a paupertate motus audiantur.

xx. *Item aliud mirabile*[1]

Miles quidam, Hamericus nomine, magni patrimonii, fame modice, petebat exercicium militare, quod torniamentum dicunt. Cumque per nemus altum iter ageret, audiuit ad missam matutinam a longe pulsari campanam, sociisque dissuadentibus et inuitis ut missam audiret properauit, armigeris et armis relictis in comitatu. Heremitas inuenit, missa celebrata redire festinauit ad socios, sperans eos in secundo uel tercio consequi miliario; sed tota die deuius sero reuersus est ad locum misse. Similiter et in crastino. Die tercia conductus ab heremita socios inuenit redeuntes, ipsique

[a] primi] primos *MS*

[1] For this story cf. Ward and Herbert, ii. 662; Stith Thompson, K 3. 2. 1 (cf. Q 20).

his own king and sought for by those who would revenge themselves on him. The Saracen king—now derided behind his back, as princes will be when they make mistakes—himself began to throw the blame on the hostage: but at the twilight, alike of the day and of his hopes, he received him whom he looked not for, on foot, like a runaway, and worn out by the haste he had made. Hardly could he speak, but when he did, and craved pardon for putting off the fulfilment of his promise, all were filled with wonder and sympathy, and the king himself, appeased by the good faith of his prisoner, through the grace of Christ let him go free.

19. *A Wonder*

About that same time a cleric was being shot with arrows by Saracens to make him deny his faith. One who had already abjured was present, and kept taunting him with his folly in believing, and at every shot kept saying, 'How do you like that?' To which the other made no answer. At last seeing him still constant, he smote off his head with a single blow, and the words, 'How do you like *that*?' The severed head, speaking with its own lips, at once replied, '*Now* I like it very well.'

These and others like them were the experiences of the first Templars, when they held God dear and the world cheap. But as soon as that dearness grew cheap and wealth grew strong, we began to hear quite other stories, which we shall add as well. Yet let prior place be given to their beginnings, in the days of their early poverty.

20. *Another Wonder*[1]

A knight named Hameric, of great wealth and small renown, was on his way to the knightly exercise that is called a tournament: and as he journeyed through a deep forest he heard a far-off bell ringing for the morning mass, and, though his fellows dissuaded him and disliked it, he hurried off to hear mass, leaving his squires and arms with the company. He found the hermits, and after mass hastened to rejoin his companions, hoping to catch them up within two or three miles; but lost his way, wandered all day, and returned quite late to the mass-place. The same thing happened on the morrow. On the third day, guided by a hermit, he found his friends on their way

multa leticia congratulantes. Miratur solito maiorem sibi ueneracionem exhiberi; timet yroniam. Familiarem ergo socium uocat in partem; querit quomodo casus eis in torniamento responderit. Intulit ille: 'Bene nobis et manu tua, sed inimicis male, qui tamen hodie reuersi sunt ad nos ut te pro tuorum operum admiracione uiderent, sed ut heri recessimus ad hospicia, nemo nobis de te quicquam certitudinis dicere potuit; asserunt eciam armigeri tui quod armis tuis a te receptis ab oculis eorum euan⟨u⟩isti cum equo tuo. Si uero cupis audire quod de te loquuntur in uia, demissis uultibus audiamus.' A transeuntibus igitur secus eos audierunt Hamerici preconia per singulos et magnas laudes hominis per timiditatem prius infamati. Miratur ipse, nullius meriti conscienciam habens, et uix tandem aduertit quod ei dispensauerat Dominus uicarium, ne gaudere socii sui possent de missa despecta, uel ipse dolere de respecta, deditque se cum omnibus que possederat Deo domuique Templarium, et auxit eos multum, ut dicitur.

Postmodum autem reges et principes opinati sunt pro-
f. 15 positum eorum bonum et uitam / honestam, et interuentu paparum et patriarcharum eos quasi Christianismi defensores honorauerunt, et copiis infinitis onerauerunt. Iam quod placet possunt et quod affectant assequuntur. Nusquam egent nisi Ierosolimis; ibi gladium accipiunt in tutelam Christianismi, quod Petro prohibitum est in defensionem Christi. Petrus ibi didicit pacem querere paciencia; nescio quis hos docuit uim uincere uiolencia. Gladium accipiunt et gladio pereunt.[1] Dicunt tamen 'Omnes leges et omnia iura uim ui repellere permittunt.' At ille legem hanc renuit, qui Petro percuciente legionibus angelorum inperare noluit. Videtur autem quod ipsi partem optimam non elegerunt, cum sub eorum proteccione nostri semper fines in partibus illis artentur et dilatentur hostium; in uerbo Domini conquisierant apostoli, non in ore gladii,

[1] Cf. Matthew 26: 52-3.

back, and they congratulated him most joyfully. He was surprised at the unusual respect shown him, and feared it could not be genuine. So, calling aside an intimate friend, he asked how they had fared at the tournament. 'We did very well,' he answered, 'thanks to your skill, but the other side ill; however, they came back to us to-day to see you because they so much admired what you had done; only, yesterday when we went back to our inn, nobody could give us any sure news of you, and your squires said that as soon as you had given them back your arms, you and your horse vanished out of their sight. But if you care to hear what they are saying of you as they go, let us put down our visors and listen.' So from those who rode beside them they heard, from every one, the praises of Hameric, and the highest eulogies of him who had been previously taxed with want of courage. He himself was amazed, unconscious as he was of having earned praise, and in the end with difficulty realized that the Lord had supplied him with a substitute, lest his fellows should have cause to be glad that they had despised the mass, or he to be sorry that he had not; and he offered himself, with all that he had, to God and to the house of the Templars, and, as it is said, strengthened them mightily.

Later on, kings and princes came to think that the object of the Order was good and its way of life honourable, and by the help of popes and patriarchs honoured them as the defenders of Christendom and loaded them with immense wealth. Now they can do what they will, and attain whatever they aim at. Nowhere save at Jerusalem are they in poverty; there they take the sword to protect Christendom, which Peter was forbidden to take to defend Christ. There Peter was taught to ensue peace by patience: who taught these to overcome force by violence I know not. They take the sword and perish by the sword.[1] But, say they, all laws and all codes permit the repelling of force by force. Yet he renounced that law who, when Peter struck a blow, would not call out the legions of angels. It does seem as if these had not chosen the better part, when we see that under their protection our boundaries in those parts are always being narrowed, and those of our enemies enlarged. It was by the word of the Lord and not the edge of the sword that the Apostles conquered

Dammascum, Alexandriam magnamque mundi partem, quam gladius amisit. Dauid autem ad Goliad egrediens ait: 'Tu uenis ad me cum armis, et ego uenio ad te in nomine Domini, ut uniuersa sciat ecclesia quia non in gladio saluat Dominus.'[1]

Nemo sane mentis ambigit, quin ordinum instituciones de fonte[a] bona semper serie processerunt, humilitate comite, quam quia cupidus omnis abigit, magistram uirtutum abicit, et auaram adigit a uiciorum lacu superbia⟨m⟩. Conati sunt multi cum suis ordinis paupertatem euadere, qua fugata fugit humilitas; princeps adest superbus in diuiciis, quem humilis in paupertate Iesus eiecerat foras. Qui non uenit ad Helyam in uento petras conterente, nec in terremotu, nec in igne, sed in leuis aure sibilo, quem in omni desiderio predictis abiectis expectabat et expetebat Helyas; illa precesserunt, non tamen in illis Dominus; aura successit, in illa Dominus.[2] Nobis in nostris ordinibus aura precedit, in ipsa Dominus; subsecuntur autem in quibus non est Dominus Templares, de quibus hic sermo cepit; quoniam ex officiis suis cari prelatis et regibus habentur et honore precipui, prouide curant ne deficiat unde sublimentur. Si reminiscantur et conuertantur ad Dominum uniuersi fines terre, iuxta prophetam,[3] quid ipsi? Si pax uenerit, quo deueniet gladius? Pacem hoc modo cauisse dicuntur olim.

xxi. *De filio salidompni Babilonie*[4]

Hiis retro non tamen longe diebus Nassaradinus, filius Abecii, solidompni Babilonie, a militibus Templi Domini captus et incarceratus est, uir gentilis at cetera clarissimus, genere, milicia, literis et animi uirtute. Hic cum adhuc domi suus esset, magnam habebat de fide nostra et eorum erroribus disputacionem, uidensque suos ritus nichil habere firmitudinis aut fidei, Christianismi religionem adisset, si non nobilium reuerencia parentum obstitisset. Cumque hoc hiis qui

[a] fonte *Wright;* fone *MS, with* al. fone. i. sono: al. fouea: al. fonte: al. fomite *in marg.*

[1] 1 Kings (1 Samuel) 17: 45–7.
[2] Cf. 3 Kings (1 Kings) 19: 11–12 (cf. Ogle pp. 207–9).
[3] Cf. Psalm 21: 28 (22: 27).
[4] The story is also told (more briefly) by William of Tyre, xviii. 9 s.a. 1155: *PL* 201. 718–19. *Babilonia* was commonly used for Cairo in medieval Latin.

Damascus, Alexandria, and a great part of the world, which the sword has lost. David, when he went out to meet Goliath, said: 'Thou comest to me with weapons, and I come to thee in the name of the Lord, that all the assembly may know that the Lord saveth not by the sword.'[1]

No sane person doubts that the foundations of orders have always flowed from the fountain-head in a good course, while humility walked with them; but whereas every greedy man drives her away, he loses the mistress of all virtues and calls up out of the pit of vices covetous pride. Many have tried, in concert, to get rid of the poverty of their order, and when that is driven off, humility flees too. Then comes that prince, proud in riches, whom Jesus, humble in poverty, cast out, Jesus who came not to Elias in the wind that rent the rocks, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the murmur of the light breeze, for which Elias, putting aside all the aforesaid, waited and sought with all his longing: these things went before, but the Lord was not in them: the breeze followed after, in it was the Lord.[2] For us, in our orders, the breeze comes first, in it is the Lord; the Templars follow after (about whom I began this discourse) in whom the Lord is not. Since, owing to their services, they are held dear by prelates and kings, and are high in honour, they take good care that the means of their exaltation shall not be wanting. If all the ends of the world remember themselves and are turned unto the Lord, as the prophet says,[3] what will these do? If peace comes, what is to become of the sword? Once on a time they are said to have obviated peace in this way.

21. *Of the Son of the Sultan of Cairo*[4]

No very long time ago Nassaradin, son of Abbas, sultan of Cairo, was captured and imprisoned by the knights of the Temple of the Lord: he was a heathen, but otherwise a man most distinguished by race, prowess, letters, and nobility of soul. While he was yet free and at home he held much discussion about our faith and their errors, and perceiving that his own religion had no stability or faith, he would have joined that of Christendom had not his reverence for his noble kindred barred his way. Now when this became known, by his

eum tenebant in uinculis innotesceret ex eius relacione, non modo non crediderunt, sed etiam baptisma petenti surdi facti sunt. Spondebat eis Nassaradinus Babiloniam, urbem scilicet sue natiuitatis, suis uiribus et suo consilio conquirere, dummodo ipsum baptizari permitterent. Illi perdurantes in inclemencia, paruipendunt anime detrimentum, aures ad aliud erectas habentes. Perlatum est ad Babilonios hoc uerbum, et promissorem sue dedicionis familiarem fortissimum agnoscentes, eo magis metuunt, quo sue legi magis aduersantem semper oderunt. Consilium communiter ineunt, ut qui quasi uenum exponitur, quanticunque fiat, ab eis ematur; missisque legatis et precio taxato dolo iusto talenta tradunt cupa aurata, pro multe preciositatis merce, timentesque fortitudinem hominis inuictam / f. 15v ligatum accipiunt ex condicto. Ille per medium ciuitatis Christianum se clamabat, et contra furentum castigaciones et uerbera salutis sue uerba propalare non metuit. Babiloniam igitur perlatus a ciuibus obuiam festiuo gaudio uenientibus soluitur, qui quasi patrie patrem, dominum et defensorem uenerantur, et cum ad ciuitatis medium peruenerint, uoce preconia citati ciues residui adunantur. Eleuato igitur et exaltato concentu communi, Deo suo grates quasi a manibus Christianorum saluati non cessant exsoluere, sperantes eum ad defensionem suam sibi preficere, quia preside carebant. Ille nec blandimento nec pene formidine trahi se patitur, inuocando Patrem Christumque confessus totam simul reddit urbem attonitam. Ciues igitur seorsum a turba multo stupent[a] silencio, multo conflictu scrutantur exitum utrimque[b] consilii. Assunt qui statim de medio facere satagant, et non desunt qui ob reuerenciam persone dignissime censeant reseruandum, ut qui ad tempus desipit aliquando resipiscat. Conuocantur uicini principes, et quid fiat edocti diuersa murmurant. Precipue qui se sperant isto sublato ad defensionem et urbis dominium eligendos, sacrilegum et apostatam crucifigendum aiunt; qui uero

[a] stupent *James;* student *MS*

[b] utrimque *Winterbottom;* utrisque *MS*

telling, to those who held him prisoner, they not only did not believe it, but even turned a deaf ear to him when he asked to be baptized. Nassaradin undertook to gain for them his native city of Cairo by his own strength and strategy, if only they would allow him to be baptized, but they persisted in their hardness, and cared nothing for the loss of his soul, only opening their ears to other matters. News of this was conveyed to them of Cairo, and they, realizing that he who had promised to surrender their city was one of their own bravest, were the more afraid, in proportion as they always hate one who is hostile to their law. They took counsel and agreed that he, who was, so to say, in the market, should be bought by them, never minding the price. They sent ambassadors, fixed a price, and with honest guile paid over the talents in a gilt cup for the ware they prized so much, and, in fear of the unconquered might of the man, arranged to receive him bound. Throughout the streets of the city he proclaimed himself a Christian, and in answer to their fierce chidings and blows feared not to utter the words of his salvation. He was brought to Cairo; the citizens meeting him with haste and joy loosed his bonds, honouring him as the father, lord, defender of their country: when they reached the centre of the city, the rest of the inhabitants were called together by the voice of a herald. Universal praise was lifted to heaven: saved from the hands of the Christians, they could not deny thanks to their God: deprived as they were of a leader, they hoped to place Nassaradin at their head for defence. He would not suffer himself to be diverted by flattery or fear of punishment, but called upon the Father, confessed Christ, and turned the whole city to consternation. The foremost citizens, leaving the crowd, were amazed and silent. Great was the dispute with which they searched for an issue of debate on either hand. Some of those there were for making away with him forthwith, others, in reverence for his noble person, thought he should be kept: he was mad for the time, but would come to his senses sooner or later. Neighbouring rulers were called in: when informed of the facts, they differed in opinion. Those in particular who hoped that, were he out of the way, they would be chosen to defend and rule the city, said that the sacrilegious apostate should be crucified. Those on the

saluti student urbis et indempnitati, supplicandum ei consulcius arbitrantur a conciuibus et cognatis, ut pietate nutricie ciuitatis et amore nobilissime cognacionis a furore desistat, colatque deos patrum suorum. Quod ut omnimodis fiat, nulla potuit supplicacione, ⟨n⟩ullis lacrimis optineri. Ductus igitur ad stipitem alligatur, et in modum nobilissimorum martirum regis Eadmundi et beati Sebastiani sagittis inmissis ad Christum mittitur. Quomodo sit hic ex aqua et Spiritu sancto renatus,[1] liquet satis, quia sanguis liquor est, et omnis liquor ex aqua.

xxii. *De sene Axacessi*[2]

Contigit item quod uir auctoritatis maxime, qui senex uocatur Axasessis, quasi sub axe consessis inperat, qui fuit fons religionis et fidei gentilium, a patriarcha Ierosolimitano peteret librum euangeliorum; quo et eorum interpretem misit. Acceptus est interpres et euangelium affectuose susceptum, missusque uir ex ipsis bonus et magnus, ut a patriarcha sacerdotes et leuitas a quibus baptissmum et fidei sacramenta plene perciperent secum reduceret; quem obiter positis insidiis interfecerunt opidani Templarii, ut aiunt, ne fides euacuaretur[a] infidelium ad pacis unitatem. Sunt enim, ut aiunt, Axasessi primi paganorum infidelitatis et incredencie magistri. Senex autem fraude comperta priorem compescuit freno diaboli deuocionem, siluitque Dominus facere quod spopondisse uidebatur. Patriarcha dolere potuit et rex, ulcisci neuter: patriarcha non potuit quia Roma captiuitatem educit[b] burse et ⟨congregat de⟩[c] cuntis locis, rex non quia minimus eorum digitus maior est illo.[3]

[a] euacuaretur *Winterbottom;* euacueretur *MS* [b] *Perhaps for* reducit *as the Vulgate* [c] congregat de *suggested by James*

[1] Cf. John 3: 5. St. Edmund, king of East Anglia, was killed by the Vikings in 869, and his death was later alleged to be similar to that of St. Sebastian, by a flight of arrows; his shrine at Bury was a major centre of pilgrimage from the 11th century on. For his early legends, see D. Whitelock, 'Fact and fiction in the Legend of St. Edmund', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Inst. of Archaeology*, xxxi (1967-9), 217-33.

[2] 'The Old Man of the Mountain' or sheikh of the Assassins: the story is also told by William of Tyre (xx. 31-2, *PL* 201. 810 ff.) and by Jacques de Vitry (*Hist. Orientalis*, c. 14) (see Hinton, *Notes*, pp. 450-1). Map's etymology for the assassins is fanciful, needless to say: they were a community of Shi'ite Muslims formed in Persia in the late 11th century, who spread into Syria and organized terrorism among Muslims and Christians alike; they took their name from hashish, which they were believed to take before facing danger, and gave their name in turn to 'assassin' and 'assassination'. They exercised considerable influence in the Middle East from *c.* 1090 to the mid-13th century. See B. Lewis, *The Assassins* (London, 1967).

other hand who cared for the safety and preservation of the city thought it wiser that his fellow-citizens and kinsfolk should entreat him to lay by his aversion and worship his fathers' gods out of piety for his mother-town and out of affection for his noble race. Every means to this was employed, but no entreaties or tears could obtain the boon. He was led therefore to the stake, and bound to it, and, like those noble martyrs, King Edmund and blessed Sebastian, was shot with arrows and sent to Christ. In what fashion this man was born again of water and of the Holy Spirit[1] is plain enough. Blood is a liquid, and all liquid comes of water.

22. *Of the Old Man the Assassin*[2]

It also happened that a man of the greatest power called the Old Man the Assassin (as it were, he who rules over those who sit under the pole), who was the fountain-head of the cult and faith of the paynims, applied to the patriarch of Jerusalem for a copy of the Gospels: an interpreter of them was sent him as well. The interpreter was received, and the Gospel welcomed with emotion, and one of their own men, both good and eminent, was sent to bring back from the patriarch priests and deacons from whom they could receive baptism and the sacraments of the faith in completeness. For this man the Templars of the city set an ambush by the way and killed him: lest (it is said) the belief of the infidels should be done away and peace and union reign. For the Assassins, they say, are the prime masters of the infidelity and unbelief of the paynim. The Old Man learned of the guile, and reined in, under the devil's bit, the beginnings of his devotion, and the Lord abstained from accomplishing what he seemed to have undertaken. The patriarch might deplore it, and the king: neither could avenge it. Not the patriarch, because Rome bringeth up the captivity of the purse and gathereth out of all places: nor the king, for their little finger is greater than he.[3]

[3] Cf. Jeremiah 29: 14; 3 Kings (1 Kings), 12: 10.

Iocelinus Saresberiensis episcopus filio suo Reginaldo Batoniensi,[1] per uiolenciam electo, sed ad consecracionem a Cantuariense non admisso plangentique, respondit: 'Stulte, uelox ad papam euola, securus nichil hesitans, ipsique bursa grandi paca bonam alapam, et uacillabit quocunque uolueris.' Iuit ergo; percussit hic, uacillauit ille; cecidit papa, surrexit pontifex; scripsitque statim in Deum menciens in omnium breuium suorum principiis, nam ubi debuisset scribi 'burse gracia', 'Dei gracia' dixit. Quecunque uoluit, fecit.[2]

Sit tamen domina materque nostra Roma baculus in aqua
f. 16 fractus, et absit credere quod uidemus. Similia uero / predictis de dominis Templaribus forte menciuntur multi; queramus ab ipsis et quod audierimus credamus. Quid agant Ierosolimis, nescio; nobiscum satis innocenter habitant.

xxiii. *De origine Hospitalarium*[3]

Hospitalares bonum[a] deuocionis habuere principium, ut peregrinorum redimerent inpotencias. Iniciati sunt humiliter: uidebatur domus eorum speciale caritatis habitaculum, spontaneos admittebant hospites, et iuxta doctrinam discipulorum Domini transeuntes cogere satagebant in hospicium, deposito diu fideles. Nam ipsorum illibata crumena largam eis de proprio faciebant exhibicionem, nichilque deerat infirmorum desideriis, quod ulla posset adipisci sedulitas; conualescentibus totam plene restituebant pecuniam. Hac fama patrimonia sua multi multeque conferebant eis, seque plurimi mancipabant ibi seruire debilibus et infirmis.

Vnde quidam uir nobilis qui ministrare uenerat ministrari solitus,[4] cum cuidam turpiter exulcerato lauaret infirmo pedes, ad feditatem nauseans ipsam unde lauerat eos

[a] bonum *Winterbottom;* bone *MS*

[1] Reginald FitzJocelin was elected bishop of Bath in 1173, and consecrated on 23 June 1174, by the archbishops of Canterbury and Tarentaise, at the pope's orders, after Reginald had visited the papal Curia. He was one of the group of bishops elected in 1173, after Henry II had made his peace with the pope; their consecration was prevented by a dispute between Henry II and his son, the Young King Henry, and the bishops-elect had to go to Rome for confirmation (*Councils and Synods*, i. 958–65). Bishop Reginald's father, Jocelin de Bohun, was bishop of Salisbury 1142–84 (Knowles, *EC*, pp. 17–22, etc.; JS *Letters*, ii. 360–1 n.).

[2] Cf. Psalm 113, pt. 2. (115): 3.

[3] The Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the Hospitallers, were

Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury, made this answer to his son, Reginald of Bath,[1] who had been elected by violence to the see, but was refused consecration by Canterbury, and was complaining: 'Fool, be off quick to the Pope, bold, without a flinch. Give him a good smack with a heavy purse, and he will tumble which way you like.' He went: one smote; the other tumbled. Down fell the Pope, up rose the bishop, and straightway wrote a lie to God at the head of every one of his writs; for where there should have stood 'by the grace of the Purse', he said 'by the grace of God.' Whatsoever he would, that did he.[2]

But yet may our lady and mother Rome be a stick in the water that seems broken, and may we not have to believe what we see! Perhaps many lie when they tell those stories about the lords Templars: let us ask them themselves and believe what we hear. How they behave at Jerusalem I do not know: here with us they live harmlessly enough.

23. *Of the Rise of the Hospitallers*[3]

The Hospitallers had a good beginning to their religion, the aim of succouring the poverty of pilgrims. They entered on their work modestly: their home appeared to be the peculiar abode of charity: they took in guests willingly and, in accordance with the teaching of the Lord's disciples, compelled passers-by to come in to the hospice: long were they faithful to their trust; not trenching on the purse of their guests, they entertained them liberally from their own resources: the sick wanted for nothing that any care could procure them, and on their recovery their money was restored to them in full. On this good report of them many men and women bestowed their patrimonies on the Order, and a large number gave themselves up to wait on the weak and sick in their house.

One nobleman, who, wont to be ministered to, had come to minister,[4] was washing the feet of a patient afflicted with foul sores: sickened at their loathsomeness, he suddenly

organized in imitation of the Templars in the early 12th century; their order received papal confirmation in 1113 (see above, p. 54 n., for references). They became a common theme of satire: cf. John of Salisbury's attack on them: *Letters*, i. no. 91; Giraldus, *Opera*, iv. 205; Nigel de Longchamps, 2069–76 and nn.

[4] Cf. Matthew 20: 28.

aquam inpiger hausit, ut uiscera sua uinceret assuescere quod horrebant.

Hii tenebant in aura leui Dominum,[1] et ut eis creuit ex adeptis peruersa uirtutum nouerca cupiditas, en uentus petras conterens, terremotus et ignis. In illius ignis uirtute dominum papam sanctumque senatum Romane curie pecierunt, et multis aduersus Dominum et aduersus christos eius[2] priuilegiati redierunt iniuriis. In concilio Lateranensi sub Alexandro papa tercio celebrato[3] tota multitudo pontificum quam adegerat papa predictus cum abbatibus et clero uix optinuerunt ipsis eciam presentibus modicum quid satis aduersus eorum priuilegia. Tacuerunt dum affuimus, sed concilio soluto statim aperuit rugas oris sui domina bursa, 'que cum non sit amor, uincit tamen omnia Rome,'[4] factique sumus iterum eis preda, priuilegiis uirtuosius firmatis. Preualent non dicam burse sed uestes, non dicam persone sed uoluntates religionis, nostre uesti clericorum et uoluntati. Crescunt enim semper et nos decrescimus.[5] Altarium uita nobis a Deo primum data, postmodum a patriarchis est exhibita. Non succedimus in hereditate patribus; negociari non licet. Mendicare possumus: hoc pudor aufert, reuerencia uitat; uultus hoc negat uoluntati. Que nobis igitur exibicio, uel unde? cum omnia fere teneant altaria religiosi, uixque sufficiant singula singulis clericis altaria, multoque plures sint ipsi quam ipsa. Cum monasterium sit clericorum carcer, et bonus ille Ieronimus dicat 'Mihi securis ad radicem est posita, nisi defero munus ad altare',[6] mutatis pactis optinuerunt unde uiuamus, et eis ex uictu nostro tributarii fiamus, fitque monasterium carcer monachorum, quo clerici cum monachi uoluerint teneantur, nisi deferant ad altare tributum. Multis nos supplantant artibus et arcent ab ecclesiis.

[1] Cf. 3 Kings (1 Kings) 19: 11–12 (and above, pp. 62–3).

[2] Cf. Psalm 2: 2. The description of the cardinals as the 'senate' of the Roman Church was common at this time: it went back to Peter Damian in the 11th century (see W. Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government* (London, 1955), p. 320 and n.).

[3] i.e. the Third Lateran Council of 1179 (see below, c. 31).

[4] Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 69 ('omnia uincit amor; et nos cedamus amori': *Roma* is *amor* written backwards). Cf. Walther 97–8.

[5] Cf. John 3: 30.

[6] Jerome, *Ep.* 14 (*Lettres*, ed. J. Labourt, Coll. Budé, Paris, 1949–63, i. 41). *Carcer* was commonly used, not only as 'prison', but for a monastic or hermit cell. The appropriation of churches to monasteries was conceived partly, of

drank up the very water in which he had washed them, in order to accustom his stomach to what disgusted it.

These Hospitallers once perceived the Lord in the gentle breeze:[1] but as, by their gains, covetousness, the perverse stepmother of virtues, grew upon them, to them came the wind breaking the rocks, the earthquake and the fire. In the strength of that fire they betook themselves to the lord Pope and the holy senate of the court of Rome, and returned privileged with many injustices against the Lord and against his anointed ones.[2] At the Lateran Council assembled under Pope Alexander III,[3] the whole multitude of bishops, whom that Pope had brought together, with the abbots and clergy, hardly managed to obtain, in presence of the Order, some slight satisfaction as against their privileges. While we were there they held their peace, but as soon as the Council broke up my lady Purse opened her wrinkled mouth—she, 'though she be not love, yet masters all things at Rome'[4]—and again we became a prey unto them, for their privileges were confirmed more strongly than ever. I will not say the purses, but the habits, I will not say the persons, but the wills, of regulars, prevail against the habit and the will of us secular clergy. They increase ever, and we decrease.[5] The livelihood of the altar, given us at first by God, was afterwards continued to us by the patriarchs. We do not succeed to our father's heritage. We may not trade, we can beg. Yet this modesty forbids, reverence avoids: one's blushes deny it to one's will. What support, then, is there for us, and whence? The regulars possess almost all altars: one altar apiece hardly suffices clerics, and there are many more clerics than altars. Whereas the monastery is really the clergy's prison, and the good Jerome says, 'The axe is laid at the root of me, if I bring not my gift to the altar',[6] they have changed the bargain and got hold of means whereby we live, and we have to pay tribute to them out of our livelihood. And now the monastery is the monks' prison, where clerics may be held at the monks' pleasure unless they pay tribute to the altar. Many are the arts by which they supplant and keep us out of the churches.

course, as a measure to improve pastoral care, partly to divert to religious uses surplus wealth, or tithes previously slipping into lay hands; but the jealousy of the secular clergy was natural (see pp. 110–11 n. 4).

Cum milites ad quos iura patronatus pertinent egent, et sibi petunt a Templarium uel Hospitalarium subueniri copiis, respondent: 'Suppetit satis unde uobis subueniamus, sed non licet quicquam de pecunia Templi uel Hospitalis nisi fratribus impertiri; tamen si fraternitatem nostram ingredi uolueris, aliqua domui Domini possesione collata, liberaberis.'[1] Ergo
f. 16v miseri quibus undique tenentur uinculis absolui / cupientes, quia nichil ut putant possident quo possint indempnius carere quam donacionibus ecclesiarum, illas libenter dant ut liberentur. Huiusmodi fallaciis non dicam sed faceciis auertunt simoniam, ne Dominus aduertat unde domus eorum ditantur; militum nepotes et filii, quodque magis iniquum uidetur, multe digne persone sine personatu pereunt.

xxiiii. *De origine Cisterciensium*[2]

Cistersienses egressi sunt ab Anglia, uico qui Scireburna dicitur. Ibi nigro militabant habitu sub abbate districto monachi plurimi; qui cum eis arcius frena teneret, displicere cepit aliquibus, de quorum numero quatuor a fuga non abstinentes Franciam omnis maliciei matrem petunt. Circuierunt, associatis sibi deliciarum sectatoribus, quales Francia precipue semper exibet; et in circuitu suo uictualium tandem tenuitatem incurrunt, penaque penurie castigati, quid agendum sit diu deliberant. Reuerti nolunt, sine questu uiuere nequeunt. Quomodo querant? Quo fit? Placet eis tandem heremum sub pretextu religionis inhabitare, non tamen Pauli uel Hylarionis heremum in desertis Libie uel in inuiis Nigre Montane,[3] non in cauernis et specubus ubi nemo nisi Deus, sed qui deum hominem adorare statuunt, homines cum Deo

[1] On payment for admission to religious orders, which came in this period to be regarded as simony, see J. H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into religious life from 1000 to 1260* (Columbus, 1976), esp., for the Templars, pp. 190–2.

[2] This account has a characteristic element of fiction in it. Cîteaux was founded by an exodus from Molesme (1097–8)—by monks, that is, not hermits; although it is true that Molesme had been founded by hermits, like so many of the new communities of the period, and that the Cistercians were influenced by eremitical ideals, while remaining firmly cenobitical. It is also true that one of the first monks, St. Stephen Harding, later third abbot and perhaps the real founder of the Cistercian way of life, had been a monk at Sherborne. But it can hardly be true that he fled from Sherborne to escape the strictness of the abbot (for Stephen's relation to Sherborne, see C. H. Talbot in *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensis Reformat.*, iii (1936), 66–9; D. Bethell in *Downside Review*, lxxix (1961), 349–50; for the controversies of the 1950s and 1960s on Cistercian origins, see

When knights who own rights of patronage are in need and seek for assistance from the resources of the Templars or Hospitallers, they answer: 'We have, it is true, the means of relieving you, but we are not allowed to give any part of the funds of the Temple, or of the Hospital, to any but brethren. Yet if you will enter the brotherhood, and confer some possession on the house of the Lord, you shall be freed.'[1] The poor creatures, eager to be loosed from the bonds which keep them in on every side, and owning nothing which they can part with more easily, they think, than the advowsons of churches, are glad to give them as the price of their freedom. By such—let me not say frauds, but—pleasantries of law they evade simony, lest the Lord should note how their houses are enriched: the sons and nephews of the knights and, what seems harder, many worthy parsons, go without a parsonage to their dying day.

24. *Of the Origin of the Cistercians*[2]

The Cistercians came forth out of England out of a place named Sherborne, where a large number of monks served in the black habit under a very strict abbot. His hold upon the reins was very tight, too tight for some of them; and four of these, venturing on flight, sought the shores of France, the mother of all mischief. They roamed over the country, where various followers after pleasure (and in such France is especially rich) joined them: in their wanderings at last they encountered a shortage of victual. Stung with the scourge of want, they debated long what they should do. Return they would not, live without aid they could not. How should they find it? What was to be done? Finally they decided to settle in a desert under the garb of the religious life, but their desert was not to be that of Paul or Hilarion in the wastes of Libya, or in the trackless wilds of the Black Mountain;[3] not in dens and caves of the earth, where there is none but God; no, those who resolve to worship man as God must have the

D. Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises* . . . (Edinburgh, 1963, pp. 197–222, conveniently summarized in *MO*, 2nd edn., pp. 752–3). For Map's satires on the Cistercians, see above, pp. xliii–xliv; and cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, iv, esp. pp. 111 ff. (origins), 129–248; Nigel de Longchamps, 957 ff., 2111–2182, and nn.

[3] The Black Mountain is the massif of Old Red Sandstone that forms the western horizon of Map's native country, south-west Herefordshire.

propicios habeant, non tamen proximos. Locum igitur ad habitaculum habilem eligunt; eligunt non inhabitabilem sed inhabitatum, mundum, fecundum, responsalem frugibus, non ineptum seminibus, septum nemoribus, scaturientem fontibus, cornu copie, locum extra mundum in corde mundi, semotum ab hominibus hominum in medio, seculum scire nolentes, a seculo sciri uolentes, ut que 'fugit ad salices et se cupit ante uideri'.[1] Porcionem ergo uilem et despicabilem in medio magni nemoris a diuite quodam optinent, multis innocencie simultatibus, diutissimis[a] precibus, Deo singulis adiecto sillabis. Eruncant igitur et euellunt nemus, et radicitus a stirpe compellunt in planiciem, frutices in fruges, in sata salicta cogunt, uimina redigunt in uites, et ut illis libere uacent occupacionibus, detrahere forsitan aliquid oportet oracionibus. Sedit dudum Maria quasi non miserens laborum Marthe; surgit in hiis ad sollicitudinem Marthe Maria clemencior. Ordines alii media nocte surgunt ad confitendum Domino secundum psalmistam,[2] fessique post horam dormiunt; hii uero sibi forcius et arcius inperantes, post horam ad diem usque uigiliis et oracionibus insistere statuerunt. Verumptamen post aliquantum temporis hoc eis difficile uisum est, et quia turpe fuit mutare decretum, maluerunt horam mutare medie noctis in antelucanum, ut sinaxis una cum nocte finem habeat, ne quid in fraudem legis fiat. Alii surgunt ante luciferum, isti pocius ut

iam lucis orto sidere
Deum precemur[b] supplices,[3]

completis horis et missa coegrediuntur ad laborem.

Placuit hiis quatuor arcior et angustior regula quam beati Basilii uel Benedicti: pelliciis abstinent et lineis et etiam stamineis, laneis absque tinctura contenti, tantoque corde recesserunt a nigris monachis ut contrariam eorum uestibus uestem albam habeant. Monachorum nemo carne uel sanguine uescebatur ante tempora Karoli Magni, qui deuotis

[a] diotissimis *MS* [b] *perhaps* precentur *James*

[1] Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 65. [2] Cf. Psalm 118 (119): 62.
[3] The opening of the famous hymn for Prime. For full text, see *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1886-1922), li. 40-1; for other texts etc., *Initia Carminum Latinorum saec. undec. antiquiorum*, ed. D. Schaller and E. Könsgen (Göttingen, 1977), no. 7500.

favour though not the neighbourhood, of men as well as God. So they choose a proper place to abide in, a place not uninhabitable but inhabited, clean, fertile, responsive to tillage, receptive of crops, embowered in woods, bubbling with springs, a very horn of plenty, a place outside the world in the heart of the world, remote from men in the midst of men, as wishing not to know the world yet to be known of it, as she who 'flies to the willows, hoping to be seen as she flies'.[1] To be short, they obtain from a rich man a valueless and despised plot in the heart of a great wood, by much feigning of innocence and long importunity, putting in God at every other word. The wood is cut down, stubbed up and levelled into a plain, bushes give place to barley, willows to wheat, withies to vines; and it may be that in order to give them full time for these operations, their prayers have to be somewhat shortened. Mary in old time sat still, as if she cared not for Martha's toil: in these men we might see Mary rising, far more indulgent, to aid the anxieties of Martha. Other orders rise at midnight to give thanks unto the Lord (as did the Psalmist),[2] and after the hour are fatigued and sleep again. These are sterner and stricter with themselves, and have ordained that after the hour they will persist in watching and prayer till day. However, after some time the practice appeared too hard for them, and as it was disgraceful to change their rule, they preferred to change the midnight hour into that before dawn, so that their service might end with the night, and the rule suffer no violation. Others rise before the morning star: these, preferring,

Now that the daylight fills the sky
To lift their hearts to God on high,[3]

when the hours and mass are over go out in a body to work.

The four men of whom I spoke decided upon a rule stricter and harder than that of Blessed Basil or of Benedict. Skins they abjure, and linen, and even hemp, contenting themselves with undyed wool; and so wide is the chasm that parts them from the black monks that they wear a habit of white, the direct opposite of the others. No monk ever partook of flesh or blood before the days of Charles the Great, who by urgent

optinuit a Leone papa supplicacionibus usum sanguinis cismontanis monachis, impetrans eis oleum lardinum, quia non haberent laurinum ut transmontani.[1] Licenciam hanc isti non suscipientes antique districcionem semite seruant / f. 17 ut ab esu carnium sint alieni. Porcos tamen ad milia multa nutriunt, bacones inde uendunt, forte non omnes; capita, tibias, pedes nec dant nec uendunt nec eiciunt; quo deueniant, Deus scit. Similiter et de gallinis inter Deum sit et ipsos, quibus habundant maxime.

Ecclesiarum possessiones deuouerunt, et omnimodas iniustas adepciones, labore manuum suarum cum apostolo uiuentes,[2] omni seclusa cupiditate; sed ad tempus. Nescio quid proposuerint, aut in botris promiserint, sed quicquid promiserint, subsecutus est fructus, unde timemus arbores. In omnibus tunc se suppliciter et simpliciter habebant, nichil auide, nichil proprie facientes, nulli negantes eiulatui solacium, nulli facientes quod sibi nollent fieri, nulli malum pro malo reddentes,[3] innocenciam ab infamia seruantes, ut balsamum a luto; eorum cunti laudabant sabata, fierique cupiebant ut illi. Facti sunt igitur in populum multum nimis, et in domos aucti plurimas; nomina uero domorum in se claudunt aliquod diuinitatis oraculum, ut Casa Dei, Vallis Dei, Portus Salutis, Ascende Celum, Mira Vallis, Lucerna, Clara Vallis.[4] Hinc ortus est Barnardus, et lucere cepit inter alios, immo super alios, ut Lucifer inter nocturna sidera, uir eloquencie prompte, qui bigas circumduci per ciuitates

[1] The Rule of St. Benedict (c. 39) forbade the eating of fresh meat; and although relaxation occurred at various times and places, this tale of a specific dispensation in the time of Charlemagne has no known foundation (on English practice, see Knowles, *MO*, pp. 458-60). What Charlemagne undoubtedly obtained from Pope Léo III was an admirable copy of the text of St. Benedict's Rule. Laurel oil seems odd: *oleum laurinum* is indeed mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxiii, 86), but not for cooking. Dr David Howlett suggests 'oil of bay leaves' as a possible interpretation.

[2] Cf. 1 Corinthians, 4: 12.

[3] Cf. Luke 6: 31; 1 Thessalonians 5: 15.

[4] Since the Cistercians looked for sites in the wild, they often gave them entirely new names, and the enchantment of these has caught the fancy of many writers—from Orderic on, who lists 'Domus Dei, Clarauallis, Bonus Mons, et Elemosina' (ed. M. Chibnall, iv. 326). Map's list naturally mingles fact and fancy. *Casa Dei* could be La Chaise-Dieu, but this was a great Benedictine House; Vaudey was a real English Cistercian monastery in Lincolnshire, and *Vallis Dei* the name of other houses; Port Salut was not a seat of the Cistercians, but the Austrian

prayer obtained from Pope Leo the use of fresh meat [lit.: blood] for the monks north of the Alps, and also leave to use animal oil because, unlike those beyond the Alps, they had no laurel oil.[1] This indulgence the Cistercians do not accept, but observe the prohibition of the old path in all its strictness, so that they are wholly strange to the use of flesh. Yet they keep pigs to the number of many thousands, and sell the bacon—though perhaps not quite all of it. The heads, legs, and feet they neither give away, throw away, nor sell. What becomes of them God knows. In like manner it is a question between them and their Maker what they do with their fowls, of which they have great plenty.

They have abjured the ownership of churches, and all manner of unjust acquisitions, living like the apostle by the work of their own hands,[2] to the exclusion of all covetousness. That was for a time. What they may have purposed, or promised in the bud, I know not: but, whatever the promise was, such a fruit has followed as makes us fear the tree. At that time they were all that was simple and submissive: no greed, no self-interest, they were deaf to no cry of distress, did to none as they would not be done by, rendered to none evil for evil,[3] kept their innocence as pure from ill report as nard from mire. Every one praised their sabbaths and would fain be even as they. Thus they grew to be an exceeding great people, and spread into many establishments; and the names of these always contain some hint of the divine, as Godscot, Godsdale (Vaudey), Port Salvation, Scale-heaven, Wondervale (Merevale), Lantern, Brightvale (Clairvaux).[4] From this last rose Bernard, and began to shine among, or rather above, the rest, like Lucifer among the stars of night. A man of ready eloquence he was, and used to have carts driven round through

house of Heilbronn was known as *Fons Salutis*; *Ascende Celum* may have been inspired by *Scala Dei*, L'Escale Dieu in the diocese of Tarbes; Merevale was in Warwickshire; *Lucerna* sounds like Luzern, but may echo the Cistercian *Lucella*, Lützel in Alsace; and the list closes with Bernard's own Clairvaux. For la Chaise-Dieu, which came to have 450 dependencies, see the works of P.-R. Gaussin, esp. *L'abbaye de la Chaise-Dieu* (Paris, 1962); *Le rayonnement de la Chaise-Dieu* (Brioude, 1980). For the Cistercian houses, see the lists of foundations, with early names, in L. Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus* i (Vienna, 1877, repr. Ridgewood, 1964), esp. pp. 94, 184, 27-8, 47, 114, 12, 4; cf. J. E. Lloyd's note to James (1923), p. 42. The Cistercians, in addition, had many names similar to *Casa Dei*—*Curia Dei, Garda Dei, Gratia Dei*, and so forth (see Janauschek, index).

et castella faciebat, quatinus in eis credentes sibi deportaret in claustro. Per uniuersos Gallie fines hic spiritu ferebatur, et que per eum fiebant miracula, Gaufridus Altisiodoro scribebat;[1] ipsi credite.

Aderam in mensa beato Thome tunc archiepiscopo Cantuarie; assidebant ipsi abbates albi duo, multa referentes uiri predicti, Barnardi scilicet, miracula, sumentes exordium inde quod ibi legebatur epistola Barnardi de condempnacione magistri Petri, principis Nominalium, qui plus peccauit in dialetica quam in diuina pagina; nam in hac cum corde suo disseruit, in illa contra cor laborauit, et multos in eosdem labores induxit. Legebatur epistola dompni Barnardi Clareualensis abbatis ad Eugenium papam,[2] qui suus fuerat monachus, quem illius ordinis nemo secutus est ad sedem illam. In epistola continebatur illa, quod magister Petrus instar Golie superbus esset, Ernaldus de Brixa signifer eius, et in hunc modum pessimum plurima. Hinc occasione sumpta laudabant abbates illum Barnardum, et extollebant ad astra. Iohannes ergo Planeta[3] de magistro bono quod nolebat et dolebat audiens, 'Vnum' inquit 'in Monte Pessulano uidi quod multi mirabantur miraculum;' et rogatus ut diceret, ait: 'Illi quem merito predicatis magnifico uiro demoniacus quidam ligatus in Monte Pessulano presentatus est ut sanaret eum. Ipse super asinam magnam sedens imperauit inmundo spiritui, populo qui superuenerat tenente silencium, et ait tandem: "Soluite uinctum, et sinite liberum." Demoniacus autem, cum se dimissum sensit, lapides in ipsum abbatem quocunque potuit misit, instanter fugientem persequens per uicos, donec licuit; etiam et a populo captus in ipsum semper oculos habebat, quia manus tenebantur.' Displicuit autem hoc uerbum archipresuli, et ait Iohanni quasi comminans: 'Heccine sunt miracula tua?' Tum Iohannes: 'Certe

[1] Geoffrey of Auxerre actually wrote bks. iii-v of the *Vita prima* of St. Bernard, including the summary of his miracles in bk. iv, and was part author of the *Miracula* (bk. vi), as well as general editor of the whole enterprise; he also wrote the *Vita* of St. Peter of Tarentaise. Geoffrey had been monk of Clairvaux and Bernard's secretary; he was abbot of Igny and Clairvaux itself for a time; later also of Fossanova and Hautecombe; he died some time later than 1188. See JS *Letters*, ii. 556-8 nn.; J. Leclercq in *Revue Bénédictine*, lxii (1952), 274-91; see below, ii. 3-4. For the *Vita prima*, see *PL* clxxxv, esp. cols. 301-68.

[2] Presumably Bernard's *Ep.* 189 (*Opera S. Bernardi*, viii. 12-16, esp. 14) in which he attacked Abelard and Arnold of Brescia; it was actually addressed to

the towns and castles, in which to carry off his converts to the cloister. Through all the bounds of France was he borne in the spirit, and as for the miracles which were done by his means, why, they were written by Geoffrey of Auxerre:[1] believe ye him.

I was once present at the table of Blessed Thomas [Becket], then archbishop of Canterbury; next to him were sitting two white abbots (Cistercians) who were telling of many wonders done by that man, I mean Bernard—the occasion being that a letter of Bernard's was being read about the condemnation of Master Peter [Abelard], the Prince of the Nominalists, who went further astray in dialectic, by the way, than he did in theology. The latter was the study of his heart; in the other he laboured against the grain, and drew many into the same difficulties. Well, a letter was being read of Dom Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, to Pope Eugenius,[2] who had been a monk of his—and no second monk of that order has followed him in that see. In that letter it was said that Master Peter was as proud as Goliath, and Arnold of Brescia was his standard-bearer, with much more to the same vicious effect. The two abbots seized the occasion to praise Bernard, and extolled him to the stars. So John Planeta,[3] hearing what vexed and pained him said of the good master, remarked: 'I saw a miracle at Montpellier which made many men marvel.' He was asked to relate it, and said he: 'That great man whom you so justly extol had a demoniac, bound, brought to him at Montpellier to be healed, and seated as he was on a great she-ass, he commanded the unclean spirit—the assembled crowd keeping silence—and finally said, "Loose the man and let him go." But the madman, on feeling himself freed, began to throw stones at the abbot as hard as he could, chased him through the streets as long as they let him, and, even when the people caught him, still kept his eyes on Bernard, though his hands were held.' The archbishop was not pleased with the tale, and said threateningly to John: 'These are your miracles, are they?' 'Well,' says John,

Pope Innocent II (1130-43). Eugenius III (1145-53), the former Cistercian monk and disciple of Bernard, was a natural person for Map to cast in the role of recipient.

[3] One of Archbishop Thomas Becket's clerks (cf. *MB*, iii. 59, 131).

miraculum dignum memoria dicebant hoc qui tunc affuerunt, quod omnibus mitis et beniuolus fuit arrepticius, et ypocrite soli molestus, et adhuc id mihi presumpcionis castigacio fuit.'

f. 17v Duo similiter abbates albi de / predicto uiro colloquebantur in presencia Gilleberti Foliot, Londoniensis episcopi, comendantes eum ex uirtute miraculorum. Euolutis autem multis, ait alter: 'Cum uera sint que de Barnardo dicuntur, uidi tamen aliquando quod ipsi gracia miraculorum defuit. Vir quidam marchio Burgundie rogauit eum ut ueniret et sanaret filium eius. Venimus et inuenimus mortuum. Iussit igitur corpus deferri dompnus Barnardus in talamum secretum, et eiectis omnibus incubuit super puerum,[1] et oratione facta surrexit; puer autem non surrexit, iacebat enim mortuus.' Tum ego: 'Monachorum infelicissimus hic fuit. Nunquam enim audiui quod aliquis monachus super puerum incubuisset, quin statim post ipsum surrexisset puer.' Erubuit abbas, et egressi sunt ut riderent plurimi.

Publicatum est autem quod eidem predicto Barnardo post hunc gracie defectum contigerit secundus, et famam eius non secundans. ⟨G⟩ualterus comes Neuernensis[2] in Chartusia decessit, ibique sepultus est. Conuolauit igitur dompnus Barnardus ad sepulcrum illud, et cum diutissime prostratus orasset, orauit eum prior ut pranderet; erat enim hora. Cui Barnardus: 'Non recedam hinc, donec mihi loquatur frater Galterus;' et exclamauit uoce magna dicens: 'Galtere, ueni foras.'[3] Galterus autem, quia non audiuit uocem Iesu, non habuit aures Lazari, et non uenit.

Quia superius Ernaldus de Brixa se nostris intulit sermonibus, dicatur si placet quis fuerit, sicut audiuimus a uiro temporis illius, uiro quidem magnifico multarumque

[1] Cf. Mark 5: 40; 4 King (2 Kings) 4: 34.

[2] 'Walter' must be an error for William II, count of Nevers, who seems to have been a remarkable mixture of piety and violence. In penitence for his sins especially against the abbey of Vézelay, he retired to La Grande Chartreuse *c.* 1147, and died there not long after. There are interesting stories about him in the *Magna Vita* of St. Hugh (i. 32–3; ii. 55–8, where he is called Gerard, but the account of his entry to the Chartreuse at ii. 57 identifies him as William II; on him see also *Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1976), pp. 33–7, 67–8, 419, 423).

[3] Cf. John 11: 43.

'those who were present said it was a very memorable miracle, because the madman was gentle and kind to everyone, and only vicious to humbugs; and it still seems to me that it was a judgement on presumptuousness.'

So also, two white abbots were conversing about Bernard in the presence of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, and commending him on the strength of his miracles. After relating a number of them, one of the abbots said: 'Though these stories of Bernard are true, I did myself see that on occasion the grace of miracles failed him. There was a man living on the borders of Burgundy who asked him to come and heal his son. We went, and found the son dead. Dom Bernard ordered his body to be carried into a private room, turned everyone out, threw himself upon the boy,[1] prayed, and got up again: but the boy did not get up; he lay there dead.' 'Then he was the most unlucky of monks,' said I; 'I have heard before now of a monk throwing himself upon a boy, but always, when the monk got up, the boy promptly got up too.' The abbot went very red, and a lot of people left the room to have a good laugh.

It was a matter of common knowledge that this failure of grace in Bernard was followed by a second which did not add to his reputation. Walter, count of Nevers,[2] died at the Chartreuse, and was buried there. Bernard hastened to the tomb, and after he had lain long upon it in prayer, the Prior begged him to come to dinner, for it was time. 'No,' said Bernard, 'I will not stir hence till my brother Walter speaks to me.' And then he cried with a loud voice: 'Walter, come forth.'[3] But Walter, not hearing the voice of Jesus, had not the ears of Lazarus, and did not come.

Since just now the name of Arnold of Brescia slipped into my talk, let it be told, if you please, who he was, just as I heard it from a contemporary, a man of mark and well

literarum, Roberto de Burneham.[1] Hic Ernaldus[2] ab Eugenio papa post Abaielardum incitatus, indefensus et absens condempnatus est, non ex scripto sed ex predicacione. Secundum sanguinis altitudinem erat Ernaldus nobilis et magnus, secundum literas maximus, secundum religionem primus, nichil sibi uictus aut uestis indulgens nisi quod artissima cogebat necessitas. Circuibat predicans, non que sua sed que Dei sunt querens,[3] et factus est omnibus amabilis et admirabilis. Hic cum Romam uenisset, uenerati sunt Romani doctrinam eius. Peruenit tandem ad curiam, et uidit mensas cardinalium uasis aureis et argenteis honustas et delicias in epulis; coram domino papa reprehendit eos modeste, sed moleste tulerunt, et eiecerunt eum foras. Qui rediens ad urbem, indefesse docere cepit. Conueniebant ad eum ciues, et libenter eum audiebant.[4] Factum est autem, ut audirent de contemptu premiorum et mammone sermonem fecisse cardinalium in aures presente domino papa predictum Ernaldum, et ipsum a cardinalibus eiectum. Congregati sunt ad curiam, et iurgati contra dominum papam et cardinales, dicentes Ernaldum uirum bonum et iustum, et ipsos auaros, iniustos et malos, et qui non essent lux mundi sed fex, et in hunc modum, et uix continuerunt manus. Quo tumultu uix pacificato, missis ad inperatorem legatis, dominus papa denunciauit Ernaldum excommunicatum et hereticum, et non recesserunt nuncii donec ipsum suspendi fecerunt.

[1] Master Robert of Burnham, a friend of Gilbert Foliot, and archdeacon of Buckinghamshire, *c.*1177-*c.*1190 (*GFL*, p. 156 and n.; *Fasti*, iii. 40).

[2] Arnold, formerly abbot of an Augustinian abbey in Brescia, was deposed by Innocent II in 1139, crossed the Alps and became a pupil of Abelard in Paris. He stayed in Paris after Abelard's condemnation and retirement to Cluny, teaching, preaching the virtues of poverty, denouncing the hierarchy of the Church, and in particular the abbot of Clairvaux. St. Bernard had him expelled from France, and after a stay in Zürich, he was eventually allowed to return to Italy, and reconciled to the pope (Eugenius III) in 1146. Soon after, however, he became involved in political troubles in Rome, denounced the pope and cardinals for their manner of life, and was leader of the anti-papal insurgents in the city. He was eventually expelled from Rome in 1155, caught by Frederick Barbarossa on his way to be crowned emperor, condemned by the prefect of Rome, and hanged. See R. B. Brooke, *Coming of the Friars* (London, 1975), pp. 69-71, 146-7; John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pontificalis*, ed. R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1927), pp. lviii-lxx; also

informed, Robert of Burnham.[1] This Arnold[2]—uncited, undefended and in absence—was condemned after Abelard by Pope Eugenius, on the ground not of his writings but of his preachings. In height of descent Arnold was great and noble, in learning supreme, in religion of the first rank, no way indulging himself in food or dress beyond what strictest necessity demanded. He went about preaching, seeking not his own but the things of God,[3] and became loved and admired of all. When he came to Rome the Romans reverenced his teaching. Finally he reached the court and saw the tables of the cardinals loaded with gold and silver plate, and their luxury in feastings. He reproved them in modest terms before the lord Pope, but they took it ill, and cast him out. Returning to the city, he began to teach indefatigably. The citizens flocked to him and heard him gladly.[4] But it came to pass, that they heard how this Arnold had preached a sermon in the ears of the cardinals and in the presence of the lord Pope on the contempt of rewards and of Mammon, and had been cast out by the cardinals, so they gathered together to the court and abused the lord Pope and the cardinals, saying that Arnold was a good and righteous man, and the others were covetous, unrighteous, and bad, not the light of the world but the scum of it, and so forth, and hardly kept their hands off them. The tumult was appeased with difficulty; and the lord Pope sent legates to the Emperor and denounced Arnold as excommunicate and a heretic; and the ambassadors did not leave the court before they had him hanged.

pp. 63 ff., and ed. M. Chibnall (NMT 1956), pp. 62 ff.; A. Fragoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia nelle fonti del secolo XII* (Rome, 1954), esp. pp. 170 ff.; G. W. Greenaway, *Arnold of Brescia* (Cambridge, 1931).

Map's account is telescoped, but not substantially inaccurate. It is clear that Arnold preached sedition as well as poverty; but like many reformers of the 11th and 12th centuries, both orthodox and heretical, his chief message was against the ostentation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the use of wealth by the Church. No doubt Robert of Burnham had visited Rome in Arnold's last years, between 1148 and 1155.

[3] Cf. Philippians 2: 21.

[4] Cf. Mark 6: 20.

XXV. *Incidencia magistri Gauteri Mahap de monachia*[1]

Monachi tam albi quam nigri, sicut nisus alaudam territam,[a] ita predam suam agnoscunt, milites scilicet quos deplumare possunt, qui uel patrimoniorum suorum consumptores sunt uel compediti debitis. Hos alliciunt, et ad camineas suas a strepitu seorsum ab hospitibus caritatis, id est pulicibus,[b]
f. 18 longe, deliciis affluenter exhibent, blandissime / precantur ut frequenter eos uisitent, et huiusmodi sibi spondent apparatus cotidianos et uultus semper hilares; ieiunis ostendunt officinas, quoscunque possunt in eorum conspectu thesauros effundunt monasterii quatinus uideantur, et spem eis excitant; defectus eorum suplere promittunt, ad altaria rapiunt, edocent quibus dicata, quot celebracionibus honerentur assidue; fratres eos in capitulo constituunt et oracionum participes; inde ducunt,[c] ut ait Virgilius,

In tectum si frigus erit, si messis[d] in umbram.[2]

Monachi nigri, qui beatos habent Basilium et Benedictum auctores, nostris habent nouos imitatores temporibus, qui et ordinem profiteantur eundem, et de suo quedam arciora feruenciores adiciant, quos nos uel albos nominamus monachos uel grisos. Nigri habent regulam, quod uilissimos induant sue prouincie pannos, et ex dispensacione pellicias agninas tantum; albi ut qualem ouis gesserit lanam textam habeant, alieni coloris nesciam, et cum de pelliciis nigros derideant, plurimis et suauissimis habundant ad equipollenciam tunicis, que si non a tinctoribus rapiantur, fiant ad regum delicias et principum preciose scarlete. Nigri cum Maria secus pedes Domini uerbum audiunt, nec ad sollicitudinem egredi licet; albi cum ad pedes sedeant, ad laborem exeunt, manibus agriculturam omnimodam excercentes propriis, intra septa mecanici, extra runccatores opiliones negociatores, in singulis officiosissimi; bubulcum non habent uel subulcum nisi ex se, nec ad minimas et uiles custodias

[a] territam *Wright*, turritam *MS* [b] pulicibus *Bradley*; publicibus *MS*
[c] ducunt *James*; dicunt *MS* [d] si messis erit frigus *MS*

[1] M. R. James suggested that this chapter was very likely written as an independent pamphlet, like the Epistle to Rufinus (iv, 3).
[2] *Ecl.*, v. 70 ('ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra').

25. *A Digression of Master Walter Map on Monkery*[1]

Monks both white and black recognize their prey, as the hawk spies the frightened lark, in the shape of knights whom they can pluck—men who have wasted their patrimony or are shackled with debts. These they entice, and at their firesides, remote from noise and apart from those guests of charity, the fleas, entertain them sumptuously, most amiably press them to repeat their visits frequently, promise them similar cheer for every day and faces always smiling. They show them their larders before they have broken their fast; they lay out before them all the treasures of their house in open view, and awaken their hopes; they undertake to supply their needs, then hurry them to the various altars and tell them who is the patron of each, and how many masses are said there every day: they enrol them in the brotherhood in full chapter, and make them sharers of their prayers. Thence they bring them in the words of Virgil

Indoors in winter cold, to shade in summer heat.[2]

The black monks, who have the blessed Basil and Benedict for founders, have acquired in our days certain new imitators who profess the same rule and—more fervent in spirit—add thereto some stricter ordinances of their own. These men we call white or grey monks. The black monks by rule wear the cheapest cloth of their district, and by special dispensation lambskins only. The white monks wear the woven wool just as the sheep did, innocent of any dye, and though they taunt the black monks for their lambskins, they themselves are provided in equally good measure with numbers of comfortable habits, such as would become costly scarlet for the delight of kings and princes if they were not snatched from the dyers' hands. The black monks sit with Mary at the Lord's feet and hear the word, and are not suffered to go out for worldly cares. The white, though they sit at the same feet, go out to work: they practise all manner of tillage with their own hands; inside their precinct they are artisans, outside they are harrowers, herdsmen, merchants, and in each calling most active. They have no neatherd nor swineherd but of their own number. For the basest and most menial cares,

uel opera feminarum, ut lactis et similium, quempiam preter conuersos suos admittunt. Ad omnes operas omnia sunt, unde impleta est terra possessione sua, cumque non debeant ex euangelio cogitare de crastino,[1] tantam habent opum residenciam ex sollicitudine ut cum Noe possint archam ascendere securi, cui nichil spei relictum est extra. Ad unum se habent principium,[2] scilicet abbatem Cisterciensem, cuius potestas est mutare pro uoto quelibet. Cibos quibus ipsi abstinent hospitibus non apponunt, sed nec intra septa paciuntur inferri quod non dant; signum est quod abstinent ut habundent, cum sit auaricie manus altera tenacitas. Boues et aratrum comodata suscipiunt, comodare sua non possunt. Causam suam meliorem facere licet, deteriorem nullatenus; pupilli[3] sunt ⟨inferioribus⟩[a] superioribus supplicant, uicinos molestant, proscribunt superatos, quicquid utilitatem promouet sub aliqua specie uirtutum asciscunt. Si de singulis queras inposturis, racio tam probabiliter presto est, ut arguere possit uidens[b] euangelium falsi. Qui misericorditer eos in partem agri sui uocauerit, uidetur eorum proximus, at expellitur. Non facias alii quod tibi non uis fieri;[4] hoc non timent, et multa in hunc modum.

Soluciones habent singulas ad singula, quas ipsi sciunt; una tamen est uniuersalis ad omnia: ad expediendam uim uel rapinam uel quicquid affert cupiditas, aiunt: 'Spoliamus Egypcios, ditamus Ebreos',[5] tanquam ipsi soli sint quos educat a tenebris Dominus. Breue nimis faciunt regnum Dei, si preter ipsos omnes delirant. Si quorum non meminerunt prophete, nec Dominus Iesus nec apostoli, uiam inuenerunt
f. 18v ab ipsis intactam, aut eam / nobis inuidit Deus aut nesciuit, aut ipsa praua. Attamen seudoprophetas dicit Dominus

[a] inferioribus *Winterbottom* [b] *Perhaps Map wrote* Iudeus, *Mynors*

[1] Cf. 1 Corinthians 9: 22; Psalm 103 (104): 24; Matthew 6: 34 (and Ogle, pp. 212 ff.).

[2] Cf. Porphyry, cited above, p. 2 n. 4.

[3] Or 'in wardship'—this may be an echo of the doctrine of English law that churches were always minors, and had the benefits of being so; cf. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of English Law* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1898), i. 503-4; JS, *Letters*, i, no. 63.

[4] Cf. Matthew 7: 12; Luke 6: 31.

[5] Cf. prayer at the blessing of the Paschal Candle in the Missal 'O vere beata nox, quae expoliauit Aegyptios, ditauit Hebraeos' (cited by Ogle, pp. 217-18); also quoted by Giraldus, *Opera*, iv. 204. The ultimate source is 'spoliauerunt Aegyptios', Exodus 12: 36.

or for women's work, such as milking and so on, they employ no one but their own lay-brethren. They are all things for all work, and so the whole earth is full of their possessions; and though the gospel does not permit them to take thought for the morrow,[1] they have such a reserve of wealth accruing from their care that they could enter the ark in the same spirit of security as Noah, who had nothing left outside to look to. They all bear a certain relation to one principal,[2] the Abbot of Cîteaux, who has power to make any change he pleases. Such victuals as they do not use themselves they do not set before their guests, no, nor allow within their walls anything that they do not give. It is a sign that they abstain in order to abound; for one of the hands of avarice is stinginess. They will accept the loan of a team and plough, but cannot lend their own. They may make their own cause appear the better, never the worse: to the weak they are orphans;[3] to the strong they are suppliants. Their neighbours they wrong. Their vanquished opponents they proscribe. Whatever promotes their interest they appropriate under some pretext of righteousness. Inquire into any one of their frauds, and an answer is ready so plausible that he who sees it might accuse the very gospel of error. The man who has charitably invited them into a part of his estate might seem to be their neighbour; but out he goes. Do not to others as thou wouldst not be done by.[4] Little they care for that or for anything like it.

A different palliation (known to themselves) is ready for every case. But there is one which is universally applicable: In defence of any act of violence or robbery, or whatever covetousness suggests, they say: 'We are spoiling the Egyptians and enriching the Hebrews,'[5] as if they were the only ones whom the Lord is bringing out of darkness. They are making the Kingdom of God somewhat limited, if no one is in the right way but themselves. If neither the prophets (whom they do not remember), nor the Lord Jesus, nor the Apostles found the way but left it untrodden [lit.: untouched by themselves], then God must either have grudged it to us, or not known it, or else it must be wrong. However, the Lord warns us to beware of false prophets

cauendos, qui ueniunt in uestimentis ouium ut hii, intrinsecus sunt lupi rapaces, ut hii stantes in angulis platearum orant, ut hii dilatant philateria, ut hii magnificant fimbrias. Nec dilatat philateria qui conuersatur in celo et ait: 'Mihi absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi';[1] non gloriatur in cruce Christi, qui cruciat alios ut inde glorietur; sed ualde philateria dilatare uidentur, qui se solos dicunt Hebreos et omnes alios Egypcios.

Cum Phariseo[a] dicunt: 'Non sumus ut ceteri hominum,' sed non dicunt: 'Decimas damus omnium que possidemus.' Cum eo dicunt de singulis nobis: 'nec ut iste publicanus,' et nos dicimus: 'Deus propicius esto nobis peccatoribus.'[2] Si superbiam exaudierit Deus et non respex⟨er⟩it humilitatem, ueri sunt Ebrei, nos autem Egipcii; si tamen ueri sunt Israelite, karitatem habent, Dei scilicet dileccionem et proximi; qui[b] persequitur proximum, quomodo caritas Dei est in illo?[3] Bipartita est unitas caritatis, indulsitque homini Deus et homo ut indiuisibiliter utraque parte glorietur, et neutra possit sine altera placere. Nemo est qui non aliquo gaudeat beneficio alicuius hominis; nemo igitur qui non habeat proximum. Quantumcunque igitur longe arceant qui eos susceperunt, eos tamen proximos habent, quos si oderunt, quomodo Deum diligunt?[4] Sed, ut aiunt, diligunt in Domino; diligere autem in Domino diffiniunt uelle salutem anime proximi; corporis omne subsidium excludunt. Sic certe meos omnes inimicos diligo, quia utinam dissoluantur et sint cum Christo.[5] Neminem unquam tam crudeliter odi, quin morienti cunta dimitterem. Inde securus dico: 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris',[6] quia mecum odium cum inimico decedit, et omnia dimitto, ut cupiam eum in sinu Abrahe gloriari. At illi persecuntur et amant. Viscera claudere fratri

[a] Phariseis *MS* [b] qui *James;* si *MS*

[1] Cf. Matthew 7: 15, 6: 5, 23: 5; Galatians, 6: 14.

[2] Cf. Luke, 18: 11–13. The Cistercians had received from Pope Innocent II a privilege of exemption from paying tithes on land they themselves tilled: see G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 246–8, 276–7, 292–4 (esp. for Map, p. 294) on Cistercian tithe-privileges.

[3] Cf. Luke 1: 48; John 1: 47; Romans 13: 10; 1 John 3: 17.

[4] Cf. 1 John 4: 20.

[5] Cf. Philippians 1: 23.

who, like these, come to us in sheep's clothing and within are ravening wolves, who like these pray standing at the corners of the streets, like them make broad their phylacteries, like them enlarge their fringes. He does not make broad his phylacteries whose conversation is in heaven, who says: 'God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.'[1] I do not think he glories in the cross of Christ who crosses [lit.: tortures] others that he may glory himself; but they do seem to me to make broad their phylacteries who call themselves the only Hebrews, and everybody else Egyptians.

With the Pharisee they say: 'We are not as other men are'; they omit to say: 'We give tithes of all that we possess.' With him they say of us others: 'Neither as this publican.' We say: 'God be merciful to us sinners.'[2] Well, if God hearkens to pride and does not regard lowliness, then they are very Hebrews, and we Egyptians. Still, if they are true Israelites they have charity—the love of God and of their neighbour: yet he who persecutes his neighbour, how dwelleth the love of God in him?[3] The unity of charity is twofold, and the God-man has granted to man that he should glory in both parts indivisibly, and that neither part should be acceptable without the other. There is no one, I take it, who does not enjoy benefit from some person: no one therefore who has not a neighbour. So, however far off they keep those who have taken them in, they are still their neighbours: and if they hate them, how do they love God?[4] Oh! they say, they love them in the Lord; and loving them in the Lord they define as wishing for the salvation of the soul of their neighbour—every aid to his body they exclude. Well, after that fashion I am sure I love all my enemies: I desire that they may depart and be with Christ.[5] I never yet hated anyone so bitterly but that I could forgive him everything on his deathbed; and so I can say with a clear conscience: 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.'[6] My hate dies with my enemy, and I so forgive him everything that I wish he may be happy in Abraham's bosom. But these people persecute and love. To shut up the bowels to a brother

[6] Matthew 6: 12. The following sentences have echoes of Luke 16: 23; 1 John 3: 17; Lamentations 1: 1; 1 Corinthians 13: 4 ff.

dum eget, quid est? nonne amplius est afflictum mortificare? Quomodo sedet in rapina caritas, que non agit perperam? Quomodo manet in iactancia que non inflatur? Quomodo sibi alienum appropriat uiolenter, que non querit que sua sunt? Quomodo peculio studet, que non est ambiciosa? Quomodo a patriis arcet auara finibus incolas, que benigna est? Quomodo uicinum non patitur, que paciens est? Si caritatem habent, unde? Minus eam hospitantur, qui spoliatam uirtutibus suis eam introducunt. Si caritatem non habent (ut uidetur, et auertat Deus ne sit), radice uirtutum carent, et arescent ramusculi. Si uero habent (ut utinam), sine benignitate, sine paciencia, precipuis alis suis, penetrare celos non poterit proprio depilata decore, quodque alienum induit cum dedecore reddet, ut reuelentur eius pudenda.

Dicunt: 'Domini est terra, nos soli filii Altissimi, et preter nos non est qui dignus sit eam possidere.' Non dicunt: 'Domine, non sum dignus uocari filius tuus, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum'; non dicunt: 'Non sum dignus procumbens soluere corrigiam calceamentorum';[1] non dicunt quod digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu contumeliam pati, sed omnia possidere. Non dicunt quod sint quibus dignus non est mundus, sed qui digni sunt mundo. Si pacifici sunt, filii Dei sunt; quomodo pacifici, non uideo, quia pax in rapina non est. Si filii Dei sunt, sunt et Excelsi;[a] sunt ergo dii, quia 'Ego dixi, dii estis, et filii Excelsi omnes.' Certe Christianorum dii non sunt, quos infestant, sed gentilium, qui nos soli cum illis persecuntur, postquam Iudei per inpotenciam cessauerunt. Discant ergo a propheta quid sint, qui ait: 'Omnes dii gencium demonia, Dominus autem celos
f. 19 fecit';[2] in illum credimus qui / celos fecit, quia non est Deus uolens iniquitatem. Non est Deus noster sicut deus eorum; noster Deus est Deus Abraham, Deus Ysaac, Deus Iacob, et non est deus recens; at eorum nouus est. Noster dicit:

[a] Excelsi *Bradley;* filii *MS*

[1] Cf. Psalm 23 (24): 1; Luke 6: 35, 15: 21; Matthew 8: 8; Mark 1: 7 (followed by echoes of Acts 5: 41; Hebrews 11: 38; Matthew 5: 9, and Psalm 81 (82): 6).

[2] Psalm 95 (96): 5 (followed by echoes of Psalm 5: 5 (4) and Exodus 3: 6 (etc.)). In the rest of this paragraph, *noster* cites Matthew 10: 37 ff.; Luke 3: 11; Psalm 40: 2 (41: 1); Luke 21: 34; Matthew 6: 24 ('quasi uiator egestas' is from Proverbs 6: 11).

in need, what is it? Is it not further to humiliate the afflicted? How doth charity sit in robbery, she who doth no wrong? How abideth she in boasting, who is not puffed up? How doth she take with violence another's goods, who seeketh not her own? How thinketh she of gain, who is not covetous? How doth she greedily keep men out of the heritage of their fathers, who is kind? How suffereth she no neighbour, who is patient? If they have charity, whence is it? They entertain her poorly who bring her in stripped of all her virtues. If they have not charity (as I rather think, and God forbid it be so), then they lack the root of all virtues and their branches will wither. If, again, they have her (as would that they had!), without her kindness or patience, which are her principal wings, she will never get as far as heaven, despoiled of her right ornaments, and any extraneous garb she may have put on she will have to restore with shame, so that her nakedness will be revealed.

They say: 'The earth is the Lord's, and we, we only are the sons of the Most High, and besides us there is none worthy to possess it'; they do not say: 'Lord, I am not worthy to be called thy son, not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof,' nor: 'I am not worthy to bow down and unloose the latchet of thy shoes.'[1] They do not say that they have been accounted worthy for the name of Jesus to suffer reproach, but rather to possess all things; not that they are those of whom the world is not worthy, but who are worthy of the world. If they be peacemakers, they are the sons of God; but are they? I don't see it: there is no peace in robbery. If they are the sons of God, they are also sons of the Most High: *ergo* they are gods, for 'I said, Ye are gods, and ye are all the children of the Most Highest.' Anyhow they are not gods of the Christians, whom they persecute, but of the heathen, the only people beside them who persecute us, now that the Jews have desisted through weakness. In that case let them learn what they are from the prophet who says: 'As for all the gods of the heathen, they are devils; but it is the Lord Who made the heavens.'[2] *We* believe in him who made the heavens, that he is not a God that willeth iniquity. Our God is not as their god; our God is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and no new god; but indeed theirs is a new one. Our God

'Qui non reliquerit omnia propter me, non est me dignus'; deus eorum dicit: 'Qui non adquisierit omnia propter se, non est me dignus.' Noster dicit: 'Qui habet duas tunicas det non habenti'; deus eorum: 'Si non habes duas tunicas, aufer habenti.' Noster: 'Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem'; eorum: 'Beatus qui fecerit egenum et pauperem.' Noster ait: 'Attendite[a] ne grauentur corda uestra curis huius seculi, ne superueniat in uos repentinus dies'; eorum dicit: 'Attendite ne ⟨non⟩[b] grauentur marsupia uestra per curas huius seculi, ne superueniat in uos quasi uiator egestas.' Noster dicit: 'Nemo potest seruire Deo et mammone;' eorum dicit: 'Nemo potest seruire Deo sine mammona.'

Multa uidetur inter eos controuersia huiusmodi quam nemo potest exequi. Habent in preceptis ut loca deserta incolant, que scilicet uel inuenerint talia uel fecerint; unde fit ut in quamcunque partem uocaueris eos, hominum frequenciam sequantur, et eam in breui potenter in solitudinem redigant; et

si non recte, faciunt quocumque modo rem,[1]

et a non iusto domino contra quamlibet reclamacionem orphanorum, uiduarum, religiosorum, datos agros gratanter ingrediuntur, non quomodo eos adipiscantur sed quomodo retinere ualeant solliciti; et quia parrochianos regere non habent secundum regulam, eradicant uillas, ecclesias parrochianos eiciunt euertunt, altaria deicere non abhorrent et ad uiam uomeris omnia complanare, ut si uideas que uideras, dicere possis

Nunc seges est ubi Troia fuit.[2]

Et, ut soli sint, solitudinem faciunt, et, cum non liceat eis proprios habere parochianos, licet eis alienos disperdere; seruare non permittit regula, destruere precipit. Omnis inuasor aliquo modo miseretur et parcit; aut enim sibi detinet

[a] attendite *follows* uestra *MS* [b] non *add. James*

[1] Horace, *Ep.*, i. 1. 66: 'si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo rem'; cf. above, pp. 52–3, and below, pp. 510–11; also cited by Giraldus, *Opera*, iv. 227.

[2] Ovid, *Her.*, i. 53 (for 'solitudinem faciunt' M.R.J. cited Tacitus, *Agr.*, 30; but a direct echo is most unlikely). The extent of the depopulation caused by the English Cistercians, especially in Yorkshire—which was more considerable than

says: 'Whoso leaveth not all things for my sake is not worthy of me.' Theirs says: 'Whoso gaineth not all things for his own sake, is not worthy of me.' Says ours: 'He that hath two coats, let him give to him that hath none.' Says theirs: 'If you have not two coats, take from him that hath.' Says ours: 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy.' Says theirs: 'Blessed is he that maketh any poor and needy.' Says ours: 'Take heed lest your hearts be weighed down with the cares of this world, and that day come upon you unawares.' Says theirs: 'Take heed lest your purses be not weighed down through caring for this world, lest poverty come upon you as a robber.' Says ours: 'No man can serve God and Mammon.' Says theirs: 'No man can serve God without Mammon.'

And there seems generally to be a good deal of this sort of contradiction among them, more than anyone can follow out in full. It is prescribed to them that they are to dwell in desert places, and desert places they do assuredly either find or make; so that to whatever region you invite them they follow the hum of men and soon reduce it by main force to a solitude, and

though not rightly, yet somehow make gain.[1]

How gratefully do they enter upon lands that are given them by someone who is not the true owner, in defiance of any and every protest of orphans, widows, or men of religion, caring not so much how they get them as how they may keep them. And because their rule does not allow them to govern parishioners, they proceed to raze villages, they overthrow churches, and turn out parishioners, not scrupling to cast down the altars and level everything before the ploughshare, so that if you looked on a place that you knew previously you could say,

and grass now grows where Troy town stood.[2]

As I say, they make a solitude that they may be solitaries; and not being allowed to have parishioners of their own, they take leave to disperse those of others: the Rule says they must not keep them, therefore it bids destroy them. Every other invader has some pity, and spares something: either he

has usually been supposed—has been studied by R. A. Donkin, *BIHR* xxxiii (1960), 141–65.

quod inuadit et seruat, aut spoliatum relinquid ad aliquam incolarum spem redeuncium; isti sollicite procurant ne umquam reuertantur. Si seuissimus ignem immiserit predo, ferrum extat et maceria et recurrentibus arua; quod caumate perit, quod inuoluit eluuio, quod aer corr⟨um⟩pit, aliquos dominis conseruat usus; sola huius religionis nichil linquit incursio. Si obtinuerit rex a rege uel dolo uel bello regnum, quantumcunque tyrannus sit, coloni resident, non facit exterminium, patriis licet in finibus aliqua frui leticia, mortemque tyranni uel aliam ab affliccione redempcionem intra terminos prestolari possunt longanimes a Deo; quos horum apprehendit inuasio, exilium sibi sciant imminere perpetuum. Alias aliqui certis ex causis deportantur, hii sine causa proscribunt omnes, unde fit ut ex ualitudine uel senectute debiles defectu uictualium eo cicius labantur quo eis fulcimenti minus relinquitur; deseruntur enim, et quocunque uocat esca ieiunos parentibus et uicinis relictis passim secuntur qui possunt, in omne precipicium irruunt, nec ullum mortis incursum metuit famis angustia. Quidam in rapinis, quidam in furtis aduncantur, et quoniam ab erumpnis desperant eripi, spreta uita paruipendunt quicquid inflixeris, et mortem ultro prouocant in iugulum, quod eos in omnes diu detrusit iniurias, lucemque libenter exuunt quam tanta[a] fecit amaris penis pessimam penuria. Quam enormis, quam seua, quam diabolica pestis inedia! quam
f. 19v crudelis, / quam abhominabilis, quam detestabilis[b] districcio! que sine causa Christianos in hunc inducit carcerem. Dacianus[1] et Nero dispensant micius, et quantum breuitas passionis cicius euaditur quam diuturna pressurarum agmina, tantum eorum uidetur misericordior austeritas quam que facit inopiam, que nichil uerecundie retinet, nichil habet uirtutis, que sceleribus horret, squalida uiciis est, semper in Deum irreuerens, in omne decus infrunita crudescit; que galeas piratis instruit, furibus fedat urbes, lucos armat

[a] tanta *(or* tot*) Brooke;* tota *MS*

[b] detestibilis *MS;* al. detestabilis *in marg.*

[1] The Roman governor under whom St. Vincent was said to have been martyred. See *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, Jan. ii (1643), 394 ff.

keeps for himself what he invades, and so preserves it, or after harrying it he leaves it with some for the inhabitants when they return. These take every precaution that there should be no return. If the fiercest of marauders fires the place, still iron and walls remain, the soil is left for those who come back. What perishes in the blaze, what the flood sweeps into confusion, what the air blights, may yet be of some profit to its owners: an invasion of this Order (and that alone) leaves absolutely nothing. Does one king seize a kingdom from another by fraud or in battle, tyrannical as he may be, the farmers are left. He does not make a full end; some little prosperity may yet be enjoyed in one's native borders; and men may patiently in their own homes await at God's hand the despot's death, or some other deliverance from trouble. Those upon whom comes an invasion of Cistercians may be sure that they are doomed to a lasting exile. In other cases part of the population are deported for definite reasons. These without any cause proscribe the whole, and they who are weakened by sickness or age succumb the sooner from lack of food, because less support is left to them. They are left destitute; and whithersoever the prospect of food calls the hungry men, they leave their relations and neighbours; all who can follow rushing to any precipice, for pinching hunger fears no attack of death. Some are hooked into robbery or theft, and despairing of an end to their misery, spurn life, care nothing for any punishment—nay, challenge death to attack their throats, since it has long thrust them down into every kind of crime, and are glad to be done with the light which has been hopelessly embittered by the pangs of want. How monstrous, how fierce, how devilish a scourge is hunger! How cruel an affliction, how abominable, how detestable is the oppression which causelessly brings Christian folk into that dungeon! Even Dacian[1] and Nero dealt more kindly. And as a short agony is more quickly passed through than a long pressure of troubles, so their cruelty appears kinder than that which brings on poverty. Poverty which retains no shade of self-respect, has no virtue, bristles with crime, is foul with vices, has no reverence for God, rages implacably against all that is honourable: (poverty) which fills galleys with pirates, defiles towns with thieves, arms

latronibus, mutat agnas in lupas, in lupanar cogit a talamis; que cum in ipsa omnia sint reperta suppliciorum genera, plures habet iniurias quam ulciones iusticia, plures offensas quam illa fulmina, plura signa quam illa sagittas.[1] Deus bone! quomodo filii tui sunt, qui gignunt hanc in filiabus tuis et filiis lucis?

Possessiones patrimonia monasteriorum ecclesiarum, ab eterno fere possessa et iuste obtenta, dirripiunt; suum dicunt proprium, cum eis debeant esse cum omnibus Christianis omnia communia.[2] Romam inde laudant auctricem, cui largi fuerunt, ut priuilegium referrent auaricie; iunior fui, etenim senui, et non uidi pauperem referre priuilegium nec semen eius contra ius commune singulariter inpetrare, quia in quorum manibus iniquitates sunt, dextera eorum repleta est muneribus, et quia

si nichil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras.[3]

Dominum aiunt omnium ecclesiarum papam, et ipsi licere ut euellat et destruat, edificet et plantet; iustos autem se ab ipso rapine possessores asserunt. Hanc alias, si racio est, uidi racionem. Negabant principes Lemouicis domino suo Anglorum regi iustas pensiones et seruicia debita. Rex autem exercitum induxit, omnia uastari iubens.[4] Parcebant aliqui ex caritate pauperibus; alii uero quibus placebat iniquitas depredabant omnia, dicentes: 'Non est rapina, non est uiolencia, pax est et obediencia quod facimus. Domini regis est terra, nos eius operarii; merces nostra est hec. Indigni sunt hii qui regi contradicunt iniuste, nos autem digni, qui preceptis eius insudamus.' Nunquid non hec eorum uox qui decimas auferunt, qui se dicunt Hebreos, nos autem Egipcios, se filios lucis, nos tenebrarum? Nos certe flendo confitemur nos omnibus indignos bonis, et scientes quia magister noster in publicanis et peccatoribus manducat, et

[1] Cf. Lamentations 3: 12.
[2] Cf. Acts 2: 44 (followed by echoes of Psalm 36: 25, 25: 10).
[3] Ovid, *Ars. Am.*, ii. 280 (followed by echo of Jeremiah 1: 10). For this passage, see Constable, *Monastic Tithes* (cited above, p. 88, n. 2).
[4] This probably refers to incidents in the rebellion of 1173–4 and its aftermath: Henry II led an army into the Limousin to deal with those who had opposed him in the rebellion in Oct.–Nov. 1177 (*Gesta Henrici II*, i. 196; Eyton, p. 221). But it may belong to 1173 itself, when Map was certainly in attendance

forests with robbers, changes lambs to she-wolves, drives women from the marriage-bed to the brothel: which, containing in itself every form of torment, has more injustices than justice owns penalties, more offences than she has bolts, more targets than she has arrows.[1] Kind God! how can these be thy sons who bring such want to birth in thy daughters and in the sons of light?

The possessions and patrimonies of monasteries and churches, owned by them almost from the beginning and justly acquired, the Cistercians seize and declare to be their own property, whereas to them all things ought to be in common with all Christians.[2] They allege the sanction of Rome, to whom they were lavish in order to bring home in return a privilege for covetousness. I have been young and now am old, and yet saw I never a poor man bring back a privilege, nor his seed obtain a special exemption contrary to the common law, because they in whose hands is unrighteousness have their right hand full of gifts, and because

if you bring nothing in hand, Homer, then out you will go.[3]

The Pope, say they, is lord of all churches and has power to root out and to destroy, to build and to plant; and they have been made by him the rightful owners of their prey. Well, if this is the excuse, I have seen it elsewhere. The nobles of Limoges refused their lord the King of England their due payments and services; and the King brought in a force and bade them ravage the whole territory.[4] Some out of charity were for sparing the poor, but others, who took pleasure in unrighteousness, harried everything. 'This is no robbery nor violence', said they; 'what we are doing is peace and obedience; the land is our lord the King's; we are his labourers; this is our wages; those who oppose the King so unjustly are unworthy, we who toil to fulfil his orders are worthy.' Now, is not this the voice of them that take away tithes, that call themselves Hebrews and us Egyptians, themselves the children of light, us the children of darkness? We must indeed confess with tears that we are unworthy of any good thing, but we know that our Master eateth with publicans and sinners, and

on Henry II at Limoges (below, Dist. ii, 3). This seems more probable than 1183, as suggested by Hinton (1917), p. 102, q.v. for refs., esp. to *Gesta Henrici II*, i. 302–3.

non uenit uocare iustos sed peccatores,[1] penitemus, et ueniam ab ipso precamur. Cum ergo non liceat ethnicis inferre uiolenciam, uel eciam ad fidem cogere, quomodo quos Deus suscipit spernendi sunt et spoliandi? Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus noster non despicit, qui et sua gracia dicit: 'Gaudium est super uno peccatore penitenciam agente quam super nonaginta nouem iustos qui non indigent penitencia.'[2] Deus noster peccatores uocat et recipit, isti contempnunt et eiciunt;[3] ille qui ad ipsum uenit non eicit foras, isti uenientes auertunt. De istis ait Veritas: 'A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos;' audiamus fructus eorum bonos.

Primum pauperibus habent manus apertas, at parce: dispergunt quidem et dant,[4] sed non reficiunt, quia singuli modicum quid accipiunt, et cum neque secundum suam ditent habundanciam neque secundum pauperum indigenciam, sinistra dare uidentur, non dextra.[5] Sed tamen ut omnia uere, nichil sophistice faciant, nullatenus equabunt Domino quod abstulerunt, quod uel nullus est uel pauci
f. 20 sunt eorum conuentus, qui non / plures fecerint egenos quam exhibeant. Hospitales inuicem, id est inter se,[a] sine murmure possunt esse, sed non nobis, Domine Deus noster, non nobis.[6] His quos timore potestatis uel emungendos suscipiunt, toto splendore popine propiciantur, tota uultus et uerborum adest leticia; ipsis eorum tam benigne, tam misericorditer apertus est sinus, tam simpliciter, tam ydiotice cunta profusa, credas angelos esse non homines, et in abcessu tuo miraberis[b] laudes eorum. Nos autem Egipcii et uagi, qui pro Deo solo suscipimur, nichil nisi caritatem allegantes, illuc ultra non reuertimur, dum alias alique patuerint porte uel burse, que[c] respondere possi⟨n⟩t.[d] Post ymnos uespertinos neminem nostrum aut uocant aut trahunt aut hospicium

[a] id . . . se *is very likely a gloss, Winterbottom suggested* narrabis; *cf. Ecclesiasticus 44: 8:* narrandi laudes eorum [b] miraberis] *James Mynors;* quid *MS* [c] que [d] possint *Mynors;* possit *MS*

[1] Cf. Matthew 9: 11; Luke 5: 32.
[2] Cf. Psalm 50: 19 (51: 17); Luke 15: 7.
[3] Cf. John 6: 37 (followed by an echo of Matthew 7: 16).
[4] Cf. Psalm 111 (112): 9.

is not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance;[1] and so we repent and pray to Him for pardon. And now, since it is forbidden to do violence to the heathen, and even to compel them into the faith, how can it be right to spurn and spoil those whom God accepts? A broken and contrite heart our God does not despise. It is he who says of his grace that 'there is more joy over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance'.[2] It is thus that he calls and receives sinners; these others despise them and put them out.[3] Him that cometh unto him, he casteth not out; these turn away those who come. Of them spake the Truth: 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' Let us now hear of some of their good fruits.

First, they have their hands open to the poor: but very little open. They disperse abroad and give;[4] but they do not refresh. Every man receives a little; and since they give neither in proportion to their own abundance nor to the need of the poor, it would seem that they give with their left hand, not their right.[5] But indeed, even if they did all this straightforwardly, without any glozing, their gifts in the sight of the Lord would never equal their thefts. There is no house of theirs, or at least there are very few, which have not made more paupers than they sustain. Hospitable they may be to one another—that is, among themselves—without grudging; but 'not unto us, O Lord our God, not unto us!'[6] Those whom they receive from fear of their power or with intent to fleece them they propitiate with all the brilliancy of the restaurant. There is no end to the gaiety of face and speech: their purse is opened with such kindness and sympathy, their stores are poured forth with such freedom and simplicity that you would think them angels, not men, and when you leave them you will be lost in wonder and praise. But we, poor wandering Egyptians, who are taken in for God's sake only, and have no plea to urge but charity, we return not thither so long as anywhere else a door stands open, or a purse which can supply us. After the vesper hymns none of us is invited, or dragged in, no, nor allowed to enter the hostelry,

[5] Left-handedness was a symbol of vice (cf. JS, *Letters*, i, no. 118, n. 3).
[6] Cf. 1 Peter 4: 9; Psalm 113, pt. 2 (115): 1. 'Id est inter se' may be a gloss on 'inuicem'.

paciuntur ingredi, cum post longas dietas magis eo tempore quies optetur et refeccio, sitque repulsa molestior.

De uestibus eorum et cibo et labore diuturno dicunt, quibus ipsi boni sunt, quia nichil eis mali facere possunt, quod uestes non sufficiunt ad frigus nec cibus ad esuriem, labor autem immensus; et inde michi faciunt argumentum quod cupidi non sunt, quia sibi ad nullas delicias acquisita perueniunt. O quam facilis ad hoc responsio! Feneratores et quicunque auaricie deseruiunt, nonne parcissime se uestiunt et uiliter exibent? Et thesauris incumbunt morientes auari; non congregant ut delicientur sed delectentur, non ut utantur sed conseruent. Si de labore, de frigore, de cibo contendas, Walenses in omnibus hiis grauius affliguntur; isti multas habent tunicas, illi nullam; isti pellicias non habent, nec illi; isti non utuntur lino, nec illi lana, preterquam in curtis palliolis et simplicibus; isti calceos habent et caligas, illi nudis pedibus et tibiis incedunt; isti non uescuntur carne, nec illi pane;[1] isti dant elemosinam, illi non habent cui dent;[2] cum sint apud eos cibi communes, nemo inter eos cibum petit, sed sine prohibicione sumit; illi tamen inuerecundius et manifestiore ui captiuant et interficiunt homines quam isti; illi semper in tabernaculis sunt aut sub diuo, isti domibus eburneis delectantur.[3]

Et in hac districcione uestium de femoralibus admirandum duco, quod eis uti oportet in altaris obsequio, et cum inde recesserint deponuntur. Sacrarum uestium hec est dignitas; hec autem sacra non est, nec inter sacerdotalia uel leuitica computatur, aut benedicitur; typica uero est et pudenda contegit, uenerisque secreta signare uidetur et castigare ne prodeant. Cur ab illis a⟨b⟩stinendum sit quidam michi racionem dedit, ut scilicet circa loca illa frigeant, ne prosiliat ardor uel fiat impetus in incestum. Absit hoc! et

[1] Wykes, in his account of the campaign of Earl Simon in 1265, says that the co-operation of Welsh and English troops was much impeded by the fact that the latter could not, like their Welsh allies, live on meat and milk; they wanted bread, which was not to be obtained. J.E.L. (see *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS, iv. 168).

[2] So Giraldus Cambrensis says (*Opera*, vi. 182): 'Among this folk there are no beggars, for the houses of all are open to every one.' The starving man who stole food, after passing through three *trefs* without obtaining relief, was declared guiltless under a law which will be found in the Demetian Code. J.E.L. See now M. Richards, *The Laws of Hywel Dda (the Book of Blegywryd)* (Liverpool, 1954), p. 113.

though after a long stage that is just the time when rest and refreshment are most needed and a repulse is most keenly felt.

As to their clothing, their food and their long hours of work, the people to whom they are kind (because they cannot do them any harm) say that their clothing is insufficient to keep off cold, their food to keep off hunger, and the work they do is enormous, and from this they argue to me that they cannot be covetous because their acquisitions are not spent on luxuries. But oh how simple is the answer! Do not usurers and other slaves of avarice clothe and feed themselves most poorly and cheaply? Misers crouch over their treasures on their deathbeds; they do not amass them for delicacies, but for their delight; they mean not to use them but to keep them. If you make a point of toil, cold and food, why, the Welsh lead a harder life in all these respects. The Cistercians have numbers of coats, the Welsh none. The Cistercians wear no skins; nor do the Welsh. The former use no linen, the latter no wool, except for certain plain, short cloaks they wear; the one class has boots and shoes, the other goes barefoot and barelegged. The monks eat no meat, the Welsh no bread.[1] The monks give alms; the Welsh have none to give to:[2] all food is common property, and no one there asks for it, but takes it, and none hinders. I must say that the Welsh carry people captive and kill them with less shame and more open violence than the monks; they are always in tents or in the open, while the monks delight themselves in palaces of ivory.[3]

Now in this regulation about clothing I find cause for surprise in regard of the breeches, in that they are obliged to wear them at the service of the altar, and they are taken off when they go thence. This is the privilege of the sacred vestments; but this garment is not sacred, is not reckoned among those of the priests or Levites, and is not blessed. It has, however, its meaning: it hides that which is better hid, 'tis Venus' privy seal, her barrier against publicity. A reason why the Cistercians do not use it was given me by some one, namely, to preserve coolness in that part of the body, lest sudden heats provoke unchastity. But I say, No. It would be better

[3] Cf. Psalm 44: 9 (45: 8).

decurtentur interiores a zona tunice, manente suprema, et non decaluentur a ueste uenerabili et ab omni alias approbata religione loca celanda.

Dominus rex Henricus secundus nuper, ut ei mos est, totam illam infinitatem militum et clericorum suorum precedens, cum domino Rerico monacho magno et honesto uiro uerbum faciebat, eratque eis uentus nimis, et ecce monachus albus in uico pedes negociabatur,[a] respiciensque diuertere properabat; offendit ad lapidem, nec portabatur ab angelis tunc,[1] et coram pedibus equi regii corruit; uentus autem uestes eius in collum propulit, ut domini regis et Rerici oculis inuitis manifesta fieret misera ueritas pudendorum. Rex, ut omnis facecie thesaurus, dissimulans uultum auertit, et tacuit. Rericus autem intulit secreto 'Maledicta /
f. 20v religio que deuelat anum!' Ego uerbum audiui, et dolui, quod derisa est sanctitas, licet uentus non iniuste in loca sibi concessa impegerit. Verumptamen si cibi parcitas et uestis aspera grauisque labor, qualia describunt hec singula, modum carni sue ponere non possunt, desideraturque uentus pro freno Veneri, bonum est ut braccis careant et insufflentur. Scio quod caro nostra, mundana scilicet non celestis, tantis non eget ad hec bella clipeis, quia sine Cerere et Baco nostra friget Venus;[2] sed forsitan forcior in eos insurgit hostis, quos firmius nouit clausos. Monachus tamen qui cecidit honestius surrexisset, si corporaliter clausus fuisset.

Obliuisci non possum quod Ebrei sunt et nos Egypcii. In uno certe sumus Egypcii, quod spoliamur; illi tamen sponte qui sua crediderunt, nos inuiti qui scientes et prudentes rapinam patimur. Sed illi sunt in multi Hebrei, quia spoliando ut in Egypto, quia iurgando ut ad petram Oreb, et alias ad aquas contradiccionis, quia cupiendo ut contra preceptum Moysi de gomor non seruando in crastinum, quia uirum iustum Ur suffocando sputis,[3] et multis aliis modis,

[a] negociebatur *MS*

[1] Cf. Psalm 90 (91): 11-12.

[2] Cf. Terence, *Eun.* 732.

[3] A Jewish tradition quoted in the *Historia Scholastica* (*PL*, 198. 1189). Hur resisted the making of the golden calf, and was thus killed. Aaron was intimidated by his death. M.R.J. (for 'ad aquas contradiccionis' cf. Psalm 80: 8 (81: 7); cf. also *Hist. Scholastica*, col. 1150—strictly 'gomer' 'omer' is the measure). The notion of the Hebrews spoiling the Egyptians (see above pp. 86-7, n. 5) runs through the following pages.

to shorten the inner tunic from the belt downwards, keeping the upper part, and not discarding the breeches, which are a respectable garment and approved by every other order, from the privy regions.

The lord king, Henry the Second, of late was riding as usual at the head of all the great concourse of his knights and clerks, and talking with Dom Reric, a distinguished monk and an honourable man. There was a high wind; and lo! a white monk was making his way on foot along the street and looked round, and made haste to get out of the way. He dashed his foot against a stone and was not being borne up by angels at the moment,[1] and fell in front of the feet of the king's horse, and the wind blew his habit right over his neck, so that the poor man was candidly exposed to the unwilling eyes of the lord king and Reric. The king, that treasure-house of all politeness, feigned to see nothing, looked away, and kept silence; but Reric said, *sotto voce*, 'A curse on this bare-bottom piety'. I heard the remark and was pained that a holy thing was laughed at, though the wind had only intruded where it was rightfully at home. However, if spare diet and rough clothing and hard work (and all these they claim) cannot tame them, and if they must have ventilation too to keep Venus at bay, let them go without their breeches and feel the draught. I know that our flesh—worldly and not heavenly though it be—does not need such defences: with us, Venus, apart from Ceres and Bacchus, is cold:[2] but perhaps the Enemy attacks those more fiercely whom he knows to be more stoutly fenced in. Still, the monk who tumbled down would have got up again with more dignity had he had his breeches on.

I cannot forget that they are Hebrews, and we Egyptians. In one respect we certainly are Egyptians—that of being spoiled—and yet the Egyptians of old were spoiled of their own will, since they lent goods to the Israelites. Not so we who are preyed upon consciously, and with our eyes open. And to be sure they are Hebrews in many respects, spoiling as in Egypt, murmuring as at the rock of Horeb, and again at the waters of strife, coveting as when Moses' orders not to keep the manna till next day were transgressed, suffocating the righteous Hur with their spittle;[3] and in many other ways.

unde per quadraginta dictum est eis annos: semper hi errant corde.[1]

Tangamus insuper Hebreorum de gestis aliqua, multis tamen omissis ex amaris annalibus. Omittamus de arbore que terminus erat agrorum suorum longe ablata de nocte super agros uicini sui, Egipcii militis, aput Cukewald, quam referri fecit Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus.[2] Ne fiat eciam de prato mencio alterius Egypcii, quod ab Hebreis ante rorem serotinum sale respersum est, et arietibus immissis radicitus auulsum de nocte per appetitum salis, et pluribus annis in sterilitatem coactum, donec eis uenderetur. Et quod eiusdem loci fratres Hebrei †īpōutino†[a] proximum sibi agrum una nocte manu magna et bigis multis letamine consperserunt, et in crastino Egipcium admirantem quod eorum tot caruce suum ab eterno campum usurpassent deriserunt quasi uesanum, qui fratrum Hebreorum agrum, quem tot diebus tot laboribus excoluerant, suum diceret. Cum nunquam antea calumpniam intulisset, uerisimilitudinem habebant, et eo[b] se tutos interuentu fecerunt albini coram omni iudice, donec heres militis ab ira furia inuectus eos omnes cum domibus suis ultus est incendio. Sileamus eciam de carta dupplici uerbis eisdem,[3] et de iugeribus eisdem, a fatuo cancellario sine domini consciencia fraudulenter obtenta, tanquam in subsidium alterius amisse. Mutuauerunt pro eis alia, sed ab eodem domino, alteramque reddiderunt cartarum altera retenta, uenditore autem uel mutuatore mortuo pristinos

[a] *Bradley conjectured that Map wrote* repentino *and began to correct to* improuiso [b] eo] ea *MS*

[1] Psalm 94 (95): 10.

[2] Roger of Pont l'Évêque (1154–81; on him see Knowles, *EC*, pp. 12–14 etc.; JS, *Letters*, ii, nos. 306–7). Coxwold is near Thirsk (Yorks.), and was the property of Byland abbey, which was also involved in the story on pp. 108–9. It is impossible to check the accuracy of this and the following stories, several of which were also told by Giraldus (*Opera*, iv. 225–38; 228–9 for the fields sown with salt; 229–30 for the invasion by night). The nucleus of the present story may have been the dispute between Byland and Robert and William de Stuteville, who claimed land in Coxwold (*Monasticon*, v. 351–2; *EYC*, ix, ed. C. T. Clay (1952), p. 3; *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107–1191*, ed. D. E. Greenway (British Academy, 1972), no. 44, pp. 34–5 and editor's note, suggesting that the monks of Byland tampered with the charter of Roger de Mowbray granting the forest of Cam and land near Coxwold for 'their third conventual site', which they left for Byland itself in 1177). This dispute came to a head in 1147, before Byland was received

For was it not said of them, forty years long, 'they do always err in their heart'?[1]

Well, let us touch upon some of the doings of these Hebrews though there is much of the bitter record that we must pass over. As, for instance, the incident of the tree which marked their boundary and was removed by night far into the property of their neighbour, an Egyptian knight, at Coxwold (but Roger, archbishop of York,[2] had it moved back). Let us again say nothing of the meadow of another Egyptian which was strewn with salt, before the evening dew fell, by the Hebrews, who then turned some rams in, which relished the salt so much that they stripped the ground clean that night, and it bore nothing for years, until it was sold to them. Or again how the Hebrew brethren of the same place on a sudden (?) copiously manured a field near them one night, sending in numbers of men and carts to do the work, and next day when the Egyptian expressed his surprise at seeing the land that had always been his taken up with all their waggons, they treated him as a madman: how could he call the ground of the Hebrew brethren, which they had tilled so long with great expenditure of labour, his own? As he had never before set up any claim to it, their assertions had some show of probability; and the Whites by this contrivance assured themselves of safety before every judge, until the knight's heir in a passion avenged himself on the monks and their buildings by setting fire to the whole. Nor need we dwell on the duplicate charter,[3] expressed in identical words and referring to the same land, which was fraudently obtained from a stupid chancellor without his lord's knowledge to replace—so it was said—another that had been lost. They then exchanged that land for another piece, but from the same lord, and gave up one copy, keeping the other. Then when the original seller or exchanger was dead they produced

into the Cistercian Order.

[3] i.e. a chirograph, a common form of charter for an agreement: the two halves were drawn up on one leaf of vellum, which was then divided. In case of dispute the two halves could be put together to check whether they formed parts of the same leaf; the purpose was to ensure, so far as possible, that the copies were identical, and to check fraud. In the present case the monks are alleged to have taken possession of both halves of the chirograph, and to have retained one when they surrendered the other with the land.

repecierunt ab herede per cartam residuam agros, et coram domino rege nostro conuicti, confusi ut solent, id est ioculantes unde flendum esset, recesserunt a rege, dimissi pro Deo contra Deum. Pretermittendum eciam est, quod apud Neth[1] inuenti sunt habentes terram comitis Guillelmi Gloecestrie sexdecim acrarum, post tradicionem carte aucto numero ad centum.

Horum non sit memoria, quia doli faceti sunt, et ut ipsi dicunt 'bone intencionis opera'; non enim hec faciunt ut aliis noceant, sed ut sibi prosint. Cum tamen omnibus modis Egypcii spoliandi sint, hec certe uenialia sunt in respectu, quia sine sanguine recitari uidentur, et minus horrent; sed in uirgulto Wlaustune suspenderunt Egypcium, et imitatores Moysi absconderunt in sabulo;[2] irrepserat ad poma miser ut sedaret famem, et inuenit requiem eternam ab ea per manus fratrum. Hoc a posteris eorum non est celandum, quatinus abhorreant et temperent a talibus, si uiderint expedire.

f. 21 Vicinum habebant fratres Hebrei militem Egypcium, et in parte agri sui considerant, quem cum nec prece nec precio[3] possent amouere, misso proditore ad militem sub specie hospitis pro Christo, ab ipso intromissi de nocte peplati cum gladiis et fustibus irruerunt, Egypciumque cum liberis et familia tota preter uxorem suam, quam ipse defendit cum filio lactente dum stare datum est ut euaderent, interfecerunt. Illa fugit ad patruum suum, iter unius diei, qui uicinis et parentibus ascitis die tercia uenit ad locum, in quo frequenter cum amicis conuenerat, et ubi fuerant edificia, sepes et arbores magne, planissimum inuenit et bene aratum campum, et nullam rei humane apparenciam; et non uestigia, quia non erant,[4] sed suspicionem secutus, ingressus uiolenter

[1] Like Byland, Neath (Glamorgan) was a Savigniac house incorporated into the Cistercian Order after the merger of 1147. It was founded by Richard de Granville in 1130; Richard's overlord was the lord of Glamorgan, Earl Robert of Gloucester. Earl William was Robert's son and successor (1147–83; cf. Lloyd, ii. 440, 444). No evidence of this gift has been found, but the archives of Neath are very fragmentary.

[2] Cf. Exodus 2: 12. Bradley identified the place as Woolaston (Glos.), in the Forest of Dean, a possession of Tintern Abbey (p. 395; cf. *Monasticon*, v. 267). No other place of similar name is known to have belonged to the Cistercians. Woolaston is 13 miles from Map's living of Westbury-on-Severn.

[3] Cf. *Auct. ad Her.*, iii. 3. 4.

the remaining deed and demanded their ancient estate of his heir; and when exposed in our lord the king's Court, they were covered with confusion after their manner—in other words, made merry over what they should have bewailed with tears, and left the king, acquitted for God's sake, against God's law. Nor need we tell how at Neath[1] they were found to have had a conveyance from William, earl of Gloucester, of sixteen acres, which number, after the delivery of the deed, they had increased to one hundred.

These incidents, I say, we need not recall. They are diverting trifles, and in the words of their perpetrators 'works of good intention', not done to injure others, but to benefit themselves. And really, since the Egyptians are to be spoiled in every way possible, these matters which appear not to entail shedding of blood, and are therefore less horrifying, are comparatively venial. But, alas! in the wood of Woolaston they hanged an Egyptian and, following the example of Moses, hid him in the sand:[2] the poor wretch had stolen in after their apples to stay his hunger, and found rest eternal from it at the hands of the brethren. This is a matter not to be kept from their successors, that they may abhor such acts and refrain from them—if they think it will pay them to do so.

The Hebrew brethren had a neighbour, an Egyptian knight, in part of whose estate they had settled; nor could prayer or price[3] avail to move him. So they sent a traitor to the knight under the guise of a stranger to be sheltered for Christ's sake. At night the man let them in, muffled up and armed with swords and staves. In they rushed and killed the Egyptian himself, his children, and his whole household, with the exception of his wife, whom, with her sucking child, he had defended as long as he could stand, until they escaped. She fled a day's journey to her uncle, who called together his neighbours and kinsmen, and on the third day they came to the spot, where he had often been with his friends; and where they knew that there were buildings, enclosures, and old trees, they found an absolutely level, well-ploughed field, no appearance of human occupation. Following no traces—'because they were not'[4]—but his own suspicions, he forced

[4] Cf. Matthew 2: 18 (for 'ultro aperta est eis' cf. Acts 12: 10); for the story which follows cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, iv. 225–7; and in general, ibid. 219 ff.

portam, que non ultro aperta est eis, uidit arbores radicitus auulsas in magna frusta concisas, et quod ante crediderat sciens ad iudices detulit. Vxor autem Egypcii plures ex Hebreis ex nomine designauit, ipsumque presertim laicum qui domum aperuerat. Hic a iudicibus apprehensus, lege deperiit aque, confessusque predicta, Hebreos qui hec fecerant expressius nominauit, adiciens quod ipsum hoc pacto ab omnibus peccatis preteritis et illo presenti et omnibus futuris absoluissent, et ipsum de cetero nec aqua nec igne nec armis perire posse constanter iurassent. Suspensus ergo infelix penas omnium tulit, et ipsi domini regis Henrici arbitrio pro reuerencia Christi manere iubentur illesi. Hebrei quidem de Belanda hec fecerunt.

Hebrei Pontiniaci[1] multos fecerant ex magnis porcis bacones, quos alio nomine petasones dicimus, uenditosque ut depositum habuerunt penes se donec reuerti possent mercatores bigis adductis ut abducerentur. Redeuntes uero cum bigis eosdem et eorundem inuenerunt petasonum aceruos, et numerum sanum, sed quos pinguissimos deposuerant macros mirati sunt et pellem herentem ossibus. Comitem igitur Neuernensem, cuius ibi gladius est, adeunt, qui ueniens a pastore quodam didicit quod Hebrei compresserant in torculari bacones usque ad emissionem tocius ex lardo sanguinis, et in doliis nouis signauerant, in quibus nondum quicquam uini positum fuerat.[2] Deprehensa est hec ueritas coram abbate fratribusque inclusis. Erubuit comes et abhorruerunt sui; modo

> Dic sodes aliquem, dic, Quintiliane, colorem:
> Heremus. Dicant ipsi.[3]

Dompnus abbas intulit: 'Nichil ad nos interiores; totum hoc sine nostra factum est consciencia; ydiote forinseci per ignorancia deliquerunt, et uapulabunt.' Ecce quam decenter excusati sunt! Certe non nobis ignorancia uidetur hoc actum,

[1] Pontigny, near Auxerre, was the second daughter of Cîteaux, founded in 1114, and remained one of the leading houses of the Order; it was Becket's home in exile, 1164–6.

[2] Cf. Luke 23: 53. On the counts of Nevers see above, pp. 80–1 n.

[3] Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 280–1:

> 'dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem.
> haeremus, dic ipsa'.

a gate which was not voluntarily opened to the party, and saw—a number of trees uprooted and sawn into great blocks. Assured of what he had suspected, he brought the matter into the courts. The wife of the Egyptian pointed out several of the Hebrews by name, and in particular the layman who had opened the doors. He was arrested by the justices, failed in the ordeal by water, and confessed the facts I have narrated, expressly naming the Hebrews who had been concerned, and adding that they had absolved him in return for his services from all the sins he had committed up to that moment, and this sin, and all that he should commit thereafter, and had firmly pledged their oath that for the future neither water, fire, nor weapon could put an end to him. The unlucky creature was hanged and paid for all; the Hebrews at the command of the lord King Henry were to remain unharmed for Christ's sake. It was the Hebrews of Byland who did this.

The Hebrews of Pontigny[1] had made a quantity of bacon —otherwise called flitches—out of their big swine, and had sold them, and were keeping them in trust until the buyers could come back with their carts to take them away. They came, carts and all, and found the same flitches, stacked in the same way as before, and the number complete. But whereas they had left them very fat, they now found them to their surprise quite thin, and merely skin and bone. So they applied to the Count of Nevers who bears the sword in those parts. On his way to the place he learned from a shepherd that the Hebrews had squeezed the flitches in a press till the liquor was all gone out of the lard; and this they had sealed up in new jars which had never held any wine.[2] The truth of this was detected before the abbot and the brethren of the house; the Count blushed, and his men were shocked.

> 'Now, pray, Quintilian, out with some excuse.'
> 'I am perplexed. Let them speak for themselves.'[3]

Quoth the lord abbot: 'This has been nothing to do with us of the inner house: the whole thing has been done without our knowledge. The foolish fellows out of doors have done this crime in ignorance, and shall be beaten for it.' A very comely excuse! Not much ignorance, I think, was shown here,

sed multa mali sciencia, et ydiota maledictus ad mala pro-
cliuior. Excusacione tamen predicta se tuentur claustrales
de negociis que foris prodigialiter fiunt, inponuntque fratri-
bus qui sine ipsis nichil possunt facere.[1] Videant ergo abbates
casum Ely, qui filios non corripiunt nec corrigunt, sed
silencio consenciunt, et consensu incitare uidentur. Similiter
in omnibus predonum castris fit, quod quidam domi resident,
quidam in predam abeunt, sed non mentitur Dauid qui
iusto iudicio diffinit, quod equa est pars descendentis in pre-
lium et remanentis ad sarcinas.[2] Et nunquid licet claustrali-
bus clausis oculis exiberi? Et si balatum audierint hedi,
nonne cum Tobia dicendum est 'Vide ne furtiuus sit?'[3]
At certe nati non fuerunt in claustro; reminiscantur eorum
que uiderunt extra.

Nonne[a] uidetur ecclesia preda monasterii sui? Nunquid
f. 21v claustrum ingressi / sunt an castrum? Cum prohibeat regula
ecclesias possidere, iura presentacionum ab aduocatis
obtinent, et immisso uicario non ecclesias possident sed
pensiones annuas. Videant ipsi ne legi fraus fiat. Sed nos eis
custodes nostri uendiderunt; ideo silendum arbitror, ne
super dolorem uulnerum addant, apponentes iniquitatem
super iniquitatem.[4]

Olfecerunt iam hunc Hebrei libellum, et me religionis
persecutorem dicunt; uicia reprehendo non mores, profes-
sores falsos non ordinem bene institutum. Qui carnem
affligunt ut castigent Venerem, qui pascunt pauperes ut
propicietur eis Deus, qui media nocte surgunt ut con-
fiteantur,[5] non culpo; sed qui omnem omni studio lucri
uiam inueniunt et secuntur, qui omnem auaricie portam
aperiunt et ingrediuntur, qui nullam excogitant emolu-
menti seuiciam quam non exequantur, hec sunt que nos
odisse decet, et ex horum sensu[b] ducimur in querelam.
Ministros talium horremus et arguimus utcumque, ut ipsi

[a] Nonne *supplied in the margin* [b] sensu *MS;* censu *marg.*

[1] Cf. John 15: 5 (and for Eli and his sons, 1 Kings (1 Samuel) 3–4, esp. 3: 13).
[2] Cf. 1 Kings (1 Samuel) 30: 24.
[3] Tobias 2: 21 (cf. Tobias 2: 13), cf. Ogle, pp. 200–1.
[4] Cf. Psalm 68: 27–8 (69: 26–7); cf. Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, esp. pp. 190–7; for the wider context, B. Kemp in *JEH*, xxxi (1980), 133–60.
[5] Cf. Psalm 118 (119): 62.

but a considerable knowledge of mischief; and the 'fool'
who was here blamed is a little too prone to such practices.
The above is an excuse by which the cloister-monks often
protect themselves against the consequences of excesses com-
mitted outside, and lay the blame on the brethren who in
fact without them can do nothing.[1] Let the abbots then
reflect upon the case of Eli—these fathers who neither
rebuke nor correct their sons, but acquiesce in silence, and by
consent would seem to encourage them. The rule is the same
in every robber-band: some stop at home and others go out
to plunder. But David made no mistake when he decreed
with such fairness that the shares of him that goeth down to
the battle and of him that abideth by the baggage shall be
the same.[2] Is it in fact possible for the cloister-monks to be
maintained with their eyes closed? And if they hear the bleat-
ing of a kid, ought they not to say with Tobit, 'Take heed
lest it be a stolen one'?[3] At least they were not born in the
cloister: let them recollect what they have seen outside it.

Does not the church seem to be the prey of its own
monastery? And is it a cloister or a castle that these have
joined? Whereas the Rule forbids them to own churches, they
obtain the rights of presentations from the patrons, put in a
vicar, and possess—not the churches, but—yearly pensions
out of them. Let them look to it: is not this an evasion of the
law? But, alas! our own guardians have sold us to them; and
I think it better to hold our peace, lest they should add to
the pain of our wounds, heaping one wretchedness upon
another.[4]

The Hebrews have already scented out this book, and call
me a persecutor of religion. It is faults that I reprove, not a
way of life—false professors, not a well-ruled Order. Such as
afflict the flesh to keep lust under, feed the poor that God
may show them mercy, and rise up at midnight to give
thanks,[5] I blame not, but such as find and follow every path
to gain with all their might, such as open and enter in at
every gate of avarice, such as never think out any cruel way
of profit without putting it in practice—these doings are
what we ought to hate; and it is our sense of these that leads
us to complain. The accomplices of such things we abhor;
and we accuse them of crime in order that they themselves

non inueniantur in hiis. Video me iam illis factum in detraccionem et fabulam, ut Cluuieno me comparent poete, creta et carbone uso,[1] insipido et ydiote scriptori. Hic ego sum certe; sed dum michi de malicia carmen est carbone quidem et creta dignum, eciam ydiota sum: non adinuenio, non adulor; et insipidus: quia sal in fetore non proficit, ineptum me fateor et insulsum poetam, at non falsigrafum; non enim mentitur qui recitat, sed qui fingit. Ego autem de hiis, id est de Hebreis, quod scio et quod ecclesia flet, quodque frequenter audio, loquor, nec inexpertus; et, si non resipuerint, predicabuntur super tecta que nunc in aure latitant.[2] Sed utinam conuertat in eos Dominus aduersarium fortem, et mutet contumelie uasa in misericordie habitacula, ut ipsi uideant se cercius, et se tanto minores estiment coram iusto et magno, quanto magis ipsi contritos et humiles deriserunt.

xxvi. *Recapitulacio Grandimontensium*[3]

Et hos religionis cultus nouitas adinuenit;[a] est eciam alia, ut supra dictum est, Grandimontensium secta, que a quodam Stephano sumpsit exordium, qui regulas suas ex Euangelio scripsit, omnem exterminans auariciam. Vnum habent priorem presbiterum, qui domi perpetuus est, qui nulla racione septum egreditur, nulla potest alicuius uocacione promoueri, locis omnibus a subditis timetur, et que non uidit aut uidebit pro uoto moderatur. Clerici semper inclusi sunt; cum Maria delectentur, quia non datur egredi. Laici respondent hospitibus; oblata, non exacta suscipiunt, et gratanter erogant, officia domus et negocia procurant; et cum in omnibus uideantur domini, dispensatores et serui sunt interiorum, quoniam eis administrant omnia, ut nichil eos mouere possit alicuius indulgencie sollicitudo. Extra primam indaginem nichil operis faciunt, nullum suscipiunt ad habitacionem locum, nec in aliqua residenciam faciunt parrochia, sine plena metropolitani episcopi aut archidiaconi

[a] *The title of c.* xxvi *follows* adinuenit *in MS*

[1] Cf. Horace, *Sat.*, ii. 3. 246, but with the reading 'sani an creta et carbone notati' (= 'insani'). Cluvienus was the unknown bad poet referred to by Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 80.

[2] Cf. Matthew 10: 27 (for 'contumelie uasa' in the next sentence, cf. Romans 9: 21).

[3] Cf. above, i. 17.

may not be found therein. I see that I am already become to them a mockery and a byword, so that they compare me to the poet Cluvienus, a man of chalk and charcoal,[1] a tasteless and imbecile writer. That I certainly am. But while my song is of mischief, worthy no doubt of chalk and charcoal—granted, I am an imbecile, yet I do not forge or flatter. And tasteless? Inasmuch as salt avails nothing against an evil smell, I confess myself a foolish and dull poet—yet not a writer of lies; for he does not lie who repeats a tale, but he who makes it. But I speak of them, the Hebrews, what I know and what the Church laments, and what I often hear and have had some experience of. And unless they repent, what is now hid in the ear shall be proclaimed upon the housetops.[2] But O that the Lord would turn a mighty adversary against them and change the vessels of dishonour into receptacles of mercy, that they might see themselves more clearly and before the Righteous and Great One think the less of themselves the more they have derided the contrite and humble.

26. *Recapitulation of the Order of Grandmont*[3]

These also the new fashion of the religious life has invented. There is too another sect, as was said above, of them of Grandmont which took its beginning from one Stephen, who copied his rule from the gospel, banishing all love of gain. They have one prior, a priest, who is always at home and on no account goes outside the precinct, cannot be brought out by the summons of anyone, is feared in all the houses by his subordinates, and regulates at will things he has never seen or can see. The clerics are permanently shut up; they must take their pleasure with Mary, since they are not allowed to go out. The lay brethren look after the guests; they receive what is offered them, not what they demand, and spend it gratefully. They discharge the duties and business of the house; and while in every respect they appear to be the masters, they are the stewards and servants of those within, for they administer everything for them, so that no desire of any indulgence can move them. Outside the inner precinct they do no work; they accept no place to dwell in, nor do they settle in any parish without the full leave of the metropolitan, bishop, or archdeacon.

licencia, firmata etiam prius cum parrochiali presbitero stipulacione de pensione annua pro decimis et obuencionibus loci suscipienda. Animalia non habent, exceptis apibus; illas autem concessit Stephanus quia uicinis non arcent pabula, et fructus eorum simul et semel publice percipitur. Nichil ex eis auaricia singularitatis expetit, nec decor allicit possessorem. Cum magister autem eos ad negocium euocat, duo simul aut plures exeunt, et in eis nemo soliuagus, quia 'Ve soli! si ceciderit non habet subleuantem.' Omni petenti manum aperiunt;[1] cum cibus non superest, per diem unum esuriunt, et ei dicunt cuius est orbis. Si autem non eos audierit, egrediuntur in crastino duo, nunciantque pontifici fratrum esuriem. Si uero nec ille, ieiunant, donec eos Dominus per /
f. 22 aliquem uisitauerit. Conuersacionem[a] interius archanam tenent; preter episcopum et summos principes non admittunt quempiam. Hii autem nichil inde predicant despicabile. Noster dominus, id est, rex Henricus secundus, cui nude reuelant omnia, caritatis intuitu eis est tam profuse munificus ut nusquam egeant.[2] Attamen et ad hos ostendit auaricia digitum, et a tactu non temperat. Nuper etenim prouiderunt ut habeant in singulis propinquis ciuitatibus singulos ciues, qui sibi uestes et uictualia procurent ex acceptis muneribus, ipsisque meruerunt omnem a principibus immunitatem; unde fit, ut aiunt, quatinus ipsis se multi precipui cum suis offerant et accipiantur, estimoque timendum ne post hoc fiat aliquid; iam enim intersunt colloquiis regumque negocia tractant.

xxvii. *De origine Simpligham*[3]

Magister Gillebertus de Simplingeham, qui adhuc superest, licet ex senio cecus (centennis enim aut eo amplius est),

[a] conuersacionem *James;* conseruacionem *MS*

[1] Ecclesiastes 4: 10; cf. Luke 6: 30; Proverbs 31: 20.

[2] For Henry II's benefactions see Giraldus, *Opera*, viii. 192, 255; and especially the full study by E. Hallam (Smith) in *Journal of Medieval History*, i (1975), 165–86; cf. Hallam in *JEH* xxviii (1977), 113–32.

[3] Cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, iv. 184–6; Nigel de Longchamps, 2401–12 and nn. The Order of Sempringham, which in the event never spread outside England, was founded as a double order of canons regular and nuns by St. Gilbert *c.*1131, and confirmed by Pope Eugenius III, who met Gilbert at Clairvaux in 1147. Map's statement that Gilbert was over 100 years old could be taken to confirm St. Gilbert's biographer, who says that he was over 100 when he died in 1189: *Monasticon*, vi, ii, insertion on 'The Order of Sempringham', pp. v–vi. But probably

Besides which they previously make an agreement with the parish priest for an annual pension which he is to receive in lieu of the tithes and incomings of the place. Animals they have none, except bees: these Stephen allowed, because they do not deprive neighbours of food; and their produce is collected publicly once a year all together. The desire of sole possession has nothing to look for from them (the bees), and there is no beauty to attract the possessor. When their superior summons them out on business, two or three go forth together, and none among them goes alone, for 'Woe to him that is alone; if he fall he hath none to raise him up.' To every one that asketh they open their hand.[1] When no food is left they go hungry for one day and tell him whose is the world. If he hear them not, on the morrow two go out and report to the bishop the hunger of the brethren. If he does nothing, they fast until the Lord visits them by some one. They keep their conversation secret within: save the bishop and the greatest princes they admit no one. But those who are admitted report nothing of them that is vile. Our lord, I mean King Henry II, to whom they lay everything open, is so lavishly bountiful towards them in the way of charity that they are nowhere in want.[2] Still, even in their direction covetousness has pointed a finger, and not abstained from a touch. For of late they have arranged to have in each town near them a citizen to provide them apparel and food from the gifts they receive, and for these they have obtained from the rulers complete immunity. The result is said to be that many prominent people are offering themselves and their property to them, and are accepted; and I judge we must fear that something will come of it. They are already called to counsel, and treat the affairs of kings.

27. *Of the Rise of Sempringham*[3]

Master Gilbert of Sempringham, who is still alive, though blind with age, for he is a hundred years old or more,

neither is to be taken literally, as the number 100 was used to indicate a great age (see JS, *Letters*, ii. 526–7 n.). In any event Gilbert must have been born *c.*1100 or earlier, to judge from the stage his career had already reached before the death of Bishop Robert Bloet of Lincoln in 1123 (on Gilbert and the Gilbertines, see Rose Graham, *S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines* (London, 1901), esp. pp. 1, 12–14, 25; Knowles, *MO*, pp. 205–7; R. Foreville, *Le Livre de S. Gilbert de Sempringham* (Paris, 1943); a new edn., ed. R. Foreville and G. Keir, will be published in OMT).

nouum instituit religionis cultum, qui primo meruit ab Eugenio papa confirmari, canonicos scilicet regulares et muro interposito moniales, ne uideant uel uideantur mares ab illis. Nullum habent inuicem accessum, nisi in necessitate unccionis uel uiatici. Fit autem hoc per fenestram cautissime preparatam, et multis presentibus.[1] Multas iam optinent mansiones; at Angliam non sunt egressi. Nichil adhuc inde sinistrum auditur, sed timor est; frequenter enim fraudes Veneris muros Minerue penetrant, nec est earum sine consensu congressio.

xxviii. *Item recapitulacio Carthusiensium*[2]

Iterum, est alius modus, ut predictum est, in Griseuoldano repertus. Duodecim presbiteri et prior commanent, sed diuisi cellulis, quorum conuersacio notissima est; et cum omnibus modis hec tempora Deum attrahere contendant, minus nobis adesse uidetur quam cum de corde simplici sine uestium aut cultus artificio petebatur. Sicut enim cordium scrutator est, non pannorum, sic animi bene dispositi amator est, non uestimenti. Non ergo nos contempnant qui uilibus uestiuntur, quia qui capi non potuit in sermone[3] non decipietur in ueste. Rex noster Henricus secundus, cuius potestatem totus fere timet orbis, preciosissime semper redimitus, ut decet, non apponit superbire nec aliquid altum sapere presumit, nec unquam elacione aliqua lingua eius intumescit, nec se supra hominem magnificat, sed que foris apparet in ueste semper est in ore mundicia. Cum sit ei nemo par hodie uel similis, contemptibilem se magis fatetur quam contemptorem faciat.[a]

[a] faciat *sic MS: the construction is not clear*

[1] The window between the two halves of the Gilbertine houses was for hearing confessions; it was 'of the length of a finger, and hardly a thumb in breadth', and confession was heard in the presence of two other nuns and canons. Extreme unction was received either in the church or in the nuns' infirmary (R. Graham, p. 55; see plan facing). What follows suggests that Map had heard nothing of the scandal of the nun of Watton, which was evidently not widely known at the time: on it see G. Constable, 'Aelred of Rievaulx and the nun of Watton', in *Medieval*

founded a new fashion of religion, which first obtained confirmation from Pope Eugenius. It consisted of regular canons and nuns, with a wall between them that the males might not see or be seen by the females. They have no access whatever to each other, except in an emergency requiring unction or the viaticum; and this is administered through a window most carefully arranged, and in the presence of a number of people.[1] They already possess many establishments, but have not gone outside England. Nothing sinister is as yet reported of them. But there is fear of it, for too often the tricks of Venus pierce the walls of Minerva; nor is there meeting of these two without consent.

28. *Again. A Recapitulation on the Carthusians*[2]

Again, another fashion, as was said, has been invented in the Grésivaudan. Twelve priests and a prior dwell together, but in separate cells, whose way of life is very well known. And though these times vie in drawing God to them in every fashion, he seems to be less with us than in days when he was sought out of a simple heart without peculiarity of dress or worship. For as he is a searcher of hearts, not clothes, so is he the lover of a well-disposed mind, and not of apparel. Therefore let them not despise us who are clad in cheap attire, for he who could not be entrapped in speech[3] will not be deceived by dress. Our King Henry II, whose power almost the whole world fears, is always robed in precious stuffs, as is right; but he is not also proud, does not take upon himself to think high thoughts; his tongue never swells with elated language; he does not magnify himself as more than man; but there is always in his speech that cleanness which is seen in his dress. Though at this day there is no one equal to him or like him, he comes nearer to admitting himself to be despicable than to making himself a despiser.

Women, ed. D. Baker (*Studies in Church History*, Subsidia, i, Oxford, 1978), pp. 205–26, esp. 223–5.

[2] Cf. above, i. 16.

[3] Cf. Matthew 22: 15, etc.

xxix. *De quadam secta hereticorum*[1]

Rex noster eciam Henricus secundus ab omnibus terris suis arcet hereseos noue dampnosissimam sectam, que scilicet ore confitetur de Christo quicquid et nos, sed factis multorum milium turmis, quas ruttas uocant, armati penitus a uertice ad plantas corio, calibe, fustibus et ferro monasteria, uillas, urbes in fauillas redigunt, adulteria uiolenter et sine dele⟨c⟩tu perpetrant, pleno corde dicentes 'Non est Deus'. Hec autem orta est in Brebanno, unde dicitur Brebeazonum; nam in primo latrunculi egressi legem sibi fecerunt, omnino contra legem, et associati sunt eis propter sedicionem fugitiui, clerici falsi, monachi euasi, et quicumque Deum aliquo modo derelinquunt horrendis eorum adherent cetibus. Multiplicati sunt iam super omnem numerum, inualueruntque phaulanges Leuiathan, ut tuti resideant aut errent per prouincias et regna cum odio Dei et hominum.

xxx. *De quadam alia secta eorundem*[2]

Est eciam alia uetus heresis de nouo supra modum propagata, ducens originem ex his qui Dominum loquentem de carne sua
f. 22v comedenda et sanguine bibendo dereliquerunt, / dicentes 'Durus hic sermo;'[3] et abeuntes retro, dicti sunt Publicani uel Paterini. Latuerunt autem a diebus dominice passionis inter Christianos passim errantes.[a] Primo quidem unicas habebant in uillis quas inhabitabant domos, et undecunque uenissent singuli domos suas in fumo noscebant, ut aiunt. Euangelium Iohannis non accipiunt; de corpore Christi et sanguine, pane benedicto, nos derident. Viri et femine cohabitant, nec apparent inde filii uel filie. Resipuerunt autem multi, reuersique ad fidem enarrant quod circa primam noctis uigiliam, clausis eorum ianuis, hostiis et fenestris, expectantes in singulis sinagogis suis singule sedeant in silencio

[a] errantes *Mynors;* erantque *MS; the correction is uncertain*

[1] Henry II made considerable use on the Continent of mercenary troops, known as 'routiers', 'cotereaux' and (from their supposed country of origin) 'Brabançons'. But, save for one exceptional occasion in 1174, they were never brought to England. It is, of course, a pleasantry of Map's to class them as heretics; they are in his eyes 'practical' unbelievers. J.E.L. (Map was not, however, alone in associating them with heretics; in 1215 'hereticos et ruptarios' were

29. *Of a Certain Sect of Heretics*[1]

Our King Henry II also banishes from all his lands that most mischievous sect of a new heresy, which with its mouth to be sure confesses of Christ what we do, but (in act) gathers bands of many thousands, which they call routs, who armed cap-à-pie with leather, iron, clubs, and swords, lay monasteries, villages, and towns in ashes, and practise indiscriminate adulteries with force, saying with all their heart, 'There is no God.' This sect took its rise in Brabant, and is thence called Brabazon. At the first some few robbers set forth and made themselves a law wholly against law, and there gathered to them men banished for sedition, false clerics, runaway monks, and in fact whoever forsake God in any wise cleave to their horrid bands. They are now multiplied above numbering, and so strong have these armies of Leviathan grown that they settle in safety, or rove through whole provinces and kingdoms, hated of God and man.

30. *Of Another Sect of the Same*[2]

There is also another old heresy newly sprouted forth to a great extent. It has its origin from those who forsook the Lord when he spoke about eating his flesh and drinking his blood, and said 'This is a hard saying',[3] and, going backward, they were called Publicans, or Paterines. They have lain low since the days of the Lord's passion, wandering among Christians everywhere. At first they had single houses in the villages they lived in, and from whatever quarter they came, each of them could recognize (it is said) their houses by the smoke. They do not receive the gospel of John. On the subject of the body and blood of Christ, the blessed bread, they deride us. Men and women live together, but no sons or daughters issue of the union. Many, however, have dropped their errors and returned to the faith, and these relate that about the first watch of the night, their gates, doors, and windows being shut, each family sits waiting in silence in each of their

linked by Innocent III as the victims of the Albigensian Crusade. It seems likely that Map is echoing, and mocking, a similar association made in his own day; but his is the earliest known reference to it. On the 'rutte', see H. Grundmann in *Deutsches Archiv*, v (1942), 419–92, esp. pp. 427–30, and 432 n. 2 for 1215).

[2] On cc. 30–1, see above, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

[3] Cf. John 6: 61, 67.

familie, descenditque per funem appensum in medio mire magnitudinis murelegus niger, quem cum uiderint, luminibus extinctis ymnos non decantant, non distincte dicunt, sed ruminant assertis dentibus, acceduntque ubi dominum suum uiderint palpantes, inuentumque deosculantur quisque secundum quod ampliore feruet insania humilius, quidam pedes, plurimi sub cauda, plerique pudenda; et quasi a loco fetoris accepta licencia pruriginis, quisque sibi proximum aut proximam arripit, commiscenturque quantum quisque ludibrium extendere preualet. Dicunt eciam magistri docentque nouicios caritatem esse perfectam agere uel pati quod desiderauerit et pecierit frater aut soror, extinguere scilicet inuicem ardentes, et a paciendo Paterini dicuntur.

In Anglia nondum uenerunt nisi sedecim, qui precepto regis Henrici secundi adusti et uirgis cesi disparuerunt.[1] In Normannia non apparent nec in Britannia; in Andegauia multi sunt, sed in Aquitania et Burgundia superhabundant iam ad omnem infinitatem. Aiunt eciam compatriote sui, quod conuiuas suos in aliquo ferculorum suorum capiunt, et fiunt ut ipsi, quos scilicet predicacionibus ocultis quas uulgo faciunt attemptare non audent. Vnde contigit quod mihi dominus Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus,[2] frater regine Francorum, retulit et multis confirmauit testibus, quod quidam nobilis princeps a partibus Vienne metu detestabilis huius rapine sal exorcizatum secum in perula semper haberet, nescius cuius domum ingressurus, et ubique timens pellaciam hostis, eciam in mensa propria omnibus illud apponebat cibis. Perlatum est ad eum forte quod duo milites nepotem suum, qui multis preerat populis et opidis, euerterant; et ecce ipsum ad nepotem suum. Cenantibus illis rite simul, ignorante nepote quid ageretur, fecit auunculo suo mullum integrum in disco apponi, pulcrum uisu et ad uescendum suauem,[3] ut uidebatur. Apposuit ergo miles sal, et disparuit subito piscis, et reliquid in disco quasi pilulas fimi leporini.

[1] See *Councils and Synods*, i. 920–5 (1166: cf. above, p. xxxvii).

[2] William aux Blanchesmains, brother of Henry, count of Champagne, and of Adela, third wife of Louis VII: he had been bishop of Chartres and archbishop of Sens; he was translated to Reims in 1176–7 and died in 1202. On him see JS, *Letters*, ii. 567–9 n.; J. R. Williams in *Anniversary Essays . . . by the Students of C. H. Haskins* (Boston and New York, 1929), pp. 365–87.

[3] Cf. Genesis 3: 6.

synagogues, and there descends by a rope which hangs in the midst a black cat of wondrous size. On sight of it they put out the lights, and do not sing or distinctly repeat hymns, but hum them with closed teeth, and draw near to the place where they saw their master, feeling after him, and when they have found him they kiss him. The hotter their feelings, the lower their aim: some go for his feet, but most for his tail and privy parts. Then, as though this noisome contact unleashed their appetites, each lays hold of his neighbour and takes his fill of him or her for all his worth. Their elders maintain indeed, and teach the new entry, that perfect love consists in give and take, as brother or sister may request and require, each putting out another's fires; and this complaisance gets them the name of Paterines.

To England as yet there have come no more than sixteen, who, by order of King Henry II, were branded and beaten with rods and have disappeared.[1] In Normandy they are not known, nor in Brittany; in Anjou there are many of them, but in Aquitaine and Burgundy they now abound to all infinitude. Their fellow countrymen say that they entrap their guests by means of some one of the dishes they set before them, and those whom they dare not approach with the private discourses that they commonly make, thus become like themselves. Thence this incident came about which Lord William[2] archbishop of Reims, the brother of the queen of France, related to me and confirmed by many witnesses: that a noble prince of the region of Vienne, for fear of this detestable kidnapping, always carried about him in a pouch some consecrated salt, not knowing whose house he might be entering, and fearing everywhere to meet the wiles of the enemy; even at his own table he put some of it into every dish. It chanced to come to his ears that two knights had perverted his nephew, the lord of many peoples and towns; so off he goes to his nephew. They duly supped together. The nephew, ignorant of what was afoot, had served to his uncle a whole mullet in a dish, pleasant to the eyes and good for food,[3] as it seemed. The knight sprinkled the salt on it; the fish vanished in a moment and left in the dish what looked like little pellets of hare's dung.

Abhorruit miles, et qui cum eo erant, ostensoque nepoti suo miraculo, predicauit ei deuotissime penitenciam, et cum multis eum edocuit lacrimis multitudinem miseracionum Domini, et omnes demonum conatus sola fide uinci, ut uisui subiectum habebat. Nepos egre ferebat sermonem, et abcessit in talamum. Princeps ergo delusum se dolens, milites nepotis euersores secum duxit in uinculis, et in conspectu populi multi et magni conclusit eos in tegete posti firmiter alligatos, igneque supposito totam combussit domunculam. Illos autem omnino non tetigit ignis, nec eciam in uestibus adustio uel modica inuenta est. Insurgit ergo populi tumultus in principem, dicentis: 'Peccauimus in uiros iustissimos contra fidem
f. 23 ueris uirtutibus approbatam.' Princeps ob / apparenciam tantam in nullo fidei Christiane derogans uel dubitans, iram et uoces placauit uulgi blandiciis, fidemque benignis affirmauit sermonibus. Pontificem Vienne consulit, qui eos in domo maiore conclusit ligatos ut ante, domumque totam extra circuiens aqua benedicta conspersit contra prestigium. Ignem iubet apponi, qui nullis flaminibus nullisue fomentis domui potuit inherere, uel quicquam adurere. Insultat igitur pontifici tam[a] lesa fide ciuitas, ut manifeste multi stultis prorumpant in eum uocibus, et, si non obstet domini sui principis reuerencia, pontificem ipsum in flammas deicerent, et non nocentes liberarent. Depulsis igitur hostiis, in domum irruerunt, et ad postem uenientes carbones et fauillas ex ossibus eorum et carnibus factas inueniunt, uincula uident illesa, postem intactum, et iustissimum ignem in eos solos qui delinquerant animaduertisse. Conuertit ergo benignus Dominus corda errancium ad penitenciam, et blasphemias in laudem.

Nostris hec sunt orta temporibus. Nostra dico tempora modernitatem hanc, horum scilicet centum annorum curriculum, cuius adhuc nunc ultime partes extant, cuius tocius in his que notabilia sunt satis est recens et manifesta memoria, cum adhuc aliqui supersint centennes, et infiniti

[a] *Perhaps* tanquam *James*

The knight and those with him were sickened; and he pointed out the prodigy to his nephew and most devoutly preached repentance to him, and with many tears expounded to him the multitude of the Lord's mercies and how all the efforts of devils could be overcome by faith alone, as the evidence of his eyes could prove. The nephew took the advice ill, and went away to his room. The prince, sad at his disappointment, took away with him in chains the knights who had perverted his nephew, and in the sight of a large concourse shut them up in a hut, bound fast to a stake, set fire to it, and burnt the whole structure. But the fire touched them not at all, nor was there the least trace of scorching found on their clothes. Upon this came a riot of the people against the prince. For they said: 'We have sinned against these most righteous men, against the faith, which is approved by real works of power.' The prince, not induced by this strange phenomenon to any disparagement or doubt of the Christian faith, calmed the anger and shouts of the mob with smooth words and affirmed his good faith with gentle phrases. He then consulted the archbishop of Vienne, who shut them up in a larger building, bound as before, and going about the whole exterior sprinkled it with holy water to defeat all charms. He then had fire put to it; but no blowing and no feeding could make it catch on the house or scorch anything. The city, its faith so abused, triumphed over the bishop, many breaking out openly into foolish outcries against him, and had not the fear of their lord the prince kept them back, they would have thrown the prelate himself into the flames and freed the innocent. They broke down the doors, rushed into the building, and when they came to the stake found the bones and flesh of the men turned into charcoal and ashes. The bonds were uninjured, the stake intact; and the righteous fire had punished only those who had been guilty. Thus it was that the good Lord turned the hearts of the erring to repentance, and their blasphemies into praise.

It is in our times that these things have arisen. And by our times I mean this modern period, the course of these last hundred years, at the end of which we now are, and of all of whose notable events the memory is fresh and clear enough; for there are still some centenarians alive, and there are very

filii qui ex patrum et suorum relacionibus certissime teneant que non uiderunt. Centum annos qui effluxerunt dico nostram modernitatem, et non qui ueniunt, cum eiusdem tamen sint racionis secundum propinquitatem, quoniam ad narracionem pertinent preterita, ad diuinacionem futura. Hoc tempore huius centennii primum inualuerunt ad summum robur Templarii, Hospitalarii in Ierusalem, in Hispania milites qui a gladio nomen habent,[1] de quibus superius sermo decessit.

xxxi. *De secta Valdesiorum*

Vidimus in concilio Romano sub Alexandro papa tercio celebrato[2] Valdesios, homines ydiotas, illiteratos, a primate ipsorum Valde dictos, qui fuerat ciuis Lugduni super Rodanum, qui librum domino pape presentauerunt lingua conscriptum Gallica, in quo textus et glosa Psalterii plurimorumque legis utriusque librorum continebantur. Hii multa petebant instancia predicacionis auctoritatem sibi confirmari, quia periti sibi uidebantur, cum uix essent scioli. Moris etenim est ut aues, que subtiles non uident laqueos aut rete, liberos ubique credant meatus. Nonne qui capciosis exercitantur tota uita sermonibus, qui capere et capi uix possunt, profunde rimatores abissus, nonne hii timentes offensam reuerenter omnia de Deo proferunt, cuius tam celsa dignitas ut nulle possint ad eam laudes uel oracionum uirtutes ascendere nisi misericordia traxerit illas? In singulis diuine pagine apicibus tot uolitant pennis uirtutum sentencie, tot sapiencie accumulantur opes, ut de pleno possit haurire cui⟨cun⟩que Deus donauerit in quo. Nunquid ergo margarita porcis,[3] uerbum dabitur ydiotis, quos ineptos scimus illud suscipere, nedum dare quod acceperunt? Absit hoc, et euellatur. A capite descendat unguentum in barbam, et hinc in uestimentum; a fonte deriuentur aque, non a plateis paludes.[4]

[1] i.e., the order of Santiago de Compostela: see D. W. Lomax, *La Orden de Santiago, 1170–1275* (Madrid, 1965). Map had not dealt with the knights of the sword '*superius*', 'earlier', so that it has generally been thought that a chapter or section is missing. But he had dealt with the Templars and Hospitallers in i. 18–23, and it seems likely that he is referring to these. The reference to the knights of the sword may have been a later insertion into the sentence, or the sentence may mislead through carelessness.

[2] The Third Lateran Council of 1179; see above, p. xxxviii: R. B. Brooke, *Coming of the Friars* (London, 1975), pp. 72, 151–2; *Councils and Synods*, i. 1011–14 and references.

many sons who possess, by the narration of their fathers and grandfathers, the certainty of things which they did not see. The century which has passed I call modern times—not that which is to come, though in respect of nearness to us the two are of like account—for the past belongs to history and the future to divination. It is in the period of this century that the Templars, the Hospitallers in Jerusalem, the Knights called of the Sword in Spain,[1] from whom our discourse took its departure earlier, have grown to the zenith of their strength.

31. *Of the Sect of the Waldensians*

At the Roman Council under Pope Alexander III,[2] I saw some Waldensians, simple illiterate men, called after their leader Waldo (Valdès), who was a citizen of Lyons on the Rhône. They offered the pope a book written in the French tongue, in which was contained the text, with a gloss, of the Psalter and many of the books of the two Testaments. They pressed very earnestly that the right of preaching should be confirmed to them; for in their own eyes they were learned, though in reality hardly beginners. It is the common case that birds which do not see fine snares or nets think that there is a free passage everywhere. Do we not see that those who practise themselves all their days in subtle discourse, who hardly can either entrap others or be entrapped, the explorers of the deepest depths—are not they, fearing offence, always cautious in their utterance about God, whose state is so high that neither praise nor the strength of prayer can mount to him unless his mercy draws it? In every letter of the divine page there flit on the wings of virtues so many sayings, there is heaped up such wealth of wisdom, that any to whom the Lord has given the means can draw from its fulness. Shall then the pearl be cast before swine,[3] the word be given to the ignorant, whom we know to be unfit to take it in, much less to give out what they have received? Away with such a thought, uproot it! From the head let ointment go down to the beard and thence to the clothing; from the spring let the water be led, not puddles out of the streets.[4]

[3] Cf. Matthew 7: 6 (for 'haurire . . . in quo' cf. John 4: 11 and Bradley, p. 395).

[4] Cf. Psalm 132 (133): 2; Proverbs 5: 16.

Ego multorum milium qui uocati fuerunt minimus, deridebam eos, quod super eorum peticione tractatus fieret uel dubitacio, uocatusque a quodam magno pontifice, cui eciam ille maximus papa confessionum curam iniunxerat, consedi
f. 23v signum ad sagittam,[1] / multisque legis peritis et prudentibus ascitis, deducti sunt ad me duo Valdesii, quia sua uidebantur in secta precipui, disputaturi mecum de fide, non amore ueritatis inquirende, sed ut me conuicto clauderetur os meum quasi loquentis iniqua. Timidus fateor sedi, ne peccatis exigentibus in concilio michi tanto gracia negaretur sermonis. Iussit me pontifex experiri aduersus eos, qui respondere parabam. Primo igitur proposui leuissima, que nemini licet ignorare, sciens quod asino cardones edente indignam habent labia lattucam: 'Creditis in Deum patrem?' Responderunt: 'Credimus.' 'Et in Filium?' Responderunt: 'Credimus.' 'Et in Spiritum sanctum?' Responderunt: 'Credimus.' Iteraui: 'Et in matrem Christi?' et illi item: 'Credimus.' Et ab omnibus multiplici sunt clamore derisi, confusique recesserunt, et merito, quia a nullo regebantur et rectores appetebant fieri, Phetontis instar, qui 'nec nomina nouit equorum'.[2]

Hii certa nusquam habent domicilia, bini et bini circueunt nudi pedes, laneis induti, nichil habentes, omnia sibi communia tanquam apostoli, nudi nudum Christum sequentes.[3] Humillimo nunc incipiunt modo, quia pedem inferre nequeunt; quos si admiserimus, expellemur. Qui non credit, audiat quod predictum est de huiusmodi.

Sunt certe temporibus nostris, licet a nobis dampnatis et derisis, qui fidem seruare uelint, et si ponantur ad racionem, ut dudum, ponant animas suas pro pastore suo domino Iesu. Sed nescio quo zelo ductis uel conductis nobis nostra uiluerunt tempora quasi ferrea, placuerunt antiqua uelut auro lucencia; historias ab inicio ad nos usque deductas habemus, fabulas eciam legimus,

[1] Cf. Lamentations 3: 2 (and above, p. 66; for 'os . . . loquentis iniqua' below, cf. Psalm 62: 12 (63: 11); for 'respondere parabam', Virgil, *Ecl.*, vii. 5).

[2] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* ii. 192.

[3] Cf. Acts 2: 44: 'nudus nudum Christum sequi' was a phrase much quoted in the 12th and 13th centuries: some examples are noted by M. Bernards in *Wissenschaft und Weisheit, Augustinisch-Franziskanische Theologie und Philosophie in der Gegenwart*, xiv (Düsseldorf, 1951), 148–51.

I, the least of many thousands who were called, was deriding these, wondering that there should be any discussion or doubt about their petition, when I was summoned by one, a great prelate, to whom that supreme pope had committed the charge of confessions, and took my seat, a mark for arrows;[1] and in a gathering of many lawyers and skilled men there were brought before me two Waldensians who figured as leaders in their sect, to dispute with me about their faith, not for love of ascertaining the truth, but that I might be put to shame and my mouth shut, as of one that speaketh iniquity. I confess that I took my seat in fear, lest my sins might require that, before so great an assembly, the grace of speech should be denied me. The bishop bade me try my hand against them, and I prepared myself to answer. First, therefore, I put to them very simple questions which ought to be unknown to no one, for I was aware that when an ass eats thistles, his lips count lettuce unworthy of them. 'Do you believe in God the Father?' They answered: 'We do.' 'And in the Son?' They answered: 'We do.' 'And in the Holy Ghost?' They answered: 'We do.' I said again: 'And in the mother of Christ?' And they once more: 'We do.' And by everyone present they were hooted down with universal clamour, and went away ashamed; and rightly, for they were governed by none and yet desired to become governors, like Phaethon, who 'knew not even the names of his steeds'.[2]

These people have no settled abodes; they go about two and two, barefoot, clad in woollen, owning nothing, but having all things in common, like the apostles, nakedly following the naked Christ.[3] They are now beginning in a very humble guise, because they cannot get their foot in; but if we let them in, we shall be turned out. He who believes not, let him hear what has just been said concerning this kind.

There are, to be sure, in our days—days which we condemn and despise—some who desire to keep the faith, and if they were called to account like those of long ago, would lay down their lives for their shepherd, the Lord Jesus. But—I know not what fancy has possessed or bribed us—our times have grown cheap in our eyes, as an age of iron, the old times please us as if they shone with gold. We have histories continued from the beginning down to us; we read fiction too;

et que[a] placere debeant intellectu mistico nouimus. Attende Caim inuidum, Gomorre ciues et Sodome, non unum dico sed ad unum omnes luxu perfluidos, Ioseph uenditum, Pharaonem per tot punitum plagas, populum uitulo ydolo aureo Deo et electo Domini per deserti purissimas exibiciones rebellem, superbiam Datan, proteruitatem Zambri, periurium Architophel, auariciam Nabal,[1] et quorum non est numerus monstra nostris a primo continuata temporibus; et non abhorreas tam nimio fastu que nunc fiunt similia uel minus uilia. Sed quia grauior est malorum sensus quam auditus, quod audimus silemus, et quod dolemus plangimus; uel pensantes deteriora fuisse, modum habeamus in his que leuiora sunt. Fabule nobis eciam commonitorie Atreum[b] et Thiestem, Pelopem et Licaona,[2] multosque similes eorum proponunt, ut uitemus eorum exitus, et sunt historiarum sentencie non inutiles; unus utrimque narracionum mos et intencio. Nam historia, que ueritate nititur, et fabula, que ficta contexit, et bonos fine florenti beant, ut ametur benignitas, et fedo malos dampnant interitu, uolentes inuisam reddere maliciam;[3] sibique succedunt inuicem in scripturis tum aduersitas prosperitati, tum e conuerso mutacione frequenti, quatinus utraque semper habita pre oculis neutri fiat propter alteram obliuio, sed se medico temperamento moderentur, ne unquam modum superet eleuacio uel fractura, scilicet ut contemplacione futurorum nec sit a spe uacua meditacio, nec a metu libera, futurorum dico temporalium, quia caritas perfecta que celestis est foras mittit timorem.[4]

[a] que *Mynors;* quo *MS*

[b] Arthurum *crossed out MS, corr. in marg. to* Atreum

[1] Cf. Genesis 4, 19, 37; Exodus 7 ff., 32; Numbers 16; 3 Kings (1 Kings) 16: 9 ff. (cf. 4 Kings (2 Kings) 9: 31); 2 Kings (2 Samuel) 15 ff.; 1 Kings (1 Samuel) 25.

[2] Lycaon was a legendary king of Arcadia, who served human flesh at his table and was changed into a wolf. Pelops was killed by his father Tantalus, king of Phrygia, and he too was served at table. Similarly his son Atreus served up to his brother Thyestes the flesh of Thyestes' children.

[3] That the good should flourish and the wicked be punished in this world as well as in the next was a common theme of medieval writers based on the historical books of the Old Testament; well illustrated e.g. in John of Salisbury's later

and if we understand the mystical significance of history, we then learn what ought to please us. Look upon Cain the envious, upon the men of Gomorrah and Sodom, not one but all to a man saturated with lust, upon Joseph sold, Pharaoh punished with all the plagues, the people with its golden calf-idol, rebelling against God and the Lord's chosen, through all that pure nurturing in the wilderness, the pride of Dathan, the rashness of Zimri, the perjury of Ahithophel, the covetousness of Nabal,[1] and the innumerable portents that have gone on from the first times down to our own, and you will not so proudly turn from the similar or less vile things that happen now. But harder it is to feel evils than to hear of them. Of what we hear we say nothing; what pains us we bewail. At least, reflecting that worse things have happened, let us observe moderation about those of slighter account. Admonitory stories set before us Atreus and Thyestes, Pelops and Lycaon,[2] and many like them, that we may shun their ends; and the utterances of history are not without their use: one is the method and intention of the story in either case. For history, which is founded on truth, and story, which weaves together fiction, both of them make the good happy by a flourishing end, that goodness may be loved, and condemn the wicked to a dismal death, wishing to make malice hateful.[3] And in the records there is a constant alternation, now of adversity upon prosperity, now the converse, in frequent change, that so both being ever before our eyes, neither may be forgotten for the other, but men may regulate themselves by a medicinal mixture, that neither rise nor ruin may predominate overmuch, that our thoughts, when we look at the future, may be neither bare of hope nor free from apprehension: the future, I mean, in temporal matters; for perfect love, which is from heaven, casteth out fear.[4]

letters. As the theme of fiction, furthermore, it may be seen as part of the fashion of Map's own day, and to remind us of his connection with the courtly romances.

[4] Cf. 1 John 4: 18. This seems to be a fitting peroration to the *Distinctio*. It may well be that c. 32 was an afterthought (it is linked to what precedes only by its final sentence).

xxxii. *De tribus heremitis mirabiliter penitentibus*

Philippus Neapolitanus, uir illustris, nobis retulit, quod cum in Nigra Montana[1] uenatu[a] uenisset, uirum siluestrem pilosum et deformem fonti recubantem ut biberet repente per pilos sublimem rapuit, querens quis esset et quid ibi. Ille autem mansuetudine sua demitti meruit, et ait: 'Venimus ad hanc
f. 24 solitudinem tres, ut hic penitentes antiquorum fie/remus imitatores patrum; primus nostrum et optimus Francus, secundus et me longe forcior et longanimior Anglicus, ego Scotus. Francus tante perfeccionis est, quod de uita ipsius loqui pertimesco; excedit enim fidem. Anglicus, sed angelicus, cathena stringitur ferrea, tam longa ut protendi possit ad pedem septimum. Malleum autem secum ferreum et paxillum semper gestat, quibus affirmat terre cathenam suam in sabbato, et intra modicos illos fines per ebdomodam orat totus in hymnis et leticia, et nunquam querulus aut tristis. Ibi comedens quod repperit, sabbato castra mouet, non uagus sed loci querens amenitatem, non ubertatem, non remotum ab aeris importunitate sinum; ubi uictus aliquid secus aquam obuenerit, cum gaudio metatur; quem si uidere libet, super huius riuulum fontis hac facit ebdomoda residenciam.' His dictis ferina uelocitate recessit ab ipso. Neapolitanus autem Anglicum interuallo paruulo mortuum repperit, et ob reuerenciam uirtutum eius nec ipsum nec quicquam de suo tangere presumpsit, sociisque suis dignitatem sepulture commendans abscessit. Hic fontem leticie Christum pectore gerebat Anglicus, cui nullam potuit infligere tristiciam angustia. Sint ypocrite sic, ut ait Dominus, tristes, quia perfecta caritas foras mittit cum tristicia timorem.[2]

Explicit distinccio prima nugarum curialium.
Incipit secunda.

[a] *Perhaps for* uenatum *Winterbottom*

32. *Of the Wonderful Penance of Three Hermits*

The illustrious Philip of Newtown told me that when he was going hunting in the Black Mountain,[1] he came on a wild man covered with hair and uncouth to see, lying down by a spring to drink, whom he seized by the hair and lifted up, asking who he was and what he did there. But by his quietness he induced his captor to let him down again, and then said: 'There are three of us who have come to this solitude to do penance here and be followers of the old fathers. The first and best of us is French; the second, far stronger and more patient than I, English; I am a Scot (*Irishman?*). The Frenchman is of such perfection that I am afraid to tell of his life: it goes beyond belief. The Englishman—rather angel— is bound with an iron chain so long as to stretch seven feet; and he always carries about an iron hammer and peg, with which he fixes his chain in the ground every Saturday, and within that small compass prays for a week, absorbed in hymns and rejoicing, never complaining or sad. He eats what he finds there, and moves his camp on the Saturday, not at random, but looking for a pleasant place, not specially fertile, nor yet for a nook sheltered from the weather; and wherever he may find food in the neighbourhood of water, gratefully gathers. If you would see him, he is keeping his residence this week on the stream that flows from this spring.' With this he made off, swift as a wild creature. The man of Newtown after a little time found the Englishman dead, and out of respect for his virtues did not presume to touch him or aught that was his, but left him, enjoining his company to give him worthy burial. This Englishman, whom no hardship could sadden, bore Christ, the spring of gladness, in his bosom. Yes, let hypocrites, as the Lord says, be of a sad countenance, for perfect love casteth out not only fear but sadness.[2]

End of the first Distinction of the Trifles of the Court

[1] See pp. xii, xiv (Newtown may be Newton).
[2] Cf. Matthew 6: 16; 1 John 4: 18 (and c. 31).

i. *Prologus*

VICTORIA carnis est aduersus ⟨racionem⟩, quod que Dei sunt minus appetit homo, que mundi maxime. Racio uero, cum tenetur, anime triumphus est; reddit que Cesaris Cesari, Deique Deo.[1] Duo premisi Dei misericordiam et iudicium continencia,[2] que non solum non delectant sed tediosa sunt, et expectantur sicut expetuntur fabule poetarum uel earum simie. Differantur tamen, si non auferantur, et que scimus aut credimus miracula premittamus.

ii. *De Gregorio monacho Gloucestrie*[3]

Gregorium Gloucestrie monachum uidi, uirum iam senem, et cum sit ipsa senectus infirmitas, multis afflictum aliis egritudinibus: calculosus erat et fistulosus tibiis et cruribus, semper tamen et assidue iocundus, et cum non cessasset ualitudinis infestacio, non cessabat a psalmis. Si quando post longos labores sompnus irrepsit dulcior, illa se dicebat hora derelictum a Domino aut obliuioni deditum; et cum grauius urgebatur, grates uberius effundebat Altissimo, quasi cum beato diceret Augustino, 'Hic ure, hic puni, et[a] "ne in furore tuo arguas me".'[4] Suis me comendaueram oracionibus cum primo transfretaui, et cum inualuisset tempestas ut pene nauis operiretur fluctibus, in aliorum desperacione certissima de illius presumpsi meritis cui me commendaueram, eaque deuocione qua periture nauis periclitantes assolent Deum deprecatus sum, quatinus sua misericordia et illius boni Gregorii meritis nos a fluctibus indempnes eriperet, et in

[a] *Perhaps for* ut *Winterbottom*

[1] Cf. Matthew, 22: 21; etc.

[2] Cf. Psalm 100 (101): 1. 'Duo premisi' is difficult, and 'promisi' has been proposed. But this would refer to a promise which no longer exists, and only adds to the difficulty. It seems more likely that Map is picking up the theme of i. 31, and saying that he had proposed to give some moral tales—but with the deliberate carelessness which is so characteristic of the work, he tosses them aside for others which he regards as more interesting.

[3] See p. xv.

[4] 'ne in furore . . .' is from Psalm 6: 2 and 37: 2 (38: 1); we have not traced the quotation from Augustine ('nauis operiretur fluctibus' below is an echo of Matthew 8: 24).

THE SECOND DISTINCTION

1. *Prologue*

THE victory of the flesh is against reason, for man desires the things of God little and those of the world much. But reason, when it is held to, is the triumph of the soul, for it renders to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.[1] I did propose two tales, showing the mercy and judgement of God,[2] which are not only not pleasant, but are even tiresome, and yet are looked for as the fictions of poets, or the imitations of them, are sought out. However, they must be put off, if not put away wholly, and we must begin with some miracles which we either know or believe.

2. *Of Gregory, a Monk of Gloucester*[3]

I once saw Gregory, a monk of Gloucester, a man already old, and though age is itself an infirmity, afflicted with other ailments as well, gouty and with ulcers in his shins and legs, yet always cheerful, and even if the attacks of his malady did not slacken, he never slackened in psalm-singing. If ever after a long day's work a pleasant sleep crept upon him, he would say that at that moment he was forsaken or forgotten of the Lord; and when suffering most severely poured out more abundant praise to the Most High, as if, with blessed Augustine, he would say, 'Here burn, here punish me, "that thou mayest not rebuke me in thine indignation".'[4] I had commended myself to his prayers when I first crossed the Channel, and when a storm rose so high that the ship was almost covered with the waves and the rest were in complete despair I presumed on the merits of him to whom I had commended myself, and with that devotion wherewith those in peril on a sinking ship approach God, I prayed that of the mercy and by the merits of that good Gregory He would bring us safe out of the waters, and in

medio procelle conquieui modicum, et ecce uidi dominum Gregorium per singulos nautas incedentem, animantem eos et docentem, et singula corrigebat. Excitatus igitur omnia repperi summa tranquillitate silencia; meritas Domino persolui gracias. Hoc de ipso postmodum abbati suo Hamelino[1] retuli, quod ipse cum multa graciarum accione multis intimauit. Hoc autem Gillebertus de Laci,[2] uir illustris, qui se Templo donauerat, audiens, exemplo mei cum predicti Gregorii precibus et benediccione Ierosolimam peciit, et in mari Greco similiter ipsi contigisse postmodum narrauit.

iii. *De beato Petro Tarentasie*[3]

Vidi postmodum beatum Petrum archipresulem Tharenthasie, que montes inter Alpinos residet, uirum tante uirtutis et tot illustrem miraculis, ut meritis antiquorum quos in ecclesia
f. 24v colimus patrum equalis possit iustissime predicari, / cuius manu Dominus solo tactu et prece curabat infirmos, demonia effugabat, nec attemptauit quod non perficeret. Hic per dies undecim cum Anglorum rege domino Henrico secundo apud Lemouicas[4] moram fecit, cuius ego curam a rege suscepi, et regiis interim exibendum expensis habui, hominem letum et hilaris in omni casu faciei, mundum, modestum, humilem, omnino sicut multis aliis et ut michi uidebatur perfectum. Vnum uidi miraculum per manum ipsius a Domino factum, audiui plurima. Cum sero esset die una, uenit multitudo magna ciuium Lemouicensium, et secum hominem demoniacum deferebant. Veniebat autem post eos Pictauensis episcopus, qui nunc est Lugdunensis[a] archiepiscopus,

[a] Lundunensis *MS*

[1] Abbot of Gloucester (in succession to Gilbert Foliot) 1148–79 (*GFL*, p. 534; *Heads*, p. 53).

[2] Gilbert de Lacy was head of the branch of the family which had established a great marcher lordship, and whose members were substantial benefactors of Gloucester abbey, although at enmity, during Stephen's reign, with the earls of Gloucester and Hereford. Gilbert became a Templar *c.*1157–9, and probably died in the 1160s (W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194* (Oxford, 1966), esp. pp. 185–90; H. M. Colvin in *Essays . . . presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (1950), pp. 18–19 and nn.).

[3] An eminent Cistercian, archbishop of Tarentaise (now Moutiers, Savoy), 1142–1174, when he died; he was canonized in 1191 (E. W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 93–4); on him, see

the midst of the storm I took a little rest, and lo! I saw Dom Gregory walking about among the sailors and encouraging and directing each, and putting all right. When I awoke I found everything in the greatest calm and quiet, and rendered due thanks to the Lord. This I told of him afterwards to his Abbot Hamelin,[1] and with many thanks to me he passed it on to a number of others. The noble Gilbert de Lacy,[2] who had vowed himself to the Temple, heard of it and, following my example, went to Jerusalem, armed with the prayers and blessing of this Gregory, and afterwards related that he had had a like experience in the Greek Sea.

3. *Of Blessed Peter of Tarentaise*[3]

Later on I saw the blessed Peter, archbishop of Tarentaise, which lies among the Alps, a man of such virtue and distinguished by so many miracles that he might very properly be proclaimed equal in merit to the old fathers whom we reverence in the Church, by whose hand the Lord—by the mere touch and prayer—cured sick and drove out devils, nor did he ever attempt what he did not perform. He stayed for eleven days with Henry II, king of England, at Limoges,[4] and the care of him was entrusted to me by the King, and I had for that time to maintain him at the King's charge; he was a cheerful man and of a merry countenance in all circumstances, clean, modest, humble, every way perfect, as I and many others thought. I saw one miracle wrought by the Lord by his hands, and heard of many. Late one day there came a great crowd of people of Limoges, bringing with them a possessed man. After them came the bishop of Poitiers (who is now archbishop of Lyons),

Magna Vita, i. 38–40; his life was written by Geoffrey of Auxerre (above, i. 24 and n.; JS *Letters*, ii. 556–8 nn.); it is printed with his *Miracula* in *Acta Sanctorum, Bollandiana*, Maii ii (1680), 323–38.

[4] In late Feb. 1173 Henry II held court at Limoges and entertained Humbert III, count of Maurienne, the king of Aragon, and the count of Toulouse, as part of a scheme for the pacification of a wide area of territory from Savoy to Toulouse. This culminated in the marriage treaty of Humbert's daughter and Henry's youngest son, John, which (if it had come to fruition) would have made John lord of Turin and much territory in northern Italy and southern France. Peter of Tarentaise was the chief peacemaker. See Previté Orton, pp. 338–41; Eyton, pp. 170–1; *Gesta Henrici II*, i. 35–41; Warren, p. 117.

Albemanus cognomine, natus a Cantuária,[1] uir eloquencie precipue, auctoritatis et celebritatis maxime, non ut temptaret, sed quod fere credebatur uere posset scire. Is ad me in hiis uerbis accessit: 'Carissime mi, euoca nobis archiepiscopum, ut quod omnes predicant sine dubio testificari possimus. Vidi aliquociens fantasias fieri, ubi predicabant miracula se uidisse, percepique semper simultatem, nec unquam uerum aliquod uidi miraculum.' Tum ego dominum Petrum adduxi, qui posito genu manum imposuit infirmo spumanti et omnino uesano procul dubio. Aures apposuimus dominus Iohannes episcopus et ego, audiuimusque dicentem 'Recumbentibus undecim discipulis' et cetera.[2] Tenebant autem demoniacum contra le⟨c⟩tum; non enim ligauerant eum, quia ipsorum conciuis erat. Dicta igitur breui oracione post euangelium, iussit ei manus dimitti; qui statim manu dextera os suum tersit dicens 'Mater Dei, miserere.' Resiliens ergo subito dominus Iohannes episcopus cum lacrimis ait: 'Vere sanus est eger. Hic solus episcopus est, nos autem canes non ualentes latrare.'[3]

iv. *Item de eodem beato Petro*

Retulit mihi magister Serlo a Wiltunia, abbas Elemosine,[4] quod hic idem bonus archiepiscopus Petrus, cum interesset Cistersiensi capitulo, rogatus est a quodam monacho illius claustri, qui gibbosum habebat et retortum a natiuitate pedem, quatinus eius interuentu sanus fieret. Qui ducens monachum seorsum, et eum in scamno sedere fecit, et discalciato eo coram ipso genibus orabat flexis, pedem illum nudum inter manus habens. Accessit igitur magister Serlo, auremque apponens audiuit dominum archiepiscopum; cum quasi percussus a monacho resilisset, et respexisset monachum admiranter, ait: 'Frater, melius est tibi unum

[1] John of Canterbury, or aux Bellesmains, had been a clerk of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and was bishop of Poitiers, 1162–82; he was archbishop of Lyons from 1182 to 1193, when he resigned and became a monk at Clairvaux; he died *c.*1204. On him, see JS *Letters*, i, pp. xxvii–xxviii and n.; P. Pouzet, *L'anglais Jean dit Bellesmains* . . . (Lyon, 1927); C. T. Clay in *Yorks. Archaeological Journal*, xxxv (1940–3), 11–19; C. Duggan in *Thomas Becket*, ed. R. Foreville (Paris, 1975), pp. 71–83.

[2] Mark 16: 14; cf. Ogle, p. 206.

[3] Cf. Isaiah 56: 10.

[4] Master Serlo of Wilton, after a career as a secular clerk, teacher at Paris and

surnamed Belles Mains, a native of Canterbury,[1] a man of remarkable eloquence and great weight of renown, not to tempt God, but hoping to certify himself of what was common belief. He came to me with these words: 'My friend, do call the archbishop out to us that we may be able to bear witness for certain to what everyone asserts. I have sometimes seen illusory things happen when people declared they had seen miracles, and I always saw through the appearance, and never once have I seen a real miracle.' So I brought the lord Peter, who knelt down and laid his hand on the sick man, who was foaming at the mouth, and was without doubt mad. The lord bishop John and I kept our ears open and heard him saying: 'When the eleven disciples were at meat' and the rest.[2] The possessed man was being held against the bed; they had not bound him, for he was their fellow citizen. He [Peter] said a short prayer after the Gospel, and ordered them to leave hold of him, and at once he wiped his mouth with his right hand and said: 'Mother of God, mercy.' The lord bishop John gave a sudden start back and said with tears: 'The sick man is cured of a truth: this is the only bishop; we are dumb dogs that cannot bark.'[3]

4. *Again of the Same Blessed Peter*

Master Serlo of Wilton, Abbot of L'Aumône,[4] told me that the same good archbishop Peter when he was at the chapter at Cîteaux, was asked by a monk of that cloister, who had a foot deformed and bent back from his birth, that by his means he might be cured. Peter took the monk apart and made him sit on a bench and take off his shoe, and then knelt down and prayed before him, holding that foot bare between his hands. Master Serlo drew near, and, applying his ear, listened to the lord archbishop: he started back from the monk as if he had been struck, and looking at him with astonishment, said: 'Brother, it is better for thee to enter

poet, became first a Cluniac then a Cistercian monk and abbot of L'Aumône, the mother house of Waverley abbey, the oldest English Cistercian house. As abbot, he succeeded Philip of Liège, one of the editors of St. Bernard's miracles, between 1168 and 1172, and occurs again in 1173. He died in 1181. (A. C. Friend, 'Serlo of Wilton: the early years', *Bulletin Du Cange*, xxiv (1954) 85–110, esp. pp. 85–6; *GF*, p. 116 and n.; *Gallia Christiana*, viii. 1398; Annals of Waverley, *Ann. Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS, ii. 242; for Philip, see JS *Letters*, i. 262 n.).

pedem habentem intrare in regnum celorum quam cum duobus in Gehennam mitti',[1] et dimisit eum; et cum in Serlonem respexisset, ait; 'Frater Serlo, si me Dominus ad fratris huius curam admisisset, ipsum amisisset.' Quod quidem magis impotencie eius quam presciencie deputans, sed ut probaret quod fiebat, Cisterciensi abbati omnia rettulit, instanter petens quatinus monacho seorsum uocato iuberet eum omnia fateri. Qui iussus ait: 'Pater, cum generosus et pulcherrime prosapie sim, uidens me illo pede cognatis meis dissimilem et usque ad ludibria deformem, pre pudore abieccionis huc me destinaui. Nunc autem cum pedem illum dominus Petrus in manibus confouisset, uidebatur mihi sentire salutis aduentum, nactisque primitiis cogitabam illuc letissime reuerti, unde pre pudore tristis exiui.'

v. *Item de eodem beato Petro*

Aliud eciam mihi miraculum ipsum in crastina fecisse idem Serlo narrauit. Sermonem faciebat iussu Cisterciensis ad populum dompnus Petrus, quem interrumpens mulier
f. 25 quedam cum magno eiulatu plangebat / sibi bursam domini recisam. Indicens igitur archiepiscopus omnibus silencium, multis precibus fusis ut restitueretur lacrimose precatrici quod perdiderat petiuit, et uidens hortamenta delusa, tandem ait: 'Magnum illum cum mitra candida sumite, nummosque sub ascella eius sinistra.' Sumptis ergo ut uerus propheta iusserat illis et redditis, quesiuit dominus furis ab archiepiscopo quid de fure fieri uellet; cui ipse, 'Sinite', inquit, 'eum abire, quia corripi potest, corrigi autem non.'

Hunc Petrum aiunt aquam in uinum conuertisse, multos homines paucis panibus miraculose pauisse, ut sciatis graciam Domini non deesse petentibus et merentibus eam nostris eciam temporibus.

In partibus eciam Burgundie celebre dicunt, quod miles quidam non satis Deum metuens, cum in usu peccati sui pertinaci more persisteret, sensit ulcionem, immo correpcionem. Adhesit scapule sue infixitque lacerta dentes et digitos, et cum nullatenus amoueri posset Ypocratis arte

[1] Cf. Mark 9: 44.

into the Kingdom of Heaven having one foot, than with two to be cast into hell,'[1] and sent him away, and turning to Serlo, said: 'Brother Serlo, if the Lord had enabled me to the healing of that brother, he would have lost him.' Serlo put this down rather to lack of power in him than to foreknowledge; but in order to make sure of the matter, told the whole to the abbot of Cîteaux and begged him to see the monk in private and order him to confess all the truth. So ordered, he said: 'Father, I come of a noble and very handsome race, and when I saw myself with that foot, unlike my family and so deformed as to be ridiculous, I was ashamed at my mean appearance and settled to enter this place. But just now when the lord Peter had nursed my foot in his hands, it seemed to me that I felt health coming into it, and when I had the promise of it I began to think of returning with joy to the place I had left in sadness and shame.'

5. *Again of the Same Blessed Peter*

The same Serlo told me that Peter wrought yet another miracle on the day following. He was preaching a sermon to the people at the order of the abbot of Cîteaux, when a woman interrupted him with loud cries, complaining that her master's purse had been cut off. So the archbishop called for silence, and with many prayers besought that what she had lost might be restored to the tearful suppliant: then, seeing that his exhortations were vain, he said: 'Take that tall man with the white cap, and the money under his left arm-pit.' The money being taken as this true prophet ordered, and restored, the thief's master asked the archbishop what he would have done with him; his reply was: 'Let him go: he can be rebuked but never reformed.'

This Peter they say turned water into wine, and miraculously fed a number of people with a few loaves: that you may know that the Lord's grace, even in our times, does not fail such as ask for it and deserve it.

In the parts of Burgundy they commonly tell that a knight who did not greatly fear God, persisting obstinately in the habit of sin, experienced vengeance—or rather rebuke. A lizard clung to his shoulder and fastened its teeth and claws therein; and whereas by no means, either by the art of Hippocrates

uel oracionum auxilio, mirabiliter se magnificabat misericordie Mater.[a] Quociens miserabilis ille aliquam in eius nomine dedicatam intrabat ecclesiam, demittebatur et non comparebat lacerta, sed semper in exitu adherebat ei. Quod ut Petro per predictum innotuit, audita eius confessione penitenciam iniunxit ei, ipse autem peracta penitencia liberatus est.

vi. *De quodam heremita*[1]

Visibiles facit misericordias Dominus facta uel inchoata penitencia, docens cor uere penitens inuisibiliter et ab occultis liberari. [Liberauit Dominus heremitam.][b] Hora cene uenit ad solitarium in heremo serpens modicus, et ingressus cellulam quasi ieiunus supliciter se satis apud edentem habebat, supplicatu suo quasi postulans alimoniam. Ille zelum Domini habens, etsi non secundum scienciam, audierat 'Omni petenti te tribue' et 'catelli de micis edunt.'[2] Micas tribuit, et diebus omnibus uenientem ita suscepit hospitem, donec tantus fieret ut egredi non posset qua uenerat. Postmodum autem tractu temporis domuncule per angustiam locum igneis spiris inuoluit aduenticius, ut illa soli[c] pateret hospiti suo sedes. Fleuit igitur et ad Dominum totam leuauit animam[3] tortuosi nutricius zabuli, penitens et edoctus quomodo caritas impensa fatue respondebat. Misertus igitur eius qui sua gracia non potest non misereri Dominus, ei salutis destinauit nuncium, uirum scilicet ad uisitacionem eius aduectum, qui audito uisoque ludibrio, penitenti precipit quatinus illius presenciam patienter habeat in diem quadragesimum. Fit ita, dieque data non est inuentus, qui nichil aliud in casula quam seipsum passus fuerat heremitam inuenire. Qui uisibilem disparere coegit hostem inuisibili potencia, potens est et certe ualde uolens abolere que latent, nisi nos obstinatos inuenerit.

[a] mater *Wright;* matrem *MS* [b] *Probably a marginale taken into the text (Winterbottom)* [c] soli *Winterbottom;* sola *MS*

[1] Stith Thompson offers no close analogues for this story, but cf. D 418, and the story of the snake in *Ragnars saga Loðbrókar.* On this analogy see Liebrecht, pp. 29–30; Tupper and Ogle, p. 330.

or the help of prayer, could it be removed, the Mother of mercy was in this case wonderfully magnified. Whenever this poor wretch entered any church dedicated in her name, the lizard slipped down and was nowhere to be seen, but always as he went out fastened upon him. When Peter was informed of this by the man, he heard his confession, enjoined a penance on him; and he, when he had duly performed it, was freed.

6. *Of a Certain Hermit*[1]

The Lord makes visible his mercies when repentance is done or begun, to teach us that the truly penitent heart is invisibly freed even from secret faults. [The Lord delivered a hermit.] At the hour of supper there came to a solitary in the wilderness a small snake, which entered the cell and as if hungry kept by him as he ate, humbly enough, seeming to ask for nourishment by its suppliant attitude. He, having a zeal of the Lord though not according to knowledge, had heard the precept, 'Give to everyone that asketh thee' and 'the little dogs shall eat of the crumbs.'[2] Crumbs he gave it, and so entertained his guest, which came every day, till it grew so large that it could no longer go out where it used to come in. Later, as time went on, the visitor, so small was the hut, surrounded the whole place with fiery coils, so that the hut was only big enough for his guest. The nourisher of the tortuous devil wept and lifted up his whole soul to the Lord[3] in penitence, when he thus learned the result of charity foolishly lavished. And the Lord, who of his grace cannot but have mercy, had mercy on him and sent him a messenger of salvation in the shape of a man who came to visit him: who hearing and seeing the monstrous trick, enjoined the penitent to endure the presence of the serpent patiently until the fortieth day. He did so, and on the day named he who had not suffered the hermit to find anything but him in the cell, was himself not found. He who forced the enemy to disappear by invisible power is able and surely willing to do away with hidden snares unless he finds us obstinate.

[2] Cf. Romans 10: 2; Luke 6: 30; Matthew 15: 27.
[3] Cf. Psalm 24 (25): 1.

vii. *De Luca Hungaro*

Vidi Parisius Lucam Hungarum in scola magistri Girardi Puelle,[1] uirum honestum et bene literatum, cuius mensa communis fuit sibi cum pauperibus, ut uiderentur inuitati conuiue non alimonie questores. Hunc uocauit Dominus per regem Hungarie,[2] per clerum et populum, ad archiepiscopatum Strigonie. Huius michi uitam et mores post archiepiscopatum narrauit Hugo, uir a Cenomanno natus et Acrensis episcopus.[3] Rex Hungarus, de quo prius sermo, decessit, filium modicum scilicet puerulum relinquens heredem. Accessit igitur ad Lucam archiepiscopum frater regis, petens ab ipso in regem inungi et coronari. Corripuit ipsum Lucas et prodicionis arguit, qui contra ius et morem et fas / f. 25v exheredare uellet innocentem, et consentire noluit. Ille regem se fieri ab alio eiusdem regni archiepiscopo, ad quem nichil de coronacione regis pertinebat, obtinuit, quasi dixisset

flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta[a] mouebo,[4]

et a Luca statim anatemate percussus est. Qui e uestigio Lucam de absolucione sua minis terribilibus enseque nudato ad racionem posuit, et spretus itemque excommunicatus ipsum uiolenter detrusit in carcerem, et suspensas ecclesias ab interdicto cessare coegit. Cumque diu teneretur in uinculis Lucas, retulit ab Alexandro papa tercio quidam amicus eius literas liberacionis eius ad ipsum in carcerem occulte ad regem missas, quibus nullatenus uti uoluit Lucas, audito quod duodecim denariorum constitissent, ut omnes alie solent ad bullam, dicens se nolle per simoniam liberari. Aperuit autem sibi Dominus carcerem die Pasce, dum

[a] Acheronta *Wright (and Virgil);* achonita *MS*

[1] Gerard la Pucelle was a distinguished teacher at Paris, and a clerk to Archbishops Thomas and Richard; at the end of his life he was bishop of Coventry (1183–4): above, p. xv; JS *Letters*, ii. 68–9; S. Kuttner and E. Rathbone in *Traditio*, vii (1949–51), 296–303. Luke of Hungary having in 1156 become bishop of Eger (Lat. Agria) in Hungary, was archbishop of Esztergom, *c.*1160/1–*c.*1179 (P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, Regensburg, 1873, pp. 367, 380; *Traditio*, art. cit., p. 297 and n. 6).

[2] Géza II (1141–1161/2) was succeeded on the throne of Hungary by his son, Stephen III (1161/2–1172), who had to meet the opposition of his uncles Ladislas and Stephen; the circumstances are differently related by the native and the Byzantine authorities. J.E.L. A full study of Luke's relations with the Hungarian

7. *Of Luke of Hungary*

I saw Luke of Hungary at Paris, in the school of Master Gerard la Pucelle.[1] He was a worthy man, well instructed, who took his meals in company with the poor, so that they appeared to be invited guests, and not beggars of food. This man the Lord called by means of the king of Hungary,[2] and of the clergy and people, to the archbishopric of Esztergom. His life and conversation after his accession were related to me by Hugh, a native of Le Mans, and bishop of Acre.[3] The king of Hungary, whom I mentioned, died, leaving as heir a young son, quite a boy. The king's brother accordingly came to Archbishop Luke, demanding to be anointed and crowned king by him. Luke rebuked him and accused him of treason for wishing, contrary to law and custom and right, to disinherit the innocent, and would not consent. He managed to get himself made king by another archbishop of the realm, who had no rights as regarded the coronation (seeming to say),

If I cannot bend the gods to my will, I will stir up Hell,[4]

and was at once smitten by Luke with a curse. Forthwith with terrible threats and drawn sword he demanded absolution from Luke. Treated with scorn and excommunicated afresh, he thrust him with violence into prison, and compelled the churches (which Luke had interdicted) to pay no attention to the interdict. After Luke had been long in prison a friend of his brought to him secretly into the dungeon letters for his liberation from Pope Alexander III, addressed to the king. These Luke wholly declined to make use of when he heard that, like all others to which a bull is attached, they cost twelve pence, for he said he would not be set free by simony. The Lord opened his prison on Easter Day, when the

kings, with Pope Alexander III and the schism, and with rival archbishops and Greek influences, was published by W. Holtzmann in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, vi (1927), 412–26: see pp. 415, 421 for comment on Map's tale. For Stephen's succession see Holtzmann, pp. 408–9 n.

[3] Not identified, but just possibly the bishop of Acre who was killed at the battle of Hattim (*Itinerarium regis Ricardi I*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS, 1864, p. 15). It seems more likely, however, that he was a bishop in Hungary, and that *Acrensis* is a corruption of *Agriensis*, of Eger (Erlau). There seems to be no other evidence of him in Hungarian sources.

[4] Virgil, *Aen.* vii, 312.

interesset rex misse solempni. Intrauit igitur Lucas capellam cum multa omnium admiracione, altarique nudato mantili ceterisque proiectis ornatibus coram cruce iuxta regem stupidum timidumque sic ait: 'Domine Iesu, cuius resurreccionem nemo preter Christianos asserit, in uirtute qua surrexisti, si dignum hunc regem tua uisitacione decreueris, "uerte impium ut non sit"; sin autem, in manu forti et dextera Pharaonis ultrice in his quadraginta diebus senciat in quem transfixit.'[1] Et egressus capellam, item ab iniquis executoribus arciori deputatus est custodie, pacienter omnia ferens, in oracionibus et laude Domini uigil et assiduus. Et factum est ut ante diem quadragesimum rex moreretur inpenitens. Successit ei frater eius unicus, uiolencia equalis priori. Hunc eciam Lucas, datis quadraginta dierum induciis, 'interfecit spiritu oris sui'[2] in ipsis, puerumque iustum heredem cum omni solempnitate inunxit, cuius puericiam Lucas cum summa tranquillitate transegit, at iuuentutem non eque. Rex enim factus iuuenis amplectens alciora quam sustinere ualeret, re sua deficiente, possessiones ecclesiasticas dilapidare non horruit. Quem Lucas post multas lacrimosas amoniciones obstinatissime pertinacie uidens, flendo subiecit anathemati, et multis pro eo fusis ad Christum precibus, meruit ei a Deo graciam, ut bona penitencia ductus ad ecclesiam Strigonie properaret, satisfacturus pro uoto Luce. Cui Lucas cum omni clero et populo solempni processit obuius leticia, absolutumque suscipiens ducebat. Cantantibus autem aliis, flebat occulte Lucas. Cui rex: 'Quid est, karissime pater, quod inter tot gaudia flere libet?' Tum Lucas: 'Gaudere uere possum? Nam anno reuoluto consimili die cum omnium nostrum confusione et ira hoc eodem loco suscipieris mortuus.' Et ita contigit.

viii. *De indiscreta deuocione Walensium*

'In omni gente', ut alias dicitur, 'qui timet Deum acceptus est ei.' Rarus in Walensibus nostris est timor Domini

[1] Cf. Proverbs 12: 7; John, 19: 37.
[2] Cf. 2 Thessalonians 2: 8.

king was at the high mass. Luke entered the chapel to the great surprise of all, tore the cloth from the altar, and threw down the rest of the ornaments, and standing before the cross beside the king, who was aghast and terrified, spoke thus: 'O Lord Jesus, whose rising again none but Christians proclaim; by the power wherein Thou didst rise, if Thou account this king worthy of Thy visitation, turn the wicked that he be no more (wicked): but if not, then by that strong right hand which chastised Pharaoh, let him within these forty days know whom he hath pierced.'[1] He went out of the chapel, and was at once committed to closer confinement by the ministers of iniquity, yet bore all patiently, wakeful and diligent in prayer and praise of the Lord. And it came about that before the fortieth day the king died impenitent. He was succeeded by his only brother, a man as violent as his predecessor. Him also Luke, after giving him a respite of forty days, 'slew with the breath of his mouth'[2] within the time, and then with all solemnity anointed the boy, the rightful heir. The time of his boyhood Luke spent in perfect calm, but not so that of his youth, for the king, now grown into a youth, had higher ambitions than he could support, and when his own resources failed did not scruple to waste the possessions of the church. After many warnings and tears, Luke seeing that he held stubbornly to his purpose, with weeping laid him under a curse; and then after much prayer to Christ for him earned of God this favour for him, that led by true repentance he hurried to the Church of Esztergom to make satisfaction to Luke according to his will. Luke came out to meet him with all the clergy and people in solemn rejoicing, absolved him, took him and led him within. Yet while all were singing Luke secretly wept. 'Why is it, dearest father,' said the king, 'that in the midst of such joy you think fit to weep?' 'How,' said Luke, 'can I rejoice? To-day, a year hence, to the confusion and wrath of us all, you will be brought into this same place a corpse.' And so it fell out.

8. *Of the Indiscriminate Devotion of the Welsh*

In every nation, as is said elsewhere, he that feareth God is accepted of him. Very uncommon among our Welshmen

secundum scienciam.[1] Cum domino Willelmo de Breusa,[2] uiro armis eruditissimo, fuit, ut ipse michi retulit, Walensis quidam genere nobilis, probitate acerrimus, qui noctibus singulis primo gallicantu a lecto surgebat nudusque ad terram nudam genu flexo excubabat in lucem orans; abstinens eciam decenter erat, et tam artissime circa seipsum custodie, ut si congnosceres eum supra hominem angelis putares proximum. Si uero uideres quam infrunitus in congressibus, quam facilis ad sanguinem, quam sue salutis necligens, quam aliene mortis auidus, quam letus scelere aliquo uel homicidio perpetrato, non dubitares eum penitus
f. 26 iniquitati deditum: adeo firmiter et tanquam / naturaliter inest eis Walensibus hebetudo mansuetudinis, ut si in aliquo uideantur modesti, in multis appareant discoli et siluestres.

ix. *De Helya heremita Walensium*

Vidi Helyam heremitam Walensem, preclare fidei et uite probabilis hominem. Secum hic fratrem suum Walenfreit habebat aliosque quamplures in foresta que Dena dicitur, non ex decimacione[3] aliqua sed nomine proprio, qui non ex consilio Helie sed suo animalia in pascuis que ibi habundant habebant plurima. Co⟨n⟩tigit autem equam quandam ex illis abesse, quesitam diu non adesse. Delata est inde ad eum ab ipsis querela, qui ait: 'Hinc ad Austcliue[4a] abduxit eam Ricardus portitor multis uigiliis et laboribus antlatam; inuenietis autem eam in tugurio iuxta portam eius,' proferensque dedit eis quatuor denarios dicens: 'Date ei pro labore furti, ne defraudetur operarius mercede sua.'[5] Factumque est ita, et nichil contra inuentum. Hunc nemo ambigit in hoc fuisse prophetam. Hic iam in fata concessit, et cum ipso est cui credidit, qui pro nobis propicietur.

[a] Austcliue *James;* Austeline *MS*

[1] Cf. Acts 10: 35; Romans 10: 2.
[2] Lord of Brecknock [Brycheiniog] and other regions in the Welsh marches from 1175 until his quarrel with John in 1208; he died in exile in 1211. J.E.L.

is a fear of the Lord according to knowledge.[1] There was with the Lord William of Briouze[2] (a man most experienced in warfare), as he himself told me, a Welshman of noble race, of keen prowess, who every night at the first cockcrow rose from his bed and kept watch till dawn in prayer, naked and kneeling on the bare earth. He practised abstinence too in a comely sort, and was so strict in self-control that had you known him you could think him more than man, and nearer to the angels. Yet if you saw how wild he was in battle, how easily provoked to bloodshed, how careless of his own safety, how eager for the slaughter of others, how pleased when any crime or murder was done, you could not doubt that he was wholly given over to iniquity. So strong and one may say innate in the Welsh is the disuse of civility, that if in one respect they may appear kindly in most they show themselves ill-tempered and savages.

9. *Of Helyas, a Welsh Hermit*

I once saw Helyas, a hermit, a Welshman, a man of eminent faith and approved life. He had with him his brother Walenfreit and a number of others, in the Forest which is called Dean (not from any connection with tithes,[3] but by that proper name), who, not by Helyas's wish but their own, kept a number of beasts in the pastures which abound there. It happened that one of these, a mare, was missing, and not to be found after long search. They complained to Helyas, who said: 'Richard the ferryman has taken her from here to Aust Cliff,[4] and she is exhausted with work and want of sleep; you will find her in the shed near his gate.' With that he took out four pence and gave them, saying: 'Give him this for his trouble in stealing her, that the workman may not lose his hire.'[5] It was done, and nothing said against it. No one doubts that in this case Helyas was a prophet. He has now passed away, and is with him in whom he believed: upon us be his mercy.

[3] A pun on 'dena' which can mean 'tenths'.
[4] Aust (Cliff) on the Severn, where was the 'Old Passage' across the estuary. J.E.L. (cf. ii. 23 below).
[5] Cf. Luke 10: 7.

x. *De Cadoco rege Walensi*[1]

Cadocus, Wallie rex, audiuit Dominum dicentem 'Qui non reliquerit omnia propter me non est me dignus',[2] et relictis omnibus in heremo solitarius labore manuum suarum et sudore uultus sui panem quesitum iocunda et salubri deuocione comedit. Contigit autem post aliquot dies et annos, quod successor eius, sorte scilicet electus, faciens illac iter ad eum mitteret ut panem sibi militibusque suis acciperet. Qui respondit se modicum et quod tantis non sufficeret habere; si tamen pro Deo peteret, se daturum. Remisit autem ad eum dicens: 'Si miserit, recipiam; sin autem, mansionem eius et panem suum et ipsum flamma comburet.' Cui Cadocus: 'Malo ipse panem habeat, quam simul comburamur; sed maledicti qui comederint.' Comedentibus autem illis, anathema scientibus nec parcentibus, miles quidam Iltutus nomine, stans in medio eorum, abstinuit et dissuasit. At illi obstinati et deridentes eum casmate[a] absorti perierunt; terra autem sub pedibus Iltuti mansit, et saluatus est. Hec de Cadoco Brenin.

xi. *De aparicionibus fantasticis*[3]

Aliud non miraculum sed portentum nobis Walenses referunt. Wastinum Wastiniauc secus stagnum Brekeniauc,[4b] quod in circuitu duo miliaria tenet, mansisse aiunt et uidisse per tres claras a luna noctes choreas feminarum in campo auene sue, et secutum eum eas fuisse donec in aqua stagni submergerentur, unam tamen quarta uice retinuisse. Narrabat eciam ille raptor illius quod eas noctibus singulis post submersionem

[a] casmate *(for* chasmate*) Winterbottom;* caumate *MS* [b] Brekeinanc *MS, and similarly elsewhere*

[1] This seems to be a developed version of the story of St. Illtud's conversion as told in the *Lives* of St. Cadog (by Lifris and Caradog of Llancarfan) and of St. Illtud (Lifris and *V. Iltuti* in *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae*, ed. A. W. Wade-Evans (Cardiff, 1944), pp. 62–3, 196–7; Caradog, ed. P. Grosjean, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, lx (1942), c. 12, p. 53). Map is closest to the *Vita Iltuti*, but the verbal connections are slight. According to Lifris and Caradog, Cadog was the son of Gwynllyw, eponym and king of Gwynllywiog; Cadog was not king himself, though Gwynllyw commended his kingdom to his son's care on his deathbed (Lifris, p. 90; Caradog, cc. 15–16, pp. 55–8). The title 'king' or *brenin* (which was the equivalent in Welsh) is an embroidery, perhaps of Map's own making. (On the legend of St. Cadog, see Brooke, in K. Jackson *et al.*, *Celt and Saxon*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 283–315). In the hagiographical legends, Cadoc's opponent is made to be his uncle Paul Penychen; here he is his successor —though the significance of 'sorte . . . electus' is far from clear.

10. *Of Cadog, the Welsh King*[1]

Cadog, king of Wales, heard the Lord saying, 'Whoso forsaketh not all things for my sake is not worthy of me,'[2] and forsook all, and as a solitary in the desert ate with cheerful and wholesome devotion the bread which he gained by the labour of his hands and the sweat of his brow. Now, it came to pass that after some days and years, his successor, elected by lot, journeying that way, sent to him to obtain bread for himself and his knights. Cadog replied that he had but little, and what would not suffice for so many, but that if he asked it for God's sake, he would give it. He sent back to him saying: 'If he sends it I will accept it; but if not, fire shall consume his house and his bread and himself.' Cadog answered: 'I would sooner he had the bread than that I should be burnt with it, but cursed are those that eat it.' As they were eating—aware of the curse, but not sparing for that—one knight called Illtud, standing in the midst, abstained, and dissuaded them. But they, obstinate and deriding him, were swallowed up in a chasm: but the earth remained firm under Illtud's feet, and he was saved. Thus much of Cadog Brenin.

11. *Of Illusory Apparitions*[3]

Another, not miracle but prodigy, the Welsh relate to us. Gwestin Gwestiniog, they say, lived by the lake of Brycheiniog,[4] which is two miles broad, and saw on three clear moonlight nights bands of women dancing in his field of oats, and followed them till they plunged into the water of the lake; but on the fourth night he caught one of them. Her captor also said that each night after they had plunged in

[2] Cf. Matthew 10: 37–8.

[3] For the similar story of the Swan Maiden, see Stith Thompson, D 361. 1 (and B 652. 1). The historical interest of this chapter is that it gives us the legend of Brychan, the eponymous founder of Brycheiniog (Breconshire), and the supposed founder of its dynasty of kings (see Lloyd, i. 270–2). Giraldus (vi. 31–2) gives us other legends of him; he is first mentioned in Lifris's *Life of St. Cadog* as Cadog's grandfather (*c.*1095–1104: cf. *Celt and Saxon*, loc. cit., esp. pp. 301–3, 309). His relationship to St. Cadog, and the twelve sons and twenty-four daughters of Welsh legend, were probably inventions of the 11th and 12th centuries.

[4] Llyn Syfaddon or Llangorse Lake. J.E.L.

earum murmurantes audisset sub aqua et dicentes: 'Si hoc fecisset, unam de nobis cepisset', et se ab ipsis edoctum quomodo hanc adeptus[a] sit; que et consensit et nupsit ei, et prima uerba sua hec ad uirum suum: 'Libens tibi seruiam, et tota obediam deuocione usque in diem illum quo prosilire uolens ad clamores ultra Leuem me freno tuo percusseris.' Est autem Leuem aqua uicina stagno. Quod et factum est; post plurime prolis suscepcionem ab eo freno percussa est, et in reditu suo inuentam eam fugientem cum prole insecutus est, et uix unum ex filiis suis arripuit, nomine Triunein[b] Vagelauc.[1c]

Hic cum esset magnanimus arte possessionis terminos exiit. Regem ergo Deheubard,[2d] id est Noruuallie, sibi dominum elegit; ibi diu moratus iactanciam domini sui non tulit, qui cum sedisset in cena, familiam multam nimis et bonam uiribus et armis respiciens, superbe intulit: 'Non est prouincia uel regnum sub celo unde michi facile non sit predam educere, et sine bello reuerti: quis enim tanto michi tante/que familie f. 26v mee resistere possit? Quis uero absque negocio a facie nostra fugiat?' Triunein hec audiens, probitatem et improbitatem suorum compatriotarum[e] pensans ait: 'Domine rex, salua magestate regia, Breauc rex noster tanta uirtute sua suorumque prepollet, ut non possis tu uel quisquam alius rex predam suam ui abducere, die illa qua mane cacumina moncium libera sint et absque nube et flumina uallium nebulosa.' Rex, auditis hiis, iratus ligari eum iussit et in carcerem proici. Ad hoc quidam nepos regis, qui diligebat Triunein, nomine Madauc, ait: 'Domine, non ulla facecia cum indempnitate fame uestre ligari potest aut male tractari, antequam mendax inueniatur. Quod ait nebulas super flumina detineri et cacumina libera, signa sunt serenitatis; uult autem significare quod clara die nemo possit inde predam educere.[f] Probemus

[a] adeptus *suggested by James;* adepta *MS* [b] *MS apparently* triunem *here*
[c] Vagelauc *J. G. Evans;* Nagelauc *MS* [d] Deheubard *James;* Deheulard *MS*
[e] compatriotatarum *MS* [f] educere *Winterbottom;* elicere *Bradley;* eicere *MS (cf.* educere *above)*

[1] 'Vagelauc' is due to J. G. Evans (so Webb, p. 122). Dr. Patrick Sims-Williams and Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens have kindly confirmed that this is the correct reading, and means 'cracked, bent, stooping' or possibly 'having a crutch'; see *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* i. 249 s.v. 'baglog'.

[2] In fact, *South* Wales; but whether the text is due to scribal error or to bravado on Map's part is difficult to decide. 'id est Noruuallie' was evidently a gloss, and may have been added after Map's death.

he heard them murmuring beneath the water and saying: 'If he had done so and so he would have caught one of us.' So he learnt from themselves the way in which he caught this one. She yielded to him and married him, and her first words to her husband were these: 'I will gladly serve you and obey you with all devotion till the day when you are about to rush out at the shouting beyond the Llyfni, and strike me with your bridle.' Now Llyfni is a river near the lake. This actually happened: after many children were born to him of her, she was struck with a bridle by him, and when he got back he found her fleeing with the children, followed them, and barely succeeded in catching one of his sons, named Triunein Vagelauc.[1]

He, being ambitious, left the narrow bounds of his estate, and chose for his lord the king of Deheubarth, that is North Wales.[2] There he stayed a long time, but could not put up with the boastfulness of his lord, who one day taking his seat at supper and looking upon his household, which was very numerous, strong and well equipped, broke out proudly thus: 'There is no province or realm under heaven out of which I could not easily fetch spoil and return without a battle, for who is there that could resist my greatness, and that of my household, and who could escape from before us without trouble?' When Triunein heard this and reflected on the prowess and ruthlessness of his own countrymen, he said: 'Lord King, saving your royal majesty, Brychan our king so excels in his own valour and that of his men that neither you nor any other king could take away spoil from him by force on any day when at the dawn the tops of the mountains are clear and cloudless and the rivers in the valleys covered with mist.' At these words the king was enraged, and commanded him to be bound and cast into prison. Hereupon a nephew of the king who loved Triunein, and was named Madoc, said: 'Lord, he cannot with any show of politeness or without prejudice to your good name, be bound or harshly treated, before he is proved a liar. For what he says of the mists hanging over the rivers and the hill-tops being clear, these are signs of fair weather; and he means that on a fine day no one can take prey from them. Let us prove

an uera sit hec iactancia, nactique serenitatem, hunc Triunein ducem nobis faciamus, qui parcium illarum situs nouit qua ingrediendum et exeundum sit.' Annuit rex, ingressique regnum Brehein a Brekeniauc predam multam collegerunt. Sedebat autem rex Brechein in balneo, et nemo ei dicebat. Timebatur enim a uicio suo, nam omnem sinistri rumoris nuncium in primo intellectu mali quasi a demone arreptus, eo quod tenebat siue lapide siue fuste siue gladio percuciebat subito, et post primum iactum aut ictum aut impulsum penitebat, et uel lesum uel illesum reuocabat, ut peraudiret. Audiebat clamores nimios, et erat lancea proxima, unde factum est ut excercitu suo contra hostes collecto nemo ei quicquam nunciare presumps⟨er⟩it. Puer tamen ex nobilissimis illorum tandem in medio prosiliens ait: 'Scio quod pre timore nemo uestrum preconem se regi nostro rumoris huius faciet, sed si michi omnes benedixeritis, nunciabo ei periculum;' et summisso capite susceptaque ab omnibus manuum et linguarum benediccione, regi astitit in termis, et ait: †'Vestra terre Reynos, id est Brecheniauc, non pugnent amodo quasi animalia desunt.'†[1] Prosilit ergo rex a balneo, et in furoris impetu lapidem prope repertum in ipsum proicit, sed non consequitur, et more suo reuocat, edoctusque rumores, arreptis uestibus et armis compeditum insilit in equum, qui libere ipsum et quasi non compeditus a monte Cumeraic, ubi tunc erat, usque in terram suam rapuit, ubi a muliere amonitus est equum suum soluere a compedibus; qui statim hesit, et compertis uinculis equi sui non processit donec absolueretur. Exinde autem maledicens femine properare non destitit quousque cum suis obuiam habuit. Quo uiso sui securi et acres in hostes inuolant, perdunt et mactant, et confecto eorum excercitu fere toto, die crastina iussit rex omnes omnium manus dextras in unum conportari, et in locum alium mentulas eorum, et in tercium secus uiam fuge

[1] This sentence is clearly corrupt (cf. Bradley, p. 395). 'Reynos' seems most probably a corruption of some form of 'Rheinwg'. This obscure name has caused a great deal of confusion (see Lloyd, i. 281–2; P. C. Bartrum, *Trans. of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion* (1948), pp. 296 ff.). Rheinwg and Rhieinwg in various forms occur in contexts which suggest that the name was used as an alternative for, or for a part of, both Dyfed and Brycheiniog. It is clear in the present context that Rheinwg is used as an equivalent of Brycheiniog (if Rheinwg is the correct form, it may be derived from King Rhain, supposed in Lifris's *Life of*

if this boast is true, and when we have fair weather, let us put this Triunein at our head, for he knows the lie of those parts and the entrances and exits.' The king agreed, and they invaded the kingdom of Brychan of Brycheiniog, and gathered a great store of prey. Now King Brychan was sitting in his bath, and no man brought him news of it; for he was feared for this evil habit, that when any brought him bad news, upon first comprehending the misfortune, as if seized by a devil, he would strike him forthwith with whatever was in his hand, stone, club, or sword, and after the first throw, stroke, or thrust, was sorry and would recall the messenger—hurt or unhurt—and hear him out. He now heard great outcries, and he had a spear by him, for which reason, though his troops were gathered to oppose the enemy, no one dared to tell him anything. At last a youth, one of their noblest, sprang forward and said, 'I know that for fear none of you will make himself a herald of this report to our king; but if you will all give me your blessing, I will tell him of the danger', and with bowed head he received the blessing of the hands and tongues of them all, and then went to the king in the bath, and said: 'Your land of Rheinwg (i.e. Brycheiniog) can fight no more from this moment, for there are no beasts left.'[1] Out darted the king from the bath, and in the attack of fury hurled a stone which he found near, at him, but missed, and then as usual called him back, and on hearing the report caught up his clothes and weapons, mounted his horse, which was hobbled, and yet carried him as freely as if not shackled from Montgomery, where he then was, into his own territory. Here he was told by a woman to loose the shackle from his horse: he pulled up at once and finding the beast shackled went no farther till it was loosed, and then with a curse on the woman hurried on without a stop till he had joined his men. Relieved and stimulated at the sight of him they rushed upon the enemy, and routed and slaughtered them, and when nearly the whole force was exterminated, the king next day ordered all their right hands to be collected in one place, and the virile members in another, and in a third near the

St. Cadog (ed. Wade-Evans, p. 78) to be Brychan's son and successor); 'id est Brecheniauc', like 'id est Noruuallie' above, is a gloss, perhaps added later; but in this case probably correctly.

omnes pedes dextros, singulosque fecit super hec eorum membra monticulos in memoriam uictorie sue post tantas iactancias, qui usque nunc extant quique secundum inclusa membra nominati. Quod autem aiunt Triunein a matre sua seruatum, et cum ipsa in lacu illo uiuere unde supra mencio est, imo et mendacium puto, quod de non inuento fingi potuit error huiusmodi.

xii. *Item de eisdem aparicionibus*

Simile huic est quod Edricus Wilde,[1] quod est siluestris, sic dictus a corporis agilitate et iocunditate uerborum et operum, homo multe probitatis, et dominus Ledeburie borealis, qui
f. 27 cum uenatu sero rediens per deuia / mediam usque noctem uiarum dubius errauit, uno tantum comitatus puero, ad domum in hora nemoris magnam delatus est, quales Anglici in singulis singulas habebant diocesibus bibitorias, *ghildhus* Anglice dictas;[2] cumque prope esset uidissetque lumen in ea, introspiciens multarum nobilium feminarum maximam coream uidit. Erant autem pulcherrime aspectu, uenustoque habitu eleganter culte lineo tantum, maioresque nostris et proceriores. Vnam tamen inter alias notauit miles predictus ceteris forma facieque prestantem, super omnes regum delicias desiderabilem. Circuibant leui motu gestuque iocundo, et castigata uoce, reuerendo concentu sonus audiebatur exilis, at non erat sermo earum intelligibilis. Hac uisa, miles accipit uulnus in cor, arcuque Cupidinis impressos uix sustinet ignes; totus accenditur, totus abit in flammas, et a

[1] For analogues to this tale, see ii. 11, p. 149 n. 3. Eadric 'Salvage' or *silvaticus* was an Anglo-Saxon thegn who held various manors in Shropshire and Herefordshire in 1066, and lived until at least 1072, having made his peace with King William after a brief period of revolt—in which he had taken to the wood or the wild, hence his name. He did not hold Lydbury North (near Bishop's Castle, Shropshire), which was already the bishop of Hereford's—and had been given to the bishop, according to Giraldus (*Life of St Ethelbert, EHR*, xxxii (1917), 232–3; cf. *VCH Shropshire*, i. 290–1), by 'Edwinus quatiens caput' in the time of King Offa—but was tenant of Lydham nearby. The heir Alnoth is otherwise unknown. Orderic Vitalis (a native of Shropshire) calls Eadric 'Guilda [i.e. 'wild']: id est siluaticus' (ed. Chibnall, OMT, ii. 194). On Eadric see esp. S. Reynolds in *BIHR* liv (1981), 102–5; also E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, iv (London 1871), 738–40; M. Chibnall in Orderic, ii. 195 n.; Hinton, *Notes*, pp. 451–4.

[2] 'Walter Map and his friend Gerald of Wales were doubtless echoing a joke that they had often enjoyed together when Walter described . . . a large building

path of their flight all the right feet, and built a cairn over each of these piles of limbs as a memorial of his victory over such boastfulness; they are still there, each named after the part that lies in it. But whereas they tell that Triunein was saved by his mother and still lives with her in the lake I mentioned, I think it must even be called a lie, for such a fiction could easily be invented about a man who was missing.

12. *Again of Such Apparitions*

Like to this is the story of Eadric Wild[1] (i.e. the savage), so named from his bodily activity, and his rollicking talk and deeds, a man of great prowess; lord of Lydbury North: he when returning late from hunting through wild country, uncertain of his path, till midnight, was accompanied only by one page, and came upon a large building at the edge of the forest, such a one as the English have as drinking-houses, one in each parish, called in English *ghildhus*;[2] and when he was near it, seeing a light inside, he looked in and saw a great dance of numbers of noble ladies. They were most comely to look upon, and finely clad in fair habits of linen only, and were greater and taller than our women. The knight remarked one among all the rest as excelling in form and face, desirable beyond any favourite of a king. They were circling with airy motion and gay gesture, and from their subdued voices singing in solemn harmony a delicate sound came to his ears; but their words he could not understand. At the sight the knight received a wound to the very heart, and ill could bear the fires driven in by Cupid's bow; the whole of him kindled and blazed up, and from the

"such . . . as the English have as drinking houses, one in each parish, called in English *Ghildhus*", and Gerald referred to the London Guildhall as a notable drinking house' (C. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800–1216* (London, 1975), p. 280, citing this passage and Giraldus, *Opera*, iv. 404–5). The word *ghildhus* seems not to be otherwise recorded. But the Middle English *gilde* ('guild') was influenced by Old Norse *gildi*, which meant 'payment' (as OE *gild*) or 'banquet' (J. de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leiden, 1961 s.v.)—and so it may be that OE or ME **gild(e)-hūs* was used for 'banqueting house', or possibly that Map has here engaged in a little mystification, at the expense of bibulous guilds (cf. *Oxford English Dict.* s.v. Guild-ale, and Guild, citing St. Anselm on a delinquent monk of Bec in England: '. . . ita ut in gildis cum ebriosis bibat et cum eis inebrietur' (*Opera*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, iii (Edinburgh, 1946), p. 223, Ep. 96). For other references, see Brooke and Keir, loc. cit.). The recorded OE phrases are *eala hūs* 'ale-house' and *gest hūs* 'guesthouse'.

feruore pulcherrime pestis aureique discriminis animosus efficitur. Gencium errores audierat, nocturnasque phalanges demonum et mortiferas eorum uisiones, Dictinnam et cetus Driadum et Lares,[1a] edoctus offensorum uindictam numinum, quomodo subitis eorum uisoribus subitas inferant penas, quam se illibata conseruent et incognita secrete seorsum habitent, quam inuisos habeant qui consilia eorum deprehendere conantur ut detegant, rimantur ut reuelent, quanta se sollicitudine claudant[b] ne uisa uilescant; ulciones audierat et punitorum exempla; sed quia recte cecus Cupido pingitur, immemor omnium fantasma non pensat, ultorem non uidet et, quia lumen non habet, offendit inprouidus. Domum circuit, adituque reperto irruit, ipsam rapit a qua rapitur, et statim ab aliis arripitur, et dimicacione fortissima detentus aliquandiu suis puerique sui magnis conatibus eripitur, nec omnino indempnis sed, quantum possint feminarum ungues et dentes, pedibus lesus et tibiis, hanc secum tulit, et ea pro uoto tribus diebus et noctibus usus, uerbum ab ea extorquere non potuit; passa tamen est consensu placido uenerem uoluptatis eius. Quarta uero die locuta est ei uerba hec: 'Salue, dulcissime mi, et saluus eris, et prospero statu persone rerumque gaudebis, donec inproperaueris michi aut sorores a quibus rapta sum, aut locum aut lucum unde, aut aliquid circiter illud; a die uero illa decides a felicitate, meque sublata detrimento frequenti deficies, diemque tuum inportunitate tua preuenies.' Ille se stabilem fore fidumque semper in suis amoribus quacunque potest securitate promittit. Conuocat ergo uicinos et remotos nobiles, et multitudine congregata solempni eam sibi matrimonio iunxit. Regnabat in illa tempestate Willelmus Bastardus, tunc nouus Anglie rex, qui portentum hoc audiens, probare cupiens et scire palam an uerum esset, utrumque uocauit ut simul uenirent Londonias, ueneruntque multi cum eis testes, et multorum testimonia qui adesse non poterant, et maximum erat fatalitatis argumentum inuisa

[a] lares *Brooke*; alares *MS, rewritten in erasure of* a. . . . [b] claudant *James;* claudunt *MS*

[1] Dictynna was originally a Cretan goddess; here used as an alternative name for Artemis or Diana, the goddess of hunting, accompanied by her attendant wood-nymphs (Dryads). Cf. also Ovid, *Ibis*, 79–80.

fever of that fairest of plagues, that golden peril, he drew courage. He had heard tell of the fables of the heathen, the nightly squadrons of devils and the deadly vision of them, of Dictynna and the bands of Dryads and Lares,[1] had learnt of the vengeance of the gods when offended, and how they inflict sudden punishment on those who suddenly catch sight of them, how they will keep themselves strictly apart, and dwell unknown, secretly and remote, how they dislike those who try to surprise and detect their assemblies, who search after them to make them public, with what care they shut themselves from view lest, if seen, they be contemned; those vengeances and the examples of the sufferers he had heard; but as Cupid is rightly painted blind, he forgets it all; thinks it no illusion, sees no avenger, and recklessly stumbles because he has no light. He goes round the building, finds the entrance, rushes in, catches her by whom he has been caught, and is instantly set upon by the rest; for a time he is delayed by a fierce struggle, but at last extricated by the utmost efforts of himself and his page, yet not quite undamaged—hurt in feet and legs by all that the nails and teeth of women could inflict. He took her with him, and for three days and nights used her as he would, yet could not wring a word from her. She yielded quietly to his will. On the fourth day she spoke to him in these terms: 'Hail to you, my dearest! and whole shall you be, and enjoy prosperity in body and affairs, until you reproach me either with the sisters from whom you snatched me, or the place or wood or anything thereabout, from which I come: but from that day you will fall away from happiness, and when I am gone you will fail with successive losses, and anticipate your day of doom by your own impatience.' He vowed by every assurance possible to be firm and faithful in his love. So he called together the nobles near and far, and in a great concourse joined her to him solemnly in marriage. At that time William the Bastard, then newly king of England, was on the throne: he, hearing of this prodigy, and desirous to prove it and know plainly if it were true, summoned the pair to come together to London, and with them there came many witnesses, and much evidence from those who could not come. A great proof of her fairy nature was the beauty of the woman,

prius et inaudita species mulieris, et cum stupore omnium remissi sunt ad propria. Contigit postmodum plurimis reuolutis annis quod Edricus uenatu reuersus circa terciam noctis horam, ⟨cum⟩ quesitam eam non inuenisset, uocauit eam et uocari iussit, tardeque uenientem iratus intuens ait: 'Nunquid a sororibus tuis tam diu detenta es?' et cetera
f. 27v iurgia fecit in aërem; nam illa soro/ribus auditis disparuit. Penituit ergo iuuenem excessus tam enormis et dampnosi, locumque petit unde raptum fecerat; sed nullis eam fletibus, nullis eiulatibus reuocare potuit. Clamabat per diem et noctem, sed ad insipienciam sibi; nam uita eius ibi defecit in dolore continuo.

Reliquit autem heredem filium suum et illius pro qua decessit, Alnodum, uirum magne sanctitatis et sapiencie, qui cum esset aliquantulum prouectus decidit in paralisim et tremorem capitis et membrorum. Qui cum omnibus medicis incurabilis uideretur, a uiris discretis accepit quatinus ad apostolos Petrum et Paulum quomodocunque posset properare satageret, sanitatem pro certo accepturus, ubi corpora eorum Rome scilicet sepulta sunt. Quibus ille respondit se nusquam iturum in iniuriam sancti Eþelberti regis et martiris, cuius ipse parrochianus erat, antequam ipsi presentaretur, et se deferri fecit Herefordiam; ubi nocte prima coram altari predicti martiris pristine datus est sanitati, et cum graciarum accione donauit in perpetuam elemosinam Deo et beate Virgini et sancto regi Edelberto Ledebiriam suam, que in terris Wallie[1] sita est, cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, que adhuc nunc in dominio episcopi Herefordensis est, diciturque triginta libras annuas facere dominis suis.

Audiuimus demones incubos et succubos,[2] et concubitus eorum periculosos; heredes autem eorum aut sobolem felici fine beatam in antiquis hystoriis aut raro aut nunquam legimus, ut Alnodi qui totam hereditatem suam Christo pro sanitate sua retribuit, et in eius obsequiis residuum uite peregrinus expendit.

[1] Actually in Shropshire, a little over 8 km east of Offa's dyke.

[2] For *incubi* and *succubi* see Stith Thompson, F 471. 2, 471. 2. 1: an incubus was 'a male demon who comes in sleep and has sexual intercourse with a woman'; a *succubus*, more normally *succuba*, his female counterpart. Tupper and Ogle, p. 332, cite Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, xv. 23, for *incubi*.

the like of which had never been seen or heard of; and amid the amazement of all they were sent home again. It happened later, after the lapse of many years, that Eadric, coming back from hunting about the third hour of the night and not finding her, called her and bade her be summoned, and because she was slow to come said, with an angry look: 'Was it your sisters that kept you so long?' The rest of his abuse was addressed to the air, for when her sisters were named she vanished. Bitterly did the youth repent his perverse and disastrous outbreak, and he sought the spot where he had made her captive, but by no tears nor outcries could he regain her. Day and night he kept calling for her, but all turned to his own confusion, for his life came to an end in that place in unceasing sorrow.

He left, however, an heir—his son, borne by her for whose sake he died—Alnoth, a man of great holiness and wisdom, who when somewhat advanced in age fell into a palsy and shaking of the head and limbs, and he, appearing to all physicians incurable, was told by discreet persons that he ought by all means to manage to hasten to the apostles Peter and Paul, and would certainly recover health, in the place where their bodies are buried, namely Rome. He replied that he could go nowhere in despite of St. Ethelbert, king and martyr, whose parishioner he was, before presenting himself to him, and had himself conveyed to Hereford, where on the first night before the altar of that martyr he was restored to his former health and with thanksgiving presented in perpetual alms to God and the Blessed Virgin and St. Ethelbert the King, his manor of Lydbury, which is in the Welsh country,[1] with all its appurtenances, and it is to this day in the lordship of the bishop of Hereford, and is said to yield its lords thirty pounds a year.

We have heard of demons that are *incubi* and *succubi*,[2] and of the dangers of union with them; but rarely or never do we read in the old stories of heirs or offspring, of them, who ended their days prosperously, as did this Alnoth, who paid over his whole inheritance to Christ in recompense for his cure and passed the rest of his life as a pilgrim in his service.

xiii. *Item de eisdem aparicionibus*

A fantasia, quod est aparicio transiens, dicitur fantasma; ille enim aparencie quas aliquibus interdum demones per se faciunt a Deo prius accepta licencia, aut innocenter transeunt aut nocenter, secundum quod Dominus inducens eas aut conseruat aut deserit et temptari permittit. Et quid de his fantasticis dicendum casibus, qui manent et bona se successione perpetuant, ut hic Alnodi et ille Britonum de quo superius,[1] in quo dicitur miles quidam uxorem suam sepellisse reuera mortuam, et a chorea redibuisse raptam, et postmodum ex ea filios et nepotes suscepisse, et perdurare sobolem in diem istum, et eos qui traxerunt inde originem in multitudinem factos, qui omnes ideo 'Filii mortue' dicuntur? Audienda sunt opera et permissiones Domini cum omni paciencia, et ipse laudandus in singulis, quia sicut ipse incomprehensibilis est, sic opera sua nostras transcendunt inquisiciones et disputaciones euadunt, et quicquid de puritate ipsius a nobis excogitari potest aut sciri, si quid scimus, id uidetur habere, cum totus ipse sit uera puritas et pura ueritas.

xiiii. *Item de eisdem aparicionibus*[2]

Miles quidam a karissima sibi bona quidem et nobili uxore primogenitum primo mane post eius natiuitatem iugulatum repperit in cunis, et anno reuoluto secundum, et tercio similiter tercium, suis et omnium suorum excubiis flebiliter delusis. Preuenerunt ergo ipse et uxor sua suique quartum puerperium ieiuniis et elemosinis et oracionibus et lacrimis multis, natusque est eis puer, quem cum eis ignibus lampadibus⟨que⟩[a] circumdante[b] tota uicinia, omnes in eum intendebant oculos. Veniens autem peregrinus quasi ex itinere fessus, hospicium sibi pro Deo peciit, et deuotissime susceptus est. Qui et assedit eis excubans; et ecce post noctem mediam

[a] lampadibusque *James;* lampadibus *MS* [b] circumdante *Winterbottom;* circumdantes *MS*

[1] This seems to refer to *dist.* iv. 8 (and see above, p. xxviii).

[2] Cf. Liebrecht, pp. 30–2; and for a close parallel, Hinton, *Notes*, p. 454, citing Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), pp. 319–21. A somewhat similar story is told by Gervase of Tilbury, iii. 86

13. *Again of the Same Apparitions*

Fantasma is derived from *fantasia*, i.e. a passing apparition, for the appearances which occasionally devils make to some by their own power (first receiving leave of God), pass by with or without doing harm, according as the Lord who brings them either protects or forsakes us or allows us to be tempted. But what are we to say of those cases of 'fantasy' which endure and propagate themselves in a good succession, as this of Alnoth and the other narrative of the Britains told above[1] in which a knight is said to have buried his wife, who was really dead, and to have recovered her by snatching her out of a dance, and after that to have got sons and grandsons by her, and that the line lasts to this day, and those who come of it have grown to a great number and are in consequence called 'sons of the dead mother'. Surely the acts and permissions of the Lord are to be hearkened to with all patience, and he is to be praised in every one of them; for as he is incomprehensible, so his works transcend our questioning and escape our discussion, and whatever can be thought or known by us about his purity (if we know anything at all) he is seen to possess, since he is wholly true purity and pure truth.

14. *Again of the Same Apparitions*[2]

A certain knight had a beloved good and noble wife by whom he had a first-born son, and on the first morning after his birth he found him in his cradle with his throat cut: and in a year's time a second was so found, and in the third year a third, his own careful watch and that of his household being miserably eluded. He therefore, with his wife and family, anticipated the fourth birth with fastings, alms, prayers, and many tears, and a boy was born to them, whom all the neighbours, in company with them, surrounded with fires and torchlight, and all kept their eyes fixed upon him. Now there arrived a pilgrim, tired, it seemed, with journeying, and besought shelter in God's name, and was most religiously taken in, and shared their watch; and lo! after midnight,

(ed. F. Liebrecht (Hanover, 1856), p. 40; ed. Leibnitz, i. 988): a baby is snatched from a cradle by a demon.

sopitis omnibus aliis ipse solus peruigil uidit subito reuerendam matronam cunabulo imminentem et inuadentem / f. 28 infantulum ut iugularet. Prosilit igitur inpiger ille, tenetque firmiter arreptam, donec omnibus excitatis et circumstantibus a multis eorum agnita est, et ab omnibus in modico, protestantibus ipsam esse nobilissimam omnium illius metropolis matronarum genere, moribus, diuiciis et omni honestate; sed ad nomen suum, ad questiones alias, nichil respondet. Quod et pater ipse multique alii pudori ascribunt ob intercepcionem, suadentque dimitti; ille constanter asserit demonem esse, tenetque firmiter, et una clauium ecclesie proxime faciem ad eius malicie signum exurit, et precipit ipsam sibi cito adduci quam opinantur hanc esse. Que dum istam tenet adducitur, similisque per omnia capte, similiter eciam exusta, uidetur. Dicit ergo peregrinus admirantibus et stupidis: 'Hanc que nunc aduenit optimam spero Deoque dilectam, et bonis operibus inuidiam demonum in se prouocasse, unde et hec eorum nuncia nequam et executrix irarum huic bone quantum ei licuit †inuisa† similisque facta est, ut infamiam culpe sue refundat in istam. Quod ut credatis, uidete quid dimissa faciet.' At per fenestram auolauit cum planctu et eiulatu maximo.

xv. *Item de eisdem aparicionibus*[1]

Quid super his et huiusmodi dicendum? Paulus et Antonius, recte dicti heremite, quia uasti nimis heremi palantes incole Deum in solitudine solum querebant, inuicem ignoti, admoniti sunt in spiritu hic hospes fieri adueniens, ille suscipiens; hic aspectatus,[a] expectans ille. Venienti autem et de uia dubitanti, e transuerso affuit currens centaurus, animal duplex, homo ab imo pectoris, equs inferius; hic ad questiones eius mugitum pro uerbis edidit, manuque doctrinam uie fecit.

[a] aspectatus *MS, perhaps for* expectatus *Winterbottom*

[1] From Jerome, *Vita S. Pauli*, c.17 (*PL* 23, 22 ff.); the identification with Pan is Map's own.

when all the rest were sleeping, he alone remained awake and saw all at once a reverend lady stooping over the cradle and attacking the child with intent to cut its throat. He sprang forward without hesitation, seized her, and held her firmly till all were roused and surrounded her, and she was recognized by many of them, and in a short while by all, who declared that she was the noblest lady of all in that city, in regard of birth, character, riches, and all honest behaviour, but neither to her name nor to any other question would she answer. This the father himself and many besides attributed to her shame at being caught, and would have had her let go. The pilgrim, however, insisted that she was a devil, continued to keep firm hold of her, and with one of the keys of the neighbouring church branded her face as a sign of her wickedness, and moreover directed that that lady whom they supposed this one to be should at once be brought to him. She was brought while he still held the other, and was seen to be like in all respects to the captive, even to the branding. Quoth the pilgrim to the astonished and stupefied group: 'This lady who is just come is, I trust, an excellent person, and dear to God: by her good works she has drawn on herself the anger of the devils, and therefore this evil emissary of theirs and minister of their wrath has been made like this good woman, and hostile to her as far as she might, in order to throw the infamy of her crime upon her. That you may see the truth of this, note what she will do when I let her go.' She flew out through the window with appalling shrieks and lamentations.

15. *Again of the Same Apparitions*[1]

What is to be said of these and of like stories? Paul and Antony, rightly called eremites, inasmuch as, nomad dwellers in a vast wilderness, they sought God alone in loneliness, these, though strangers to each other, were warned in the spirit, the one to act as guest by arriving, the other to be host by receiving; the one was to be expected, the other to await. And as the comer journeyed, doubtful of the way, there crossed his path at speed a centaur, a beast of double nature, man from the base of the chest, horse below: who to his question uttered a roaring in place of words, and with his hand gave him instruction of the way.

Post hunc se sibi ultroneum obtulit aliud quoddam pedibus caprinis, uentre hispido, nebridem habens pectore stellis stellatam, facie ardenti, mento barbato, cornibus erectis; huiusmodi autem Pana dicunt antiqui; *pan* autem interpretatur omne, unde tocius in se mundi formam habere dicitur. Hic uerbis discretis uiam docuit, quesitusque quis esset, respondit se angelorum unum qui eiecti cum Lucifero dispersi sunt per orbem singuli secundum merita superbie sue.

xvi. *Item de eisdem aparicionibus*

Nunquid non et hoc fantasma est? Apud Louanum in marchia Lotharingarum et Flandrie, in loco qui Lata Quercus dicitur,[1] aduenerant ut adhuc solent multa militum milia ut more suo armati colluderent, quem ludum torniamentum uocant, qui reccius tormentum dicitur. Insidebat autem miles quidam ante congressum equo maximo; erat autem ipse pulcher, statura aliquanto mediocribus maior, et uenustis armis decenter redimitus. Innixus lancea suspirabat tam egre, ut a multis circumstancium annotatus, ad racionem poneretur cur hoc. Ipse autem cum alto respondit suspirio: 'Deus bone, quantus mihi labor est omnes hodie uincere qui huc conuenerunt!' Exiit autem uerbum hoc ad singulos, et ostensus ⟨est⟩ alternatim et inuicem omnium digitis cum susurro inuide indignacionis. Ipse autem primus lancea in aduersos irruit, et tota die illa tam fortiter agens, tantis eminens successibus, tam uictoriose quibusque preualens effulsit, quod in iniuriam eius nulla tacuit inuidia laudem, et in amorem eius pre admiracione tota conuersa est malignitas odii. Sed uere laus in fine canitur, et uespere laudatur dies. Filius uidebatur Fortune,[2] sed in ultimo circa finem et discessum omnium ab ignobili nulliusque precii milite facto sibi obuiam lancea percussus est in cor, subitoque mortuus. Reuocate sunt utreque partes, et cum ab omnibus et a
f. 28v singulis / alterutrum singulis ostensus sit exarmatus, a nemine cognitus est, et usque hodie inauditum quis fuerit.

[1] Not identified.
[2] Cf. Horace, *Sat.* ii. 6. 49. 'uespere laudatur dies' was a proverbial phrase: see A. Taylor, *Modern Languages Notes*, xxxvi (1921), 115–18; Hinton, *Notes*, p. 454.

After him, there put himself purposely in his view another creature with goat's feet and hairy belly, on his breast a fawn's skin with starry marks, with fire-red face, bearded chin and upright horns. Such was Pan as described by the ancients, and the meaning of *pan* is *all*, signifying that he has in him the form of all nature. This creature told Antony the way in distinct speech, and when asked who he was replied that he was of the angels who were cast out with Lucifer, and were scattered throughout the world, each one according to the deserts of his pride.

16. *Again of the Same Apparitions*

Is not this yet another 'fantasm'? At Louvain in the march of Lorraine and Flanders, at the place called Lata Quercus,[1] there were assembled (as is still the custom) many thousands of knights to play together in arms after their manner, a sport which they call a tournament, but the better name would be torment. A knight was there, before the contest began, mounted on a great horse: he was handsome, in stature somewhat over the middle height, and duly equipped with fine weapons. Leaning on his spear, he kept sighing so dismally that many of the bystanders remarked him, and he was called to give the reason why. With a deep sigh he answered: 'Good God! What work I shall have to beat all those who have gathered here to-day!' This saying went forth to everyone, and he was pointed at by all and sundry with expressions of envy and indignation. But he was the first to fly upon his opponents with the lance, and all that day he did so mightily, gained so many successes, so prevailed and shone out victorious over every single foe, that not the most envious could keep from praise, to his detriment, and for very wonder all spite of hate was turned to affection. But of a truth it is at the end that praise is sung, and at evening that the day is approved. He seemed to be luck's own child,[2] but at last when all was near an end, and everyone was going away, he was pierced to the heart by the spear of an obscure knight of no account who opposed him, and died in a moment. Both sides were called apart, and when he was disarmed and shown to each and all of either party, no one could recognize him, and to this day it has not been ascertained who he was.

xvii. *De Gradone milite strenuissimo*[1]

Gradonem[a] miramini merito quasi stabilem inter procellas rupem, qui se semper spei metusque medius per labores Herculeos equa lance librauit, ut in neutrius exiret degener infamiam. Filius erat regis Wandalorum, cuius ipse regnum egressus a puero, non importunitatem patrie uel patris districcionem fugiens, sed animum habens mundo maiorem, artari se finibus contempsit patriis. Literis ergo primo sufficienter adeptis, armis demum assumptis, tocius orbis portenta perdomuit. Qui cum non esset ipse monstrum instar Alcide secundum giganteam altitudinem, uel Achillis secundum fatalitatem, non inferioribus meruit titulis attolli, sed eciam maiori uidetur ualuisse uirtutis et uirium. Hic bellis exercitatissimus, piscibus et auibus et feris capiendis frequentissimus, pacis et werre tempore tam preclarus enituit, ut nichil ignorare predicaretur et, cum gladio dextere sue uix posset armorum turba resistere, pacis erat amator et assertor eximius, totumque mundum circuiens famosos ubique interfuit congressus, causa semper utrinque cognita quatinus fieret iniurie depressor et atleta iusticie; et quia nunquam ab incepto resiluit nec actibus retusis retrocessit a uoto, omnem eum habere sapienciam aiebant, linguas quorumlibet loquebatur regnorum, et frequenti felicitate successuum tocius uite uidebatur obedienciam optinere, tanquam opcioni sue parerent animancia omnium notabilium[2] et haberent intelligenciam.

Hic insulam nostram, id est Angliam, ingressus Offam uidit regem strenuissimum, inter puericiam et iuuentutem[3] iocundissimum tempus agentem, si quis agnoscere posset; at nostra sic tota prelabitur etas, ut non uideatur dum adest felicitas, sed ad preteritam aperiantur oculi. Rex hic Walenses in modicum sue Wallie angulum et que de nomine regis eiusdem dicitur adhuc fossa cinxerat, cuius egressum uel excessum

[a] Gradonem] *After this the MS has* Gado *throughout*

[1] For a commentary on this story, see above, pp. xxxix–xli.

[2] Cf. Ogle, p. 207, citing variant texts of Genesis 1: 21.

[3] Cf. A. Hofmeister, 'Puer, iuvenis, senex . . .' in *Papsttum und Kaisertum . . . Forschungen . . . Paul Kehr dargebracht* (Munich, 1926), pp. 287 ff., esp. pp. 289–98, 316. *Pueritia* was commonly reckoned to cover the years 7–14, *adolescentia* 14 or 15 to 28, *iuuentus* 28 to 49 or 50. But *iuuentus* could be used to cover the ages from 14, or at least from 21.

17. *Of Gado, that Most Valiant Knight*[1]

You may rightly admire Gado as a rock steadfast amid storms, who throughout Herculean labours always balanced himself evenly, inclining neither to hope nor fear, so as never to lapse and end in the disrepute of either. He was the son of the king of the Vandals, whose realm he left in boyhood, not in order to escape the troubles of his country, or the restraints of his father, but because, having a soul above the world, he scorned to be confined within his native bounds. So after gaining a sufficient knowledge of letters he took up arms and overcame the monsters of all the world. Though not a monster himself like Hercules, in gigantic height, nor like Achilles, by fairy descent, he deserves to be no less exalted than they, nay, he seems even to have excelled them in worth and strength. Thoroughly inured to battle, skilful in the taking of fishes, birds, and beasts, he so excelled in distinction in time of peace and war alike that he was reputed to know everything, and though a whole mass of armed men could hardly withstand the sword of his right hand, he was an eminent lover and defender of peace, and went about the world taking part in every notable contest, yet always inquiring into the claims of both sides, so that he might be the putter down of wrong and the champion of right. As he never flinched from a task begun, or restrained his acts and went back on his purpose, he was declared to possess universal wisdom; he spoke the language of every kingdom, and by his constant prosperity and success seemed to own a lordship over every department of life: it was as if everything that lived and moved[2] obeyed his wish, and that consciously.

Landing upon our island, I mean England, he met that valiant king Offa, then at the age which separates boyhood from youth[3]—the happiest of all times of life, if it were but realized; but our days so slip by that happiness is not perceived when it is with us; only when it is past are our eyes opened to it. The king had girdled in the Welsh into a small corner of their Wales, by means of the dyke which still bears his name: the going over or outside it they paid

pede luebant et lugebant amisso.[1] Hic regnum suum ad summum prosperitatis perduxerat multo studio multoque labore gradum, acceperatque sibi coniugem filiam imperatoris Romanorum. Multa inter Romanos et Anglos audiuimus ad utrorumque lacrimas facta coniugia, quorum hoc unum. Venerant Romani frequenter ad Offam ab imperatore missi, ditatique ab ipso recesserant cum multa laude regis et regni; quos ut Roma uidit uestibus et auro lucidos, innata statim exarsit auaricia. Nec mirum; hoc enim nomen Roma ex auaricie sueque diffinicionis formatur principiis, fit enim ex R et O et M et A et diffinicio cum ipsa, *radix omnium malorum auaricia.*[2] Suggerunt ergo domino suo imperatori Cunnano (de quo monialis uidens eum deformem dixerat 'Domnus Cunnanus nichil ⟨est⟩ nisi cunnus et anus') quod Roma merito caput orbis est et domina terrarum omnium; Angliam tributariam de libera fieri; nec absistunt eum ad hoc animare, donec in suam inducunt auaricie sentenciam. Sed incipere aggredi hoc solum proibet, quod Gadonem superesse sciunt omnis innocencie defensorem, nec usquam posse tam arduum opus inchoari siue prope siue longe, ad quod ipse non uocaretur ad tuicionem iusticie. Suspirat igitur diucius ad hoc cum suspirantibus Romanis, uerbumque satis secretum habent. Nesciens hoc agi, dimisit Offa Gadonem diutissime tamen detentum et multa semper excultum reuerencia, qui non quantum potuit sed quantum uoluit diuiciarum secum tulit, Angliamque competenter honustus egressus est ad
f. 29 extremos / Indos, abinde nunciis hanelis et literis uocatus anxiis quasi qui gladius erat in manu Domini, omnium ad quas inuitabatur iniuriarum ultor. Cuius memoria quoniam in remotissimis agebat remissior erat apud Romanos, fuerunt-que qui mortem eius et modum et locum et tempus fingerent imperatori, ne timeret Anglos inuadere. Conuocatur ergo grauissimis imperium edictis, factusque numerosus ac super numerum exercitus inprouisos Offam et Anglos appulit;

[1] The source of this seems to be the legend, recorded by John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, vi. 6, ed. C. C. J. Webb, ii. 19–20), that Earl (later King) Harold had threatened Welshmen who crossed the dyke with the loss of their right hands.

[2] Cf. 1 Timothy 6: 10; but see also Ogle, pp. 215–17.

for and had to repent, with the loss of a foot.[1] He had raised his kingdom to the greatest degree of prosperity by great care and pains, and had taken to wife the daughter of the Emperor of Rome. Many such unions between Romans and English are recorded, which turned to the grief of both, of which this is one. Romans had often come there as ambassadors from the Emperor to Offa, and had gone back enriched by him and full of the praises of the king and kingdom, and when Rome beheld them glittering in raiment and gold, its native covetousness was straightaway kindled. No wonder, for this very name of *Rome* is made up out of the first letters of avarice and the definition of it; it is composed of R.O.M.A., and the definition goes with it—Radix Omnium Malorum Avaricia.[2] They therefore suggested to their lord the emperor Cunnanus (of whom a nun seeing his ugliness once said *'Domnus Cunnanus nichil est nisi cunnus et anus'*) that Rome was of right the head of the world and the mistress of all lands, and that England should become tributary to her; nor did they desist from egging him on thereto, till they had converted him to their own greedy view. The only bar to beginning an attack was that they knew Gado, the defender of all the unoffending, to be yet alive, and were sure that so great an undertaking could nowhere be set on foot, near home or far off, but that he would be called upon to protect the right. Long time therefore the emperor sighed for this, and the Romans with him, and kept the project secret. Offa, ignorant of the business, sent away Gado, though only after keeping him long with him and always honouring him with the greatest respect. He bore away all the wealth he desired, though not all that was offered, and, well loaded, left England for the farthest parts of India, summoned by panting posts and pressing letters from there, as one who was a sword in the Lord's hand, and an avenger of all wrongs in which appeal was made to him. Once removed so far, the recollection of him was blunted in the minds of the Romans, and there were even those who invented for the emperor reports of his death with place and date, to do away with his fear of invading England. The empire was therefore summoned by instant proclamation; and an army gathered, numerous, nay innumerable, assailed Offa and the English, unprepared—

inprouisos ad se dico, quoniam a Deo prouisos. Nam Gado expeditis Indorum angustiis ad patris sui regnum per mare properans, uentis uoto suo peruersis, sed in subsidium Anglorum a Deo conuersis, eadem die ad litus idem ad quod impetitores et hostes defensor et amicus allabitur. Offe presentatur,[a] aderatque collectis uiribus in Collocestria, de qua natam predicant Helenam[1] que crucem Domini repperit, reuersique sunt ad eum nuncii, pace petita sed negata. Gado igitur uidens faciem preliorum a Domino se illuc aduectum sentit, libensque suscipit obedienciam. Iam se foro parat, preciosis quibus semper utebatur indutus uestibus, et centum optimis et electissimis stipatus equitibus ad tentoria properat imperatoris. Quem qui primus est intuitus cum omni properat attonitus admiracione nuncius imperatori fieri, dicitque uirum aduenire maximum, respersum canis quasi semicanum, sericis uenustissime redimitum uestibus, hominem secundum similitudinem angelicum et iam a Deo glorificatum, et cum eo circiter centum milites, quasi ex omnibus orbis partibus optimos, maximos et pulcherrimos. Et notandum quod Gado semper ad minus centum circumducebat. Ad hos expauescens imperator rumores, sciens quid contigerit, stupidus hesit, et consiliarios aduentus sui prodicionis arguit. Et ecce Gado medius eorum ait: 'Si pacificus aduentus domini summi principis?' Imperator respondit: 'Quid ad te, qui nusquam domi residuus es? Sed nunquid tuus ingressus pacificus,[2] qui lites et rixas uenaris in orbe?' Tum Gado, ut erat uir firmissimi cordis et immobilis a ueritate, blande subintulit: 'Pacificus, quia cum gratia et uirtute Dei pax erit innocencie; quod et uenatorem me dicis litium, non errasti, nam eas inuestigo sollicitus et inuentas totis prosterno uiribus; creatores earum odi, quas nisi fouere destiterint, non amabo.' His dictis papilionem egreditur, suis additur qui foris expectabant,

[a] Offe presentatur] *sic MS. But he seems to come to Offa for the first time on p. 172; one would expect some word or phrase referring to Offa's preparations*

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth (v. 6, ed. Griscom, p. 338) made Helena the daughter of Coel, duke of Colchester; in course of time her legend was much embellished.

[2] Cf. 1 Kings (1 Samuel) 16: 4.

—unprepared, that is, in their own view, for God had indeed prepared them. For Gado, having freed the Indians from their difficulties and now hurrying by sea to his father's kingdom, was borne by winds (contrary to his wish, but made favourable by God for the help of the English) and arrived, a defender and ally, on the same day and at the same shore as the invading enemy. He was presented to Offa, who was stationed with his gathered forces in Colchester, the birthplace, it is said, of Helena[1] who found the Lord's cross, and his envoys had returned to him after applying for peace and being denied. Gado, therefore, when he beheld the face of war, felt that it was the Lord who had brought him to that place, and gladly undertook to obey. He now prepared for a public appearance, clad in the splendid robes he used, and, accompanied by a hundred chosen horsemen, went quickly to the emperor's tent. The first who caught sight of him, struck with amazement, hurried to report it to the emperor, and said: 'Here is approaching a huge man, with a sprinkling of grey hairs, you may say half greyheaded, most beautifully clothed in silk—a man in likeness angelic and already made glorious by God, and with him are about a hundred knights, the best that could be got from any part of the world, very great and very handsome.' Now it is to be noted that Gado always had at least a hundred such with him. The emperor, alarmed at this news and guessing what had happened, was struck dumb with perplexity, and charged with treason those who had advised him to come. At that moment Gado appeared in their midst and said: 'Cometh my lord the supreme prince peaceably?' The emperor answered: 'What is that to thee, who never stayest at home? Comest *thou* peaceably,[2] who for ever huntest up disputes and quarrels the world over?' Thereat Gado, as he was a man of most constant soul and not to be moved from truth, gently replied: 'Peaceably; for by the grace and power of God there shall be peace to the unoffending, and whereas you call me a hunter-up of quarrels, you are right, for I diligently seek them out and when I find them I put them down with all my might: those who make them I hate, and unless they cease to foster them I will have no kindness for them.' With these words he left the tent, rejoined his men who awaited him outside, and

salutansque Romanos abscedit. Non proinde salutat quia diligat eos aut resalutari desideret, sed bone consuetudinis reminisci iuuat; nullus enim faceti moris omittendus est calculus, ne fiat obliuio boni quod tam facile labitur; unde fit eciam ut ibi sit assuescenda facecia ubi non debetur, et felix qui bonos conseruat usu frequenti mores.

Mirantur et metuunt Romani, quod sint Gadonis milites magnis summitatibus et forma prestanti cultuque diuite preclues, et non sibi solummodo sed omnibus quos ante uiderant preferendi. Ingreditur ad Offam inprouisus Gado, cui tantum attulit securitatis et spei quantum Romanis intulerat formidinis et diffidencie, edoctusque suum ius et eorum iniuriam, exercitum prior armatus ad arma iusta commouet, regem ipsum et totam multitudinem exceptis quingentis optimis in urbis medio statuit in loco spacioso et uacuo; ipse cum suis tantum ad portam que primis hostium prestabat incursibus congredi properat, iuuenemque precipuum nepotem regis nomine Suanum[1] proxime sibi porte presidentem predictis quingentis preficit. /
f. 29v Veniens ergo primus Romanorum cuneus, Gadone pre timore uitato, Suanum irrumpunt, quos ipse tanta uirtute sustinuit et tanta restitit[a] eis fortitudine, ut oculis quibus alias Gadonem uiderant discredentes ipsum se ⟨ib⟩idem inuenisse putarent, ualidaque multitudine certant opprimere, quem bellica nequeunt industria superare. Tandem ex eorum cuneis duobus fugatis et fusis, ex quingentis ducenti ceciderant. Inuadit trecentos cuneus quingentorum antequam respirarent a lassitudine, missoque milite ad Gadonem pro subsidio, responsum habuit Suanus ut dimicaret fortiter. Paruit ille nichil obiurgans, et tam irreuerenter in hostes irruit et tam secure se ingessit in medios, ut non uideretur congressio, sed agnorum fuga pre lupis uel leporum a canibus, instititque portam egressus,

[a] restitit *Winterbottom;* resistit *MS*

[1] This must represent the Danish Sveinn (Swein).

departed, with a salutation to the Romans. It was not for love of them that he saluted them, or because he wished to be saluted in return; but it is always well to remember good manners, for no point of polite behaviour ought to be neglected, lest forgetfulness of what is good, always liable to be dropped, should come on us; for which reason politeness should be practised where it is not owed; happy is he who preserves his good manners by constant use.

The Romans were in wonder and fear, for Gado's knights were conspicuous for great stature, remarkable beauty, and rich equipment, and were to be preferred not only to the Romans but to any they had ever seen. Gado came in to Offa, unexpected, and to him brought as much relief and hope as he had brought fear and misgiving to the Romans, and, when he learned of the goodness of Offa's cause and the badness of theirs, he armed himself first, and encouraged the army to a just warfare. He stationed the king and the whole force, except five hundred of the best, in the middle of the town in a spacious open place: he himself, with his own men and no more, hastened to the gate which favoured the first attack of the enemy (*or* hastened to oppose the enemy at the gate which promised an entrance to the first attack), and put Suanus,[1] a nephew of the king, an admirable youth, who guarded the next gate to him, in command of the five hundred I mentioned. The first squadron of the Romans approached and, avoiding Gado from fear, attacked Suanus. He met them with such valour and resisted them so bravely that, disbelieving their own eyes which had seen Gado elsewhere, they thought they had come on him there, and tried their best to crush by force of numbers him whom they could not defeat by skill in war. At last two squadrons of theirs had been routed and put to flight, and of the five hundred, two hundred had fallen. A force of five hundred was rushed upon the three hundred before they could rest from their fatigue. Suanus sent a knight to Gado asking for reinforcements, and received the answer that he was to fight bravely. He complied without a murmur, and attacked so recklessly, casting himself into the midst of the foe, that it seemed less a battle than a flight of lambs before wolves, or hares before hounds, and even when outside the gate he kept

cedens eos usque ad quartam aciem. Erubescens autem quod petisset auxilium, uiuere uilipendit, ab hoste reuerti pudet, morteque sua redimere parat timiditatis obprobrium, donec Gado misertus fugam ei mandat inire. Ille non sibi consulens sed maiori prudenter obediens, regem suum ut precipitur porta neclecta precipitanter adit. Hostes autem ut multa uis aquarum obice rupto[1] per portam irruunt, de triumpho securi, sed eos in foro fortiter Offa suscipit, et ad firmissimum alliduntur obstaculum. A tergo igitur per eandem eis iminet portam Gado, et fere falci similis in arundineto per medium miserorum irrumpit, uicum relinquens quocunque graditur. Cedunt igitur et ceduntur inclusi, et quia nec spes est uictis nec timor uictoribus, dedignantur persequi regemque reuocat Gado; uocantur ad pacem qui bellum attulerant, et acceptis a rege nauibus mortuos suos Romam secum sepeliendos reuehunt.

xviii. *De Androneo imperatore Constantinopolitano*[2]

Regnantibus Lodouico Grosso in Gallia, Henrico primo in Anglia, imperabat Constantinopolitanis Andronius, duobus filiis preclarus, Andronio et Manuele. Misso autem a patre suo in expedicionem Andronio et ibi commorante, concessit in fata pater. Ocupauit ergo Manuel imperium illicite, quia iunior, reuersumque reppulit Andronium, qui per prouincias et ciuitates querelam tante deferens iniurie contra Manuelem fere dimidium armauit orbem, obtinuissetque aduersus eum, sed Manuel thesauri prodigus et auarus honoris, sciens Grecos molles et femineos, loquaces et dolosos, nulliusque contra hostes fidei uel uirtutis, pro tempore sibi utiliter usus est eis, effusis copiis et simulatis promissis, induxitque uiritim quasi ad ipsorum tutelam et personarum salutem cismontanos, pro ipsis scilicet periculis obiciendos; et, cum nullatenus parceretur pecunie, famelici per turmas aduolantes

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 479–80.

[2] In this account of the Comnenian dynasty there are many errors. Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) was followed on the throne by his son John (1118–1143) and he by his son Manuel (1143–1180). Alexius II, son of Manuel, was married to Agnes, daughter of Louis VII, and succeeded his father in 1180 at the age of twelve. He was murdered in 1183 by Andronicus, son of Isaac, son of Alexius I, who reigned for two years and was then put to death (1185), to be

on slaying them as far as the fourth rank. Then blushing that he had asked for help, he scorned to live, he was ashamed to return from the enemy, and meant to wipe out by death the reproach of cowardice, till Gado in pity ordered him to retire. Not caring about himself, but wisely obedient to his elder, he at once left the gate as ordered and hurried to his king. The enemy, like a great mass of water that has burst its dam,[1] rushed in through the gate, sure of victory, but in the square were bravely met by Offa, and dashed themselves against a firm barrier. In the rear Gado came upon them by that same gate, and like a sickle in a reed-bed broke through the midst of the miserable crowd, leaving a street behind him wherever he went. Thus shut in, they yielded and were cut down; and since neither hope remained in the vanquished nor fear in the victors, these thought scorn to pursue them, and Gado called the king back. Those who had brought war were summoned to make peace: the king gave them ships, and they bore their dead back to Rome to bury them there.

18. *Of Andronius, Emperor of Constantinople*[2]

When Louis the Fat was reigning in France [1108–37], and Henry I in England [1100–35], the emperor at Constantinople was Andronius, who rejoiced in two sons, Andronius and Manuel. Andronius, sent by his father on an expedition, stayed long abroad, and meanwhile his father died. Manuel therefore usurped the empire illegally, being the younger, and repulsed the returning Andronius. He, bearing his complaint of such injustice through country and city, armed almost half the world against Manuel, and would have succeeded against him, but that Manuel, lavish of treasure and sparing of honour, and aware that the Greeks are soft and womanly, voluble and deceitful, of no constancy or valour against an enemy, made clever use of them for the time, pouring out riches and feigned promises, and brought in, a few at a time, men of our side of the mountains, ostensibly to protect and save their persons, in fact to be exposed to danger in their stead; and since there was no stint of pay, these hungry ones flew in

succeeded by Isaac Angelus. J.E.L.

This chapter is an insertion: see above, p. xxv.

replebant terram, et pedetentim ingressi toto se cursu[a] in gentem magnam perficiunt. Victor igitur eorum opera Manuel et ope, fratris uicti et omnino expulsi misertus, ipsi regnum Parthis, id est Turchis,[1] contiguum, utile satis et amplum sed longinquum, tribuit, accepta iuramenti caucione imperii-que perpetua renunciacione tam ab ipso quam ab Andronio filio suo et herede. Satis fecisse sic putat Manuel iusticie de inuasione et pietati de non euicta donacione. Mortuo postmodum Andronio patre, instaurat Andronius heres
f. 30 iteratque Manueli caucionem. Hiis fideliter / obseruatis usque ad tempora Lucii pape, qui Alexandro pape tercio successit,[2] rexit imperium predictus Manuel felicissime, accepitque filio suo Manueli filiam Lodouici regis Francie, decessitque plenus dierum fideliter et feliciter, excepto quod filius eius nonnisi septennis relictus est, et in manu cuiusdam Greci qui ex officio protosaluator[3] dictus est. Hiis auditis Andronius, sicut est uir pessime audacie, qui iam bis negauit Christum adulans sibi a Thurchis auxilium, eciam nunc tercio ut aiunt negauit, et ascita sibi magna manu Sarracenorum per uicinas Manuelis insulas finitimasque prouincias querelam detulit, fingens protosaluatorem uxore domini sui abuti et sibi matrimonio uelle coniungere, ambosque in necem pueri Manuelis coniurasse uel ipsum iam interfecisse, ut sub simulacione pietatis simul imperent, se cum lacrimis asserens pupillo fore tutorem fidelissimum, si fauoribus eorum et auxiliis id prosequi dignum ducerent, auferrique de medio scandalum et duplicitatem. His addit promissis munera lacrimans, omnemque iusti doloris similitudinem. Creditur et in custodem adoptatur ab omnibus et tutorem pupilli. Veniens igitur in manu magna obuias acies a protosaluatore destinatas contriuit, non bellica uirtute confectas, at ab ipsis earum ducibus ad mortem proditorie uenditas. Hec Greca fides.

[a] cursu *MS; perhaps* concursu *Winterbottom*

[1] 'id est Turchis' is a gloss; it may be by Map himself, and may well represent his intention. But the reference to Parthians and Dacians may be Map showing off his classical knowledge, or, more probably, an echo of Geoffrey of Monmouth, x. 9 (ed. Griscom, p. 488) or the like.

[2] Lucius III (1181–5), Alexander III (1159–81).

[3] A corruption of the Greek 'protosebastos', one of the titles invented by

in hosts and filled the land, and entering a few at a time made themselves at the end into a great nation. So Manuel by their exertion and help gained the country, and then took pity on his brother, vanquished and now wholly expelled, and gave him a kingdom next door to the Parthians—I mean the Turks[1]—a territory profitable enough and extensive, but a long way off; but first took the pledge of an oath, and a perpetual renunciation of the empire both from him and from Andronius his son and heir. He considered that he had thus satisfied justice in respect of his usurpation, and mercy in respect of the unforced gift. Later, Andronius the father died, and Andronius the heir renewed and reaffirmed the pledge to Manuel. It was faithfully kept down to the time of Pope Lucius, who succeeded Pope Alexander III,[2] and Manuel ruled the empire very prosperously and received in marriage for his son Manuel the daughter of Louis, king of France, and died full of days in faith and good circumstances, except that he left a son of no more than seven years old in the charge of a Greek, who from his office is called proto-salvator.[3] On hearing of this, Andronius, as he is a man of the most wicked daring, who has twice denied Christ to wheedle help from the Turks, now, as they say, has denied him the third time, and collecting a great force of Saracens has borne his complaint throughout the islands neighbouring to Manuel, and the adjoining provinces: pretending that the proto-salvator is too intimate with the wife of his lord and means to marry her, and that the two have conspired to kill the boy Manuel, or have already killed him, in order to reign themselves under a semblance of piety; asserting too with tears that he would be a most faithful protector of that ward, if by their good will and help they should think it proper to follow up that design, and would have this offence and deceit removed from among them. To these promises he adds gifts, weeping, and shows every appearance of real sorrow. He is believed, and is adopted by all as guardian and protector of the ward. So arriving with a great force he crushed the army sent against him by the proto-salvator; it was not overcome by skill in war, but by its own generals sold traitorously to death. Such is Greek faith.

Alexius I for members of the imperial family. Ralph of Diceto has it in the scarcely less corrupt form of 'prothosalvaston' (ed. Stubbs, RS, ii. 12). J.E.L.

Peruentum est tandem ad mare, quod beati Georgii Brachium dicitur. Hinc, premissis a ciuibus Constantinopolis Grecis qui⟨bus⟩dam, fauore Alexii et eorum ope transfretans, per portam Dacorum[1] admissus est dato precio et indempnitatis securitate. Erant autem in Constantinopoli manentes per Manuelis attractum quos Francos appellabant,[2] ex ⟨omni⟩ fere nacione aduene, quos Greci persequebantur odio pessimo per inuidiam; adeo enim exhausta est uis eorum a bello Troiano, ut post Aiacem, cuius uirtuti dolus iniuste preualuit, nichil habeant in aliquo Grecorum iactabile uel eminens, et eciam adeo ut facta sit eis inuidiosa omnium scoria populorum et omnis abieccio plebis. Scimus enim quod illuc applicuerunt proscriptorum et dampnatorum fugitiue phalanges, et quos a propriis profugos egit sedibus innata malignitas tantam inter Grecos adepti sunt autoritatem, ut liuor eorum in ipsos tanquam in rediuiuos exardeat Troianos. Non inuideo titulos uirgini[3a] sanctissime quam Dominus a cunis usque ad diem obitus signis et miraculis est prosecutus; nichil detraho quos elegit Dominus; de militibus michi sermo est, quoniam id genus in illo defloruit exercicio ⟨post exicium⟩[b] Troiani exercitus, nec est in illis inuentum ad miliciam decus post Achillem, Aiacem et Titidem.[4]

xix. *De Gillescop Scoto uiro strenuissimo*

Vidi uirum a Scocia cuius laus ibi eternitatem adepta est; nomen ei Gillescop, id est episcopus.[5] Hic cum omnibus fere ducum, principum et regum congressibus illarum parcium interfuisset, in singulis siue cum uictoribus siue cum uictis precium utriusque tulit agminis, a iuuentute in senium felicis homo audacie, cui nunquam temeraria presumpcio nouerca⟨ta⟩[c] est, cum in omne periculum quasi cecus irruerit, et raro uel nunquam tante proteruitati sint negati successus;

[a] uirgini *Webb;* origini *MS*
[b] post exicium *suggested by James*
[c] nouercata *James;* nouerca *MS*

[1] No such gate existed in medieval Constantinople. The name Dacians was regularly used of the Danes in this period.
[2] The Greeks referred to Western Europeans, of whatever country, as Franks.
[3] Possibly St. Catherine of Alexandria, as Webb conjectured (p. 122).

At last they reached that sea which is called the Arm of St. George. From this point, some Greeks having been sent to meet him by the citizens of Constantinople, by favour of Alexius and by their help he crossed, and was let in by the gate of the Dacians[1] after paying money and giving a pledge to do no injury. Now there were living in Constantinople, on Manuel's invitation, people who went by name of Franks[2]—really driven from almost every nation—whom the Greeks for envy persecuted with extreme hate. For to such extent was their strength drained away by the Trojan war that since Ajax, against whose worth craft unjustly prevailed, there is nothing in any Greek to be proud of, nothing excellent: so weak are they that even the dregs of all nations and the very abjects of the people are an object of envy to them. For we know that the fugitive bands of proscribed and condemned have had recourse thither, and those whom their inborn vice has exiled from their homes have attained such influence among the Greeks that their envy now burns against them as if they were Trojans come to life again. I do not speak as grudging the fame of that holiest of virgins[3] whom the Lord honoured from her cradle to the day of her death with signs and wonders; I detract in nowise from those whom the Lord has chosen. It is of their knights that I speak, for that class has degenerated in knightly practice since the destruction of the army of Troy, and nothing of soldierly honour has appeared among them since the days of Achilles, Ajax, and the son of Tydeus.[4]

19. *Of Gillescop the Scot, a Most Valiant Man*

I once saw a man from Scotland whose renown there has attained to immortality; his name was Gillescop, i.e. bishop.[5] He, who took part in almost all the conflicts of chiefs, princes, and kings in those parts, in each gained the prize of either party, whether he were on the side of the victors or the vanquished, being from youth to age a man of the luckiest daring; for on no occasion did his rash presumption act the stepmother to him, though he rushed like a blind man into every danger, and seldom or never was success denied to his foolhardiness.

[4] i.e. Diomedes. This chapter is unfinished.
[5] 'Mac Ghille Easbuig' means 'son of the bishop's servant'.

episcopus non ex officio dictus, sed a corona caluiciei. Porro multe sunt uicine Scotis insule quibus singulis reguli presunt, quorum unus cuius duobus tantum distabat a Scocia milibus regio, uir laudabilis secundum suam miliciam improbitatis, predicti Gillonis amicam rapuit in antelucano dominice diei; quod ipse hora eiusdem diei prima rumoribus auditis tam ferine tulit, ut inconsultis amicis non expectata uel expetita naue, inermis excepto gladio, braccis in sella fissis, cetera
f. 30v nudus, auderet pontum aggredi, seipso / usus clauo, remige et uelo, idem nauis et rector eius, exercitus in hostem et dux, et cum in omnia timenda preceps irruat, secure transit et applicat. Pone domum raptoris adit, clamque per foramen modicum introspiciens inter trecentos aut plures conuiuas amicam suam amplexibus regis herentem uidet. Insilit igitur amenter inprouidus, unoque regem ictu consummat et exilit. Conuiue stupent, et quidam morienti dolentes, quos autem magis improbus accendebat ⟨in⟩ iracundiam dolor, armis prosequi elegerunt. Ille per medium equoris gladium in manu cruentum tenens natatu saluti consulit, instar apri quem canes oblatrant eminus, quos a congressu uulnerum arcet timor, et a cepto desistere rancor animi non permittit. Duobus tamen in equore confossis domi tutus residet, audacissime nouitatis et acerbissime auctor ulcionis.

Idem domino suo regi Scocie, cum pro infirmitate non posset hostibus obuiam ire tute, respondit: 'Domine, loco tuo me mittens oras ut bene pugnem; securus esto quod cuicunque cedat belli uictoria, tibi dico uel hostibus, ego de laudibus omnium triumphabo.' Et triumphauit.

Idem cum multos in fugam coegisset hostes uictor, cruribus perforatis lata lancea, sociis ad spolia relictis, innitens haste pedes rediens, cum a suis complicibus et ab eorum esset remotus obtutibus, insiliunt in eum subito tres pedites ex uictis, primus lancea, secundus cnipulo, tercius arcu. Inermis ille lancea excepta, sed et illi preter predicta. Primum

He was called bishop, not from his office, but from a circular patch of baldness. To continue: there are many islands near Scotland, ruled by single chiefs. One of these, whose land was but two miles from the mainland, was a ruffian of distinction according to their idea of knighthood; and he, just before the dawn of a Sunday, carried off the mistress of this Gillo. He had news of it in the first hour of the same day, and took it in such savage sort that without advising with his friends, without waiting or even asking for a boat, unarmed but for a sword, in breeches split at the seat and otherwise naked, he dared to breast the sea, himself his own tiller, oarsman, and sail, ship and captain, invading army and general; and though his rash venture had everything to fear, he crossed and landed in safety. He entered the kidnapper's house from the rear, and peering in through a small hole, he saw, surrounded by three hundred or more guests, his mistress in the king's embrace. Madly and without thought he leapt in, killed the king with a single blow and leapt out again. The guests were amazed, and some in sorrow for the death, but principally kindled to anger by insistent grief, decided to arm and pursue him. He holding the bloody sword in mid-sea, sought safety by swimming; like a boar with dogs barking at him from a distance, who are kept from attacking by the fear of wounds, and yet from retreat by their rancour. However, after stabbing two in the water he dwelt safe at home, inventor of a novelty in daring and of the sharpest of vengeances.

The same man made answer to his lord the king of Scotland, who could not because of illness safely go out against an enemy: 'Lord, you send me out in your stead and ask me to fight well. Be sure that whichever way victory goes, to you, I mean, or to the enemy, I shall gain more praise than anyone there.' And so he did.

Again, he once won a victory and put many foes to flight. His legs had been pierced with a broad lance, so leaving his company to the spoils, he made his way back on foot, leaning on his spear. When at a distance from his party and out of sight of them, he was suddenly attacked by three footmen of the beaten side; the first had a lance, the second a knife, the third a bow. He had no weapons but a lance, and, except those mentioned, they had none. The first,

igitur in aduentu lancea suscipit transfossum in cor, et sua sinistra lanceam ipsius auertit, et suam extrahens recipit secundum per medium inguinis; tercius ipsum titubantem repperit, et paruipendens amplexatus est eum quasi eligens hosti pro uoto mortem. Ille autem inpiger ei abscondit interim cnipulum sub pectore, et ab ipso alium suscepit cnipulum[1] per medium scapularum. Occumbunt ergo quatuor, sed ipse solus euasit, et a suis inuentus ad securitatem se transtulit. Vixit idem inter tot pericula discriminum usque ad senium, et ab huiusmodi casibus forte dictum est militare prouerbium 'Vadis quo uis, morieris ubi debes',[2] tanquam quiuis posset in omnem irruere mortem, et non preuenire diem suum. Bonum est ut milites hoc credant ad excitandum et imitandum.

xx. *De moribus Walensium*

Compatriote nostri Walenses, cum omnino sint infideles ad omnes tam adinuicem quam ad alios, probi tamen sunt, non dico uirtute boni uel uiribus precipui, sed acerbitate inpugnandi et acredine resistendi, sola scilicet improbitate probi, uite prodigi, libertatis auari, pacis neclectores, bellicosi armisque prudentes et uindicte auidi, omnium rerum largissimi, ciborum sibi quisque parcissimus[3] et cuiuis alii effusus, ut cuiusque alimenta cuiusque sint, et omnino nullus inter eos querat panem, sed sine lite sumat inuentum, et quicquid uictualium ad esum presto repperit. Et ne redargui possint auaricie, tanta retinent uerecundia largitatis et hospitalitatis reuerenciam, ut ante diem tercium nemo querat[a] ab hospite suscepto unde sit uel quis, ne unquam erubescat uel de licencia uiolenta suspicionem habeat a susceptore, uel oporteat ipsum ad uocacionem respondere, ut tutus sedeat ab im⟨pro⟩perio.[b] Die autem tercia licet reuerenter querere.

[a] querat *Winterbottom;* queret *MS*

[b] improperio *suggested by James;* imperio *MS*

[1] 'alium . . . cnipulum'—yet Map has taken care to tell us that there was only one knife in the fight. This part of the story is unintelligible.

as he came on, Gillescop received with his lance and pierced him to the heart, turning aside his lance with his left hand: then pulling out his own he took the second in the middle of the groin. The third found him staggering, and without more ado threw his arms about him, as if to choose what death he pleased for his enemy. But the other at once buried his knife in his breast and received in return a knife[1] between his shoulders; so all four fell, but he only escaped, and was found by his men and carried to a place of safety. Amidst such perils and chances he survived to old age, and from cases like his, perhaps, comes the soldier's proverb, 'You may go where you list, but you'll die when you must,'[2] as if anyone could rush upon every sort of death and not anticipate his death-day. But it is just as well that soldiers should believe this; it will stir them up to do the like.

20. *Of the Manners of the Welsh*

My compatriots the Welsh, though wholly unfaithful to everybody—to each other as well as to strangers—are *probi.* I do not mean morally good or specially strong, but in the fierceness of their assault and the keenness of their resistance, only *probi* in *improbitas*, prodigal of life, greedy of liberty, neglectors of peace, warlike and skilled in arms, and eager for vengeance; most liberal of all goods, very sparing of food[3] to themselves and lavish of it to others, so that everyone's food is everyone else's, and none among them asks for bread, but takes it without question when he finds it, or any victuals he finds ready set out for eating. To escape the reproach of miserliness they so punctually observe respect for generosity and hospitality that before the third day no one will ask a guest whom he has taken in, who or whence he is, lest he should be put to shame or seem to be suspected by his entertainer of taking forcible liberties; nor need he answer any call, so that he may rest free from reproach. But on the third day it is permissible to put the question respectfully.

[2] Cited from Map by Walther, 32810a; cf. 32811–12.

[3] Cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, vi. 182; above, pp. 100–1.

xxi. *De hospitalitate Walensium*[1]

Contra hunc morem contigit. Vir quidam illarum parcium hospitem suscepit, ipsoque relicto domi, sumpta lancea mane facto in agenda sua perrexit et pernoctauit alias, et secundo mane reuersus non inuento quem querebat hospite, querit ab uxore quo deuenisset. At illa: 'Iacebat diluculo, et aperto contra se hostio uisaque tempestate maxima uentorum et niuium, ait: "Deus bone, quam periculosa procella!" et ego respondi: "Modo facit bonum perhendinare ignauo uiro in domo sapientis." Tum ille cum magno /
f. 31 gemitu ait: "Pessima femina, non perhendino"; et exiliit cum lancea, nec potui eum reuocare.' Vir se delusum dicens ipsam sua transfodit lancea, et cum eiulatu flebili uestigiis inhesit hospitis, diuque secutus lupum inuenit occisum, et post illum circa semitam precedentis octo, et demum lanceam fractam. Post hec ipsum a longe sedentem uidit, unumque sed maximum lupum ipsi de proximo insilientem, quem sequebatur. Tum ille properans abegit lupum, pedibusque hospitis sui prouolutus ueniam sibi de uxoris delicto petit, enarrans ab illa ulcionem. Ille miser omnino exanimis fere lupum uidens expectantem quid fieret, 'Hoc' inquit 'tibi pacto mee te mortis inmunem concedo, ut te hinc dum quid mihi uirium et uite superest amoueas, quatinus in incursu lupi qui mihi tam improbe quasi adherere uidetur ipsum interficere possim.' Secessit igitur in partem rogatus, et lupus in uulneratum irruit, et ab ipso lancea transfixus est quam ei commodauerat qui astabat. Seminecem igitur domum secum referens hospitem hospes, paulo post mortuum sepeliuit. Hec fuit odii prima causa inter generaciones uiui et mortui, et ulcionis mutue usque in hodiernum diem. Cumque parentes uiui sine culpa sint, sine improperio non sunt, ob causam facte suspicionis per uerbum uxoris inuide.

Et quia de Walensibus sermo cepit, ueniat in medium iudicium diu inter eos quesitum et tarde productum.

[1] Cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, vi. 182–4; Lloyd, ii. 609–10.

21. *Of the Hospitality of the Welsh*[1]

There have been cases when this custom has been broken. A man of those parts took in a stranger, left him at home, took his spear next morning and went about his business, spent the night away, and returning on the second morning did not find the guest he looked for and asked his wife what had become of him. Said she: 'He was lying in bed early to-day, with the door opposite open, and when he saw the great storm of wind and snow he said: "Good God! what a perilous tempest." And I answered: "It is a good day for a fool to dawdle in a wise man's house." He gave a heavy groan, and said: "You villainous woman, I am not dawdling," and rushed out with his spear, and I could not call him back.' The husband exclaimed that he was undone, pierced her through with his spear, and with bitter laments followed upon the track of his guest, and after a long pursuit found a slain wolf, and after, near the track of the man ahead, eight more, and last a broken spear. Thereafter he saw, seated afar off, the man he was following, and a single but very large wolf attacking him at close quarters. He made all speed, drove away the wolf, and casting himself at the feet of his guest, entreated pardon for his wife's fault, and told how he had punished her. The other poor wretch, now almost dead, saw the wolf waiting for the event, and said: 'On these terms I will allow you to be innocent of my death, that you get away while I have yet any strength and life left, that when this wolf who sticks to me so implacably attacks me, I may kill him.' So entreated, the man moved away, the wolf rushed on the wounded one, and was transfixed by him with the spear which the spectator had lent him. The host bore home the guest half dead, and a little after buried his corpse. This was the beginning of a feud between the descendants of the survivor and of the dead, and of mutual revenges which have gone on to this day, and though the kin of the survivor are free from guilt, they are not free from reproach in consequence of the suspicion cast by the words of the grudging wife.

And since I have begun to discourse of the Welsh, let me set forth a judgement which was long discussed among them and slowly brought to an issue (*or* long drawn out).

xxii. *De Luelino rege Walensi*[1]

Rex Wallie Luelinus, uir infidus ut fere omnes decessores eius et posteri, uxorem habebat pulcherimam,[2] quam uehemencius amabat quam amaretur ab ipsa, unde se totum armauit in insidias castitatis illius, et suspiciosissima zelotipia decoctus nichil aliud agebat quam ut non tangeretur ab alio. Peruenit ad eum forte iuuenem illarum parcium elegantissimum fama, nobilitate morum, generis et forme, statuque rerum et persone felicissimum, sompniasse quod cum ipsa rem habuisset. Delusum se dicit rex, et quasi de re ueraciter acta stomacatur, dolet, et dolo comprehendit innoxium, et, si non obstet reuerencia parentum et timor ulcionis, ipsum cruciatibus affliget ad mortem. Vt moris est, uadem se offert pro iuuene tota cognacio, et cauere iudicio sisti. Ipse negat, et iudicium statim fieri petit. Repulsi de repulsa queruntur, et dum tenetur in uinculis uindictam differunt. Multi ad iudicium sepe conueniunt tum iussu principis, tum alterius inuitacione partis, et in omni contractu defecti plures inuocant undequaque prudentes. Tandem unum consulunt quem fama faciebat precipuum, et res non minus; quibus ille: 'Iudicia terre nostre sequi oportet, et que statuerunt patres precepta longaque consuetudine firmata sunt, nulla possumus racione destruere. Sequamur eos, et antequam in contrarium decreta dictent publica nichil nouum proferamus. Ab antiquissimis promulgatum est institutis, ut qui regis Wallie reginam adulterio deturpauerit, mille solutis regi uaccis[3] cetera indempnis liber abibit. De uxoribus similiter principum et magnatum quorumcunque secundum singulorum dignitates constituta est pena sub certo numero. Iste acusatur de sompnio concubitus cum regina, nec inficiatur.

[1] Characteristically, Map has taken the famous Welsh King Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (died 1063) and translated him into Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (see c. 23). Gruffudd succeeded to Gwynedd and Powys in 1039, and conquered Deheubarth in 1055; he was eventually assassinated after his defeat by Earl Harold in 1063 (on him see Lloyd, ii, 358–71). For dreaming of a love-affair, see Stith Thompson, T 11. 3, esp. 2; J 1551. 1, which includes this story.

[2] Gruffudd married Ealdgyth, daughter of Ælfgar, earl of Mercia, and later wife of King Harold II, who is described as *pulcra* by William of Jumièges (on her see Freeman, ii (1st edn., Oxford, 1868), p. 630); but he may have had an earlier wife.

[3] The Welsh laws fixed the payment for a king's *sarhad*—i.e. for certain kinds of injury to him, of which 'misusing his wife' was one—at a hundred cows for every *cantref* of his lordship, and a silver rod and a gold cup in addition for a king of Deheubarth or Gwynedd, or any king with 'a principal seat' (*Laws of Hywel Dda*, trans. M. Richards (Liverpool, 1954), pp. 24–5, cf. p. 122).

22. *Of the Welsh King Llywelyn*[1]

Llywelyn king of Wales, a man faithless as were most of his forbears and successors, had a very beautiful wife,[2] whom he loved more ardently than she loved him, for which reason he gave his whole energies to spying on her chastity, and, burning with suspicion and jealousy, cared for nothing but that none other should touch her. It chanced to come to his ears that a young man of those parts, most exalted in reputation, nobility of character, race, and beauty, and most prosperous in affairs and person, had dreamed that he had had an affair with the queen. The king declared himself undone, was as enraged as if the thing had been real, was in agony, seized the innocent man by guile, and, had not respect for his kindred and fear of vengeance restrained him, would have tortured him to death. As is of custom, the whole clan offered themselves as bail for the youth, and to give security for his being brought to trial. The king refused bail, and demanded instant judgement. The repulsed party complained of their repulse, but deferred vengeance as long as the youth was in prison. On many occasions numbers were summoned to try the matter, now at the king's order, now by invitation of the other side, but, baffled in every discussion, went on to summon more sages from all parts. Finally, they consulted one whom report described as pre-eminent and whom the outcome proved no less; and to them he said: 'We must follow the laws of our land, and can by no means annul what our fathers ordained and what has been established by long use. Let us then follow them and not produce anything new until a public decree directs us to the contrary. It has been promulgated in our oldest laws that he who outraged the consort of the King of Wales should pay 1000 kine[3] to the king and go free and unharmed. With regard to the wives of princes, and every class of magnates in like manner, a penalty was appointed according to the rank of each, with a certain number specified. This man is accused of dreaming that he abused the queen and does not deny the charge.

De ueritate criminis confessa certum est quod mille uacce darentur. De sompnio damus iudicium, quod iuuenis hic mille uaccas in conspectu regis super ripam stagni de Behthenio[1] statuat in ordine, sole lucente, ut sint umbre singularum in aqua, et sint umbre regis, uacce uero cuius ante, cum sit sompnium ueritatis umbra.' Approbata est ab omnibus sentencia hec et execucioni mandata, licet obiurgante Luelino.

xxiii. *De eodem*

f. 31v Luelinus iste, cum esset iuuenis, uiuente Griffino patre suo, ignauus erat et piger, et paterni consessor[a] cineris, homo nauci et defectus,[b] qui non exibat. Cui soror sua post multa improperia nocte ante Circumcisionem proxima[2] cum fletu aduenit, dicens 'Karissime frater, non sine magna confusione regis et regni huius factus es in derisum et fabulam omnium, cum sis unicus et heres regis. Nunc autem oro, ut quod est leuissimum et sine periculo facias. Mos huius terre est quod hac nocte, que prima est in noctibus anni, exeunt omnes iuuenes in predam, uel in furta, uel saltem in audicionem, ut experimentum quisque de se capiat in his; in predam, ut Gestinus, qui longe profectus quod rapuit absque negocio suauiter reuexit et anno illo magnis floruit successibus; in furta, ut Golenus bard, qui de domo porcorum festucam unam retulit sine alicuius grunnitu, et quecunque uoluit illo anno sine querela uel sonitu furari potuit; in audicionem uel ascultacionem, ut Theudus (quod Latine dicitur Theodosius), qui furtim accedens ad domum Meilerii, audiuit intro unum ex sedentibus dicentem "Vidi hodie mane nubeculam a mari ascendere, et facta est in nubem maximam, ita ut totum operiretur mare";[3] processit[c] igitur inde arbitratus se nubeculam, id est paruulum, a mari, id est Wallia, que

[a] concessor *MS* [b] defectus *MS, perhaps for* deiectus, *Winterbottom*
[c] processit *Mynors;* processus *MS*

[1] The lake of Brycheiniog, which suggests where Map got the story. J.E.L. This passage seems to give a charming and ingenious twist to the common theme of a reflection as deception: Stith Thompson, J 1791 ff.; but cf. also (as above) J 1551. 1, which includes the reflection of money as payment for an imaginary love affair.

[2] 'Map . . . probably confounded the Celtic and the English New Year's Day. The former was 1 November, and its eve was a recognized time for seeking omens'

Had the offence confessed been real, it is certain that 1000 kine would have had to be paid. In respect that it is a dream, we adjudge that this young man shall set 1000 kine in the king's sight on the bank of the lake of Behthen,[1] in a row in the sunlight, that the reflection of each may be seen in the water, and that the reflections shall belong to the king, and the kine to him who owned them before, inasmuch as a dream is the reflection (shadow) of the truth (reality).' This decision was approved by all and ordered to be put in execution, in spite of the angry protests of Llywelyn.

23. *Of the Same*

This Llywelyn when young, in the reign of his father Gruffudd, was lazy and sluggish, and sat among the ashes of his father's hearth, a good for nothing and feeble creature, who never went out. Often had his sister reproached him, and on the eve of the Circumcision (1 January)[2] she came to him with tears and said: 'Dear brother, it is to the great shame of the king and of this realm that you are become a scorn and a byword to everyone, you who are the only son and heir of the king. And now I beseech you to do something which is very easy and quite without risk. It is a custom in this country that tonight, which is the first night of the year, all the young men should go out to raid and steal, or at least to listen, that each may make trial of himself thereby: to raid, like Gestinus who went far afield quietly and without trouble brought back what he seized, and all that year flourished with a series of successes: to steal, like Golenus the bard who brought a straw from a pigsty without rousing a single grunt, and that year was able to steal whatever he liked without complaint or noise; to listen or eavesdrop like Theudus (Theodosius in Latin), who stole privily to the house of Meilerius and heard one of those who sat within say: "This morning I saw a little cloud rising out of the sea, and it became a great cloud so that it covered the whole sea",[3] and going thence he considered that he—a little one—was the little cloud, risen out of the sea, (i.e. born from Wales, which

(Lloyd, ii. 358 n.). The people mentioned cannot be identified, but Gestinus (cf. pp. 148 ff.) probably represents the Welsh Iestin, Theudus Tewdws, and Meilerius Meilyr.

[3] Cf. 3 Kings (1 Kings) 18: 44–5.

semper in motu est, natum, regem futurum, quod ei postea detexit euentus. Nunc autem, karissime frater, saltem in auditum exi, quod sine omni periculo est.' His excitatus puer, quasi a graui sompno surgente animo, deuolutus in iram quam non nouerat, leui et prompta uoluntate factus est ualidus et agilis, et ascita sodalitate plurium ad parietem uiri cuiusdam restitit clam arectis auribus. Sedebant interius multi, et in medio eorum expectabatur bos in frusta concisus, quem cocus eorum super ignem in lebete creagra circumterebat; qui et ait: 'Vnum admirabile frustum inter alia hic repperi, nam illud pessundo semper et sub aliis pono subiciens, et statim apparet super omnia alia.' 'Hoc ego sum' ait Luelinus, 'quem multi conati sunt et conabuntur opprimere, et semper contra omnium uota uiolenter irrumpam.' Letus igitur tam manifesto pronostico patrem deserit, bella uicinis indicit, fur argutissimus et uehementissimus in alienas irruptor opes; precipitanter ad ipsum conuolat omnis nequicie manus, et in breui ab ipso patre timetur, cuius post decessum omnes potenter obtinuit Wallie fines[1] in pace, excepta quam ipse suis faciebat persecucione. Similis enim erat Alexandri Macedonis, et omnium quos auara cupiditas fecit effrenos, largus, peruigil, inpiger, audax, facetus, affabilis, dapsilis, improbus, perfidus et crudelis.

Hic quemcumque uidebat iuuenem boni fortisque principii quoquo ipsum aut interficiebat dolo aut membra eius debilita⟨ba⟩t, ne fieri posset in uirum fortem, sui memor salutis; qui subito factus est omnium suppremus, dicens 'Neminem occido, sed obtundo cornua Wallie, ne possint ledere matrem.'[2] Nepos igitur Luelini Luarc cum esset bone indolis puer, procerus et pulcher, magnas habens summitates et multa tam uirium quam uirtutum indicia, presagiens rex ipsum magnum fore, timuit sibi, sed et multis adulacionibus nequaquam illexit. Diu tamen quesitum in tuto repperit, ubi puero non erat timendum, aitque: 'Dic michi, carissime, qua me racione uitas et fugis, certissimum tibi

[1] This chapter seems in fact to be about Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, who only succeeded his father after an interval (1023–39); as neither belonged to the ancient dynasties of Gwynedd, Powys, or Deheubarth, they neither succeeded nor ruled peaceably. Map's assertion that Llywelyn was his father's only son and heir is accepted by Lloyd (ii. 358 and n.), but is not otherwise recorded.

[2] 'ne . . . matrem' is in verse metre, but we have not detected a source.

is always in motion,) and was to become king: and this the event proved. Now then, dear brother, do you go out at least to listen, which you can do without any risk.' The boy, awakened by this, as if his soul were roused from a heavy sleep, and rising to a mood before unknown to him, became instinct with strength, agile, quick and ready of resolve, and calling to him a number of companions, placed himself by the wall of someone's house in secret, with attentive ears. Many were sitting within, and waiting for the cooking of a bullock cut up in their midst, which their cook was stirring about in a pot on the fire with a flesh-hook, and said the cook: 'I have found one very strange piece among the rest; I am always pushing it down and putting it under the others, and in a moment it turns up above them all.' 'That,' said Llywelyn, 'is myself, whom many have tried and will try to keep down, but I shall always break out mightily, against all their wills.' Gladdened by so plain an omen he left his father, proclaimed war on his neighbours, and became a most crafty and formidable raider of others' goods; every band of scoundrels flocked pell-mell to him, and in no long time he was feared even by his father, after whose death he peaceably possessed all the bounds of Wales[1]—peaceably, that is, but for the tyrannies he inflicted on his subjects. For he resembled Alexander of Macedon and all others in whom covetous lust destroys self-control, liberal, vigilant, quick, bold, courteous, affable, extravagant, pertinacious, untrustworthy, and cruel.

Whatever young man he saw of good and strong promise, by some craft he either murdered him or maimed him to prevent his attaining manly strength, ever mindful of his own safety; and very quickly he became supreme, and this was his saying: 'I kill no one, but I blunt the horns of Wales, that they may not hurt their mother.'[2] Now Llywarch, nephew of Llywelyn, a boy of good abilities, tall and handsome, who attained great successes and showed many signs of strength and worth, was one who, the king foreboded, would become great, and he feared for himself, and, vainly, tempted him with assiduous flattery. After long seeking he found him in a spot where the boy had no cause to fear for his safety, and said: 'Tell me, my dear one, why you should fly me, who am the

et tuis refugium? Scandalum tibi et toti generi tuo facis, nec est aliquid quod redimere possit infamiam quam inponis, nisi te nobis, quos unit sanguis, et conuersacio grata conformet; quod si quid metuis, quoscunque duxeris fedeiussores dabo.' Ad hec puer 'Hoelum' inquit 'peto fedeiussorem, quem mandato tuo parentem in abdito tu / f. 32 suffocare fecisti, Rothericum, quem osculo et amplexu sinistre suscepisti et cnipulo[a] occidisti, et Theodosium,[1] quem tibi coambulantem et colloquentem opposito pede tuo suis a prerupto rupis precipitasti, et Meilinum nepotem tuum, quem clam in dolo cepisti et cathenis honustum in carcere mori coegisti,' et in hunc modum ei multos alios obiecit quos perdiderat.

Inter opera nequicie sue unum nobiliter et honeste fecisse dicitur. Tempore suo finitimis suis adeo grauis et pestilens extitit, ut rex Edwardus, qui tunc Anglis prefuit,[2] pro suis cogeretur supplicare uel ad defensionem armari. Missis igitur hinc inde nunciis, Sabrina interposita, collocuti sunt; Edwardus ad Austecliue erat, Luelinus in Betheslee. Ibant et reuertebantur inter eos in phaselis magnates, et post multa internuncia ad alterutrum, altercatum est diu uter eorum ad alterum transire debuisset. Erat autem transitus difficilis difficultate fluctuum, sed non hac[b] causa conflictus. Allegabat maioritatem Luelinus, parietatem Eduuardus; Luelinus quod sui totam Angliam cum Cornubia, Scocia et Wallia conquisissent a gigantibus, et se affirmabat in rectissimo descensu heredem, Eduuardus quod a conquisitoribus suis eam sui obtinuissent antecessores. Post multam igitur preliacionis rixam, ingressus cimbam Eduuardus ad Luelinum properauit. Est autem ibi Sabrina miliare habens in latum. Videns ipsum et agnoscens Luelinus, proiecto pallio solempni

[a] *MS repeats* sinistre *here; om. Winterbottom*

[b] *Perhaps* hec *Winterbottom*

[1] For Tewdws (pp. 188–9 n.).

[2] The Confessor. The incident cannot be precisely dated, though 1056 is a possible year. Map, no doubt, got it from local Gloucestershire tradition. J.E.L. (Cf. Lloyd, ii. 358: the peace arranged after Gruffudd's victory in June 1056 seems the most likely occasion, if the incident is historical at all. From 1056 until 1062–3 Gruffudd was not molested by the English; in 1062–3 Earl Harold organized his destruction).

surest of refuges for you and yours? It is an obstacle that you put in your own way and that of all your family, and there is nothing that can atone for the shame you put on yourself, but that kindly intercourse should join you to me who am already one with you in blood: if you have any fear of me, I will give you any sureties you may choose.' 'Then,' said the boy, 'I name as surety Hoel, whom you caused to be smothered in secret when he was upon your errand; Rotheric, whom you left-handedly received with a kiss and embrace and slew with a knife, Theodosius,[1] whom as he walked and talked with you you tripped up with your foot and cast down the sheer rocks; and your nephew Meilin, whom you privily seized by guile and let him die loaded with chains in a dungeon'; and in like manner he reminded him of many more whom he had destroyed.

In the midst of his works of wickedness there is one thing he is recorded to have done nobly and courteously. In his time he was so oppressive and obnoxious to his neighbours that it became necessary for Edward, then king of England,[2] either to use entreaty on behalf of his subjects, or take up arms in their defence. Ambassadors were sent from both sides and then they negotiated from opposite banks of the Severn, Edward being at Aust Cliff, Llywelyn at Beachley. The nobles went to and fro between them in boats, and after many exchanges of messages, the question was long debated which of them ought to cross over to the other. It was a difficult crossing owing to the roughness of the water, but that was not the ground of the dispute. Llywelyn alleged his precedence, Edward his equality: Llywelyn took the ground that his people had gained all England, with Cornwall, Scotland, and Wales, from the giants, and affirmed himself to be their heir in a direct line: Edward argued that his ancestors had got the land from its conquerors. After a great deal of quarrelsome contention Edward got into a boat and set off to Llywelyn. At that point the Severn is a mile broad. Llywelyn seeing and recognizing him cast off his state mantle

Aust Cliff and Beachley are on opposite sides of the Severn in Gloucestershire; Beachley is near Chepstow. This ferry crossing, the 'Old Passage', had been left in Welsh hands when Offa's dyke was constructed (C. Fox, *Offa's Dyke*, London, 1955, p. 217; cf. ii. 9 above), but Beachley was normally in English hands by the 11th century.

(nam se foro parauerat) usque ad pectus ingressus est aquam, et cymbam corditer amplectens ait: 'Sapientissime rex, tua humilitas meam uicit superbiam, et sapiencia triumphauit inepciam; collum quod contra te fatuus erexi ascendes, et sic intrabis terram quam tibi[a] hodie tuam fecit benignitas.' Acceptumque humeris super pallium suum sedere fecit, et iunctis manibus sibi fecit hominium.

Hoc inicium pacis egregium, sed more Walensium obseruatum est usque ad potestatem nocendi. Vnde michi contigit respondere ⟨per⟩[b] parabolam beato Thome, tunc cancellario domini mei regis Henrici scilicet secundi.[1] Quesiuit a me, qui marchio sum Walensibus, que fides, id est fidelitas, eorum et quomodo credi possint. Cui ego: 'Exulabat in Gallia Franco eques ab Allemannia, qui ueniens per medium nemus Bihere uidit Lodouicum regem Karoli filium[2] insidentem lapidi solum; ceperant enim ibi pueri sui ceruum, cumque uidissent alium ibi ceruum transeuntem, insilientes relicto eo secuti sunt ceruum. Querebat autem loqui ei, nec sciebat ipsum esse; diuertens tamen ad ipsum quesiuit ubinam esset rex. At Lodouicus se celare uolens ait "In modico hic erit", cumque descendisset miles, assurgens ei rex e diuerso sibi scansile tenuit, ut mos est, sella ne uergeret; uidensque militem longissimo cinctum gladio, peciit sibi ostendi, cumque miraretur magnitudinem et formam gladii quem nudum tenebat, oblitus proposite celacionis regaliter ait "Affer michi lapidem ut sedeam." Franco timens gladium attulit, et repeciit ensem, tenensque "Refer" inquit "lapidem in locum suum." Rex, cum uidisset ensem erectum, timuit et retulit. Et ego uobis ex hoc facto notifico fidem Walensium, quod dum tenebitis ensem supplicabunt, cum ipsi tenuerint imperabunt. Et ut aliquid[c] sciatis quo Franco deuenerit, rex a suis inuentus statim retinuit eum pauidum et fugientem cum magna laude, suis referens quam probe quamque facete

[a] *Perhaps* tua *James* [b] per *add. Winterbottom* [c] aliquid] a' *MS perhaps for* autem; *if so,* et *must be omitted*

[1] Thomas Becket was royal chancellor from 1155 to 1162.
[2] Probably Louis d'Outremer (936–954). J.E.L.

—for he had prepared himself for a public appearance—went into the water up to his breast and throwing his arms lovingly about the boat, said: 'Wisest of kings, your modesty has vanquished my pride, your wisdom has triumphed over my foolishness. The neck which I foolishly stiffened against you you shall mount and so enter the territory which your mildness has to-day made your own.' And taking him on his shoulders he seated him upon his mantle, and then with joined hands did him homage.

This was an admirable beginning of peace, but, after the Welsh manner, it was only kept till they felt able to do mischief, and this gave me occasion to answer in a parable blessed Thomas,[1] then chancellor of my lord King Henry II. He asked me, who am a dweller on the marches of Wales, what was their faith, that is, their faithfulness, and how far they could be trusted, and I said to him: 'A knight, Franco, was an exile from Germany in France, and as he came through the midst of the forest of *Bihere* he saw King Louis, the son of Charles,[2] sitting alone upon a stone, for his servants had taken a stag in that place, and seeing another stag run by they rushed off and left him and followed it. Franco wanted to speak to the king, but knew not that this was he, and turning aside to him asked where the king was. Louis, who wished to keep his incognito, said: "He will be here shortly", and when the knight dismounted, the king rose and held the stirrup for him on the other side, as the manner is, lest the saddle should slip over; and seeing the knight girt with a very long sword, asked to look at it, and after admiring the size and beauty of the sword, which he had drawn, he forgot his purposed concealment, and said in a kingly manner: "Bring me a stone to sit upon." Franco, in fear of the sword, brought it, and asked for the sword back again, and when he had it in hand said: "Take that stone back to its place." The king saw the raised sword, feared, and carried the stone back. By this incident I demonstrate to you the faith of the Welsh; while you hold the sword they will submit, when they hold it they will command. But to let you know what became of Franco: the king when rejoined by his men called him back—for he was making off in terror—with great praises, and told his people how bravely and courteously he

coegisset eum referre lapidem, et dedit eum Crespium in Valesio in hereditatem.'

In rapina et furto gloria Walensium, et adeo eis utrumque placet, ut inproperium sit filio si pater sine uulnere
f. 32v decesserit. Vnde fit ut pauci canescant. / Prouerbium ibi est 'Iuuenis mortuus aut senex pauper', scilicet ut cito quisque in mortem irruat, ne senex mendicet.

xxiiii. *De Conano sine pauore*

Conanus sine pauore, sic dictus quia nusquam obstupuit, uispilio duxque latronum, militem super Sabrinam manentem in Glanmorgan, uirum strenuum et habundantem, spoliare cupiens, egressus est solus nemus quod toti eminet prouincie, multa manu in nemore abscondita, struxitque innocenti nociuas insidias. Cumque circa uesperam uidisset militem ad domum predicti properare militis et premisso puero ab ipso in hospitem recipi, reuersus ait sociis suis: 'Hunc quem cupimus depredare militem residere decet in pace; suscepit enim hospicio militem qui sub nomine caritatis, ut nostratum est mos, illud peciit, habetque secum hospitem in ipso Deum, contra quem omnis est inpar congressio.' Attolluntur in ipsum ad hec uerba uultus et irrisiones omnium, dicencium 'Vath! quam recte sine pauore dicitur!' et alia in hunc modum inproperia. Ille mori malens quam ignauie redargui, secutus est eos, ueneruntque in conticinio ad domum militis. Insurgunt in eos canes, et uisa multitudine, ut solent, egressi septa latrant exterius. Iacebat in aula hospitatus sub magnis et uicinis terre fenestris; intellexit per latratum exterius uim multitudinis superuenisse; cum omni festinacione et silencio sibi loricam iniciens, lanceam in manu tenens, in media constitit area contra fenestras ascultans audiensque multitudinem licet tumultum dissimulantem; et ecce quidam nepos Conani, qui quasi furtim aperta fenestra pedem intro posuit ut intraret. At ei miles inpiger lanceam inpingit in cor, retroque proicit; quem frater eius per timorem resiliisse putans, obiectis obprobriis pretergreditur, et ab eodem

had made him carry the stone back, and gave him Crépy-en-Valois for an inheritance.

The glory of the Welsh is in plunder and theft, and they are so fond of both that it is a reproach to a son that his father should have died without a wound. For which reason few grow grey. There is a proverb there, 'Dead youth or poor old man', meaning that everyone should brave death early rather than beg when he is old.

24. *Of Conan the Fearless*

Conan the fearless, so called because he never flinched, a brigand and leader of robbers, wanted to plunder a knight who lived over the Severn in Glamorgan, and was valiant and rich. He issued alone from a wood which commands the whole district, leaving a large force hidden in it, and laid a murderous ambush for the unoffending man. But when towards evening he saw a knight journeying to the house of the first, and, after sending on his page, being received as a guest, he turned back and said to his company: 'This knight whom we meant to rob must be left in peace, for he has taken in a knight who asked hospitality in the name of charity, as our custom is; and in him he has God for a guest, and with God any contest is unequal.' These words brought scornful looks and words on him from all: 'Bah!' they cried, 'how rightly he is called fearless!' with many like reproaches. So preferring death to the charge of cowardice, he followed them, and they reached the knight's house in the small hours. The dogs came at them, and at sight of the numbers left the yard, as they do, and barked outside. The guest lay in the hall under the windows, which were large and near the ground: he guessed by the barking outside that an attacking band had come, and in all haste and silence he threw on his coat of mail, and spear in hand took his stand in the middle of the floor opposite the windows, listening, and was aware of the numbers, though they kept as quiet as they could: all at once came a nephew of Conan, who stealthily opened the window and put his foot in, meaning to enter. Instantly the knight plunged his spear into his heart and thrust him out backwards: his brother thinking he had started back in fear, swore at him, pushed by him, and was thrown back by the

milite simili uulnere reiectus est. Conanus igitur mortuis assumptis cum festinacione fugit, suis dicens: 'Sciebam Deum intus esse; scio eciam Iudam Machabeum Dei fortissimum atletam dixisse "Non in multitudine exercitus uictoria belli, sed de celo fortitudo est."[1] Ideo timebam hunc insultum producere, nec est oblitus Dominus in nepotes meos ulcisci superbiam obiurgacionis.'

XXV. *De Cheueslino fure*

Cheueslinus Noruualensis, frenum habens in collo, calcaria in zona, cepit hospicium in Sudwallia in domo Traherii; cumque post sobriam parcamque cenam diu sedissent in silencio, dixit Traherio: 'Miramini omnes, et ob reuerenciam nostre consuetudinis nemo querit, quis aut unde sim. Cum tamen scire quisque uestrum hoc cupiat, de boriali plaga Wallie sum, et me perduxit ad has australes partes fama nobilis eque, quam uir marchio noster et uester tanta obseruat diligencia ut iam per mensem frustrate sint omnes insidie mee, conatusque uacuati, his ut decuit calcarium et freni signis semper absconditis, sicut uos nostis oportere.' Risit ad hec et intulit Traherius: 'Merito certe iustoque iudicio timidi predicantur uestrates a nostris et tam tardi. Mallet eciam quis nostratum causa laudis in inprobitate furti stulte proterua interceptus acerbitate uitam dedisse, quam segni elanguisse per mensem inhercia circa preciosissimum furtum; et ecce quam abiecte ignauus es, qui non erubescis tantum fateri obprobrium. Enuclea michi quis hanc equam habeat, ubi et quomodo custodiatur, et me hic cum uxore mea et liberis expectabis in diem tercium a meo illuc aduentu, ut me audias gloriose mortuum uel cum preda mirabiliter reuersum.' Tum ille: 'Multas audiuimus uestratum audaces iactancias ut plantam mirice ad scopam reuerti. Cadolanus,[2] quem satis nosti, filius Uther, eam habet in Gesligair; die pascit in medio exercitus, nocte stat in angulo ulteriori domus sue, ut iaceat tota familia inter ipsam et

[1] 1 Maccabees 3: 19.

[2] This is pretty certainly intended for Cadwallon ab Ifor Bach, lord of Senghenydd (in which stood Y Gelli Gaer) in the time of King John. J.E.L. (Cf. Lloyd, ii. 607–8, 637.)

knight with just such another wound. Then Conan took up his dead and fled with all haste, saying to his men: 'I knew that God was in there, and I know that Judas Maccabaeus, that strongest of all God's champions, said: "Not in the multitude of an host is the victory in battle, but it is from heaven that might cometh,"[1] and therefore I was afraid to prolong this assault; and the Lord has not forgotten to avenge on my nephews the pride of their abuse.'

25. *Of Cheueslin the Thief*

Cheueslin (Genillyn?) of North Wales, wearing a bridle on his neck and spurs at his belt, asked shelter in South Wales at the house of Traer; and when after a sober and frugal supper they had sat long silent, he said to Traer: 'You are all wondering, yet out of respect for our customs no one asks who or whence I am. But, as you are all eager to know it, I am from the north part of Wales and have been attracted to the southern parts by the renown of a noble mare which a man who lives on our and your marches keeps with such care that for a whole month past all my ambushes have been frustrated, all my attempts defeated, though, as was proper and as you know to be the rule, I have always kept these tokens of bridle and spurs hid.' Traer laughed and replied: 'It is certainly with right and reason that your people are called cowardly and slow by ours. Any one of us would sooner for honour's sake have been caught in a valiant, though foolhardy, attempt at theft, and have died a hard death, than have dawdled a whole month in slack laziness about a valuable prize; see how abject and dull you are not to blush at confessing such a reproach. Expound to us who has this mare, and where and how it is kept, and wait here with my wife and children till the third day from my reaching the place, that you may hear that I have either fallen gloriously or returned to your surprise with the spoil.' Said the other: 'We have heard of many of the loud boasts of your people, that they end like the tamarisk plant which is made into a besom. Cadolan[2] whom you know, the son of Uther, has her, at Gelligaer. By day she feeds in the midst of his troop; at night she stands in the farther corner of his house, with the whole household sleeping between her and the only door,

f. 33 hostium / unicum, quatuor autem ex optimis seruis ut eam arte custodiant inter ipsam et ignem super brachanum,[1] id est, tapetum optimum; quod si michi super equam retuleris, decem uacce precium erunt eque et quinque brachani.' Ille frenum arripit et calcaria, et cum nemo fur interceptus in Wallia capi soleat aut redimi, sed statim capite puniri, quasi securus de prope struit insidias, et se sic res habere ut audierat aduertit. Prima nocte domui uicinus astat, arrectis[a] auribus et oculo insompni. Erat autem nox suo conpetens operi sine stellis furuissima. Nactus horam iuxta hostium cnipulo suo foramen, quo manum inmisit et apperuit sibi, quanto potuit silencio fecit, hostium totum stare fecit apertum, ueniensque furtim ad equam soluit eam. Conpertis uero quatuor illis qui super bracanum dormiebant, furenti feruore animi ausus est fimbrias bracani, que longe sunt et fortissime, caude iumenti ligare firmiter, ipsosque quatuor per medium ignis maximi, qui cinere suo iacebat opertus, extra hostium traxit, stupidosque reliquit. Facto igitur clamore totus ipsum sequitur exercitus, solis scintillulis ducibus quas in bracano preferebat; quibus extinctis, domum reuersus est securus, deditque iumentum et brachanum, acceptis uaccis, obtinuitque sibi suisque quantum in ipso erat audacie laudem aduersus boriales.

xxvi. *De furore Wallensium*

Vt[b] autem sciatis quam indiscreti et fatui furoris sint ire Walensium, puer quidam castri quod Sepes Inscisa[2] dicitur exiit ut aquam, Waiam scilicet, transiret; arcum deferebat cum duabus sagittis, obuiusque duobus ex hostibus fugit; fugientem de tam prope secutus est alter eorum, ut iam tenenti similis[3] esset. Puer autem ipsum una sagittarum suarum per medium pectoris transfodit. At ipse socio suo ait: 'Sequere ipsum, quia ego morior, et michi uitam meam ab ipso refer.' Secutus ille puerum quantum pro uilla proxima potuit, ad socium suum rediit; puer autem ipsum

[a] arrectis *James*; errectis *MS* [b] Vt *Wright;* Et *MS*

[1] According to Giraldus (*Opera*, vi. 184) the 'brachan' was a rough, coarse coverlet, of native manufacture. J.E.L.

[2] The 'Sepes Inscisa' of Map is a translation of 'La Haie Taillée', which again appears in Welsh as 'Y Gelli Gandryll'. The adjective has been dropped in both the

and four of his best men to guard her closely, between her and the fire, on a brachan[1] (that is to say, a fine carpet); and if you bring that back with you on the mare, ten kine shall be the price of the mare and five of the carpet.' Traer snatched the bridle and spurs; and though in Wales no thief caught in the act is arrested or redeemed, but killed on the spot, he unconcernedly approached near and laid his plans, and discovered that the case stood as had been reported. On the first night he watched close to the house with ears attent and sleepless eyes, and the night was one suited to his exploit, very dark and starless: so watching his time he made as noiselessly as he could with his knife a hole beside the door, by which he put in his hand and opened it to himself. Having got the door wide open, he stole to the mare and loosed her. Then noticing the four men who slept on the carpet, in his excitement of spirits he was emboldened to tie tightly to the tail of the mare the fringes of the carpet, which were long and very strong, and dragged the four bodily right through a huge fire which lay covered with its ashes, outside the door, and left them gaping. A hue and cry was raised, and the whole band set out after him, guided only by the sparks which he bore ahead of them in the rug. These he quenched, and got back home safe, handed over the mare and rug, received the cows, and gained for himself and his people, so far as in him lay, a renown for daring as against the men of the North.

26. *Of the Rage of the Welsh*

To show you how indiscriminate and foolish in its fury is the anger of the Welsh: a boy from the fort that is called the Cut Hedge (Hay)[2] went out to cross the water, to wit the Wye; he carried a bow and two arrows. He met two enemies and took to flight; one of the two followed so close on him as he ran that he already seemed as one that grasps the prey.[3] But the lad pierced him in the middle of the heart with one of his arrows. He called to his fellow: 'After him. I am dying; bring me back my life from him!' The other chased the boy as far as he could, seeing the nearness of the town, and then came back to his comrade: the boy following his return at a

Welsh and the English names of Hay. J.E.L. (Cf. Lloyd, ii. 437–8 and n.).

[3] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 754.

a longe secutus est redeuntem, ut finem socii sciret, uiditque quod cum sanus ad uulneratum in frutectis uenisset, quesiuit ille a sano utrum sibi uitam a puero retulisset; cumque sibi responsum esset non, 'Veni huc' inquit, 'ut susceptum a me osculum feras uxori mee et filiis, quia morior.' Cum sanus egrum oscularetur, qui suberat iacens eger cnipulo ei effodit uiscera, 'Perde', inquiens 'tuam, qui meam michi per ignauiam non retulisti.' Superior autem ei similiter sua insecauit uiscera cnipulo suo dicens: 'Nullam facies de morte mea iactanciam, solumque hoc michi male contigit quod me mori cogunt uulnera tua, antequam uxori tue basia similia liberisque tuis transfuderim.' Ecce quam stulta quamque iniusta est ira Walensium, et quam in sanguine⟨m⟩ proni sunt.

xxvii. *De quodam prodigio*

Maximum scio contigisse in Wallia prodigium. Willelmus Laudun,[1] miles Anglicus, fortis uiribus et audacie probate, uenit ad Gillebertum Foliot,[2] tunc episcopum Herefordensem, nunc autem Lundoniensem, dicens: 'Domine, ad te confugio consilium petens. Quidam maleficus Walensis decessit satis nuper infideliter in uilla mea, qui statim post quatuor noctes singulis ad uillam noctibus repedans, non cessat euocare singillatim et nominatim conuicaneos suos, qui statim uocati infirmantur et infra triduum moriuntur, ut iam pauci supersint.' Episcopus admirans ait: 'Potestatem forsitan dedit Dominus angelo illius perditi malo, ut in corpore illo mortuo se exagitet. Attamen effodiatur corpus illud, et collo reciso fossorio conspergatur ipsum et fossa magna aqua benedicta, et reponatur.' Cumque hoc fieret, nichilominus errore pristino fatigati sunt ab eo residui. Nocte igitur quadam cum iam paucos reliquisset superstites, ipsum / f. 33v Willelmum trina citacione uocauit. At ille, ut erat animosus et inpiger, non ignarus quid esset, nudato prosilit ense, fugientemque demonem ad fossam usque secutus, ibi iam in fossa recidentem percussit in caput collo tenus, cessauitque ab illa hora persecucio pestis erratice, nec ipsi Willelmo nec

[1] Not identified.
[2] See above, i. 12.

distance to learn the companion's end. He saw that when the unhurt man reached the wounded one among the bushes, the latter asked him if he had brought back his life from the boy, and on being answered 'No', said: 'Come here and take a kiss from me to carry to my wife and my sons, for I am dying.' And as he kissed him, the wounded man who lay undermost opened his stomach with his knife. 'Lose your own life', said he, 'since you are such a coward as not to have brought mine back.' With a like stroke the man on the top cut into his entrails with his knife, saying: 'You shall have nothing to boast of in my death, and the only thing I am sorry for is that I must die of this wound of yours before I can pass on such another kiss to your wife and children.' See how foolish and unreasonable is the wrath of these Welsh, and how swift they are to shed blood.

27. *Of a Prodigy*

I know of a strange portent that occurred in Wales. William Laudun,[1] an English knight, strong of body and of proved valour came to Gilbert Foliot,[2] then bishop of Hereford, now of London, and said: 'My Lord, I come to you for advice. A Welshman of evil life died of late unchristianly enough in my village, and straightway after four nights took to coming back every night to the village, and will not desist from summoning singly and by name his fellow-villagers, who upon being called at once fall sick and die within three days, so that now there are very few of them left.' The bishop, marvelling, said: 'Peradventure the Lord has given power to the evil angel of that lost soul to move about in the dead corpse. However, let the body be exhumed, cut the neck through with a spade, and sprinkle the body and the grave well with holy water, and replace it.' When this was done, the survivors were none the less plagued by the former illusion. So one night when the summoner had now left but few alive, he called William himself, citing him thrice. He, however, bold and quick as he was, and awake to the situation, darted out with his sword drawn, and chased the demon, who fled, up to the grave, and there, as he fell into it, clave his head to the neck. From that hour the ravages of that wandering pestilence ceased, and did no more hurt either to William himself

alicui aliorum exinde nocuit. Huius rei uerum tenorem scimus, causam nescimus.

xxviii. *Item aliud prodigium*

Scimus eciam quod tempore Rogeri Wigornensis episcopi[1] quidam, quem dicunt infideliter decessisse, per mensem aut eo amplius et noctibus et diebus eciam palam in cilicio suo errabat, donec ipsum uniuersa populi uicini turba obsedit in pomerio, manifestusque[a] fuit ibi per dies ut dicitur tres. Scimus eciam quod idem Rogerus iussit crucem superponi fosse illius miseri, ipsumque dimitti, qui cum uenisset ad fossam populo sequente, uisa ut uidebatur cruce resiliit, fugitque alias; sanoque consilio crucem abstulerunt, et ille incidit, et se terra post ipsum clausit, cruceque superposita quieuit.

xxix. *Item aliud prodigium*

In libro Turpini Remensis archiepiscopi de gestis Karoli Magni,[2] cuius ipse coadiutor indiuiduus usque ad mortem fuerat, scriptum repperi quod miles quidam exercitus Karoli apud Pampilonem decedens omnia bona sua karissimo sibi cuidam clerico pauperibus parcienda reliquit. Clericus autem ceteris apte distributis equum militis unum optimorum tocius exercitus auare diu detinuit, et tercio in sompnis ammonitus ab ipso milite ne legatum pauperibus ipse sibi usurparet illicite neglexit. Quarto igitur uigilanti aparuit et ait: 'Iam iudicatus es, et indurauit Dominus cor tuum ne peniteas, et quoniam eius paciencia delusa monitisque neclectis honorem Deo superbe negasti, die tercia post hanc uiuus a demonibus rapieris in aëra hora tercia.' Hoc uerbum ut Karolo innotuit, circumcinxit illa hora clericum cum toto exercitu. Stabant ergo clerici crucibus et filateriis et cereis armati, laici gladiis et se decentibus armis; attamen facto maximo ululatu in aëre[b] raptus est a manibus eorum, et

[a] manifestus autemque *MS; corr. James Winterbottom*

[b] *Perhaps for* aëra, *as above,*

[1] Son of Robert earl of Gloucester, and so cousin of King Henry II; bishop of Worcester 1164–79. On him see Mary G. Cheney, *Roger, bishop of Worcester* (Oxford, 1980).

[2] Pseudo-Turpin, *Historia Karoli Magni*, c. 7, ed. C. Meredith-Jones (Paris, 1936), pp. 104–9; cf. *Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle of William de Briane*, ed. I. Short (Anglo-Norman Text Soc., Oxford, 1973), pp. 37–8.

or to anyone else. The true facts of his death I know, but not the explanation.

28. *Another Prodigy*

I know too that in the time of Roger, bishop of Worcester,[1] a man, reported to have died unchristianly, for a month or more wandered about in his shroud both at night and also in open day, till the whole population of the neighbourhood laid siege to him in an orchard, and there he remained exposed to view, it is said, for three days. I know further that this Roger ordered a cross to be laid upon the grave of the wretch, and the man himself to be let go. When, followed by the people, he came to the grave, he started back, apparently at sight of the cross, and ran in another direction. Whereupon they wisely removed the cross: he sank into the grave, the earth closed over him, the cross was laid upon it and he remained quiet.

29. *Another Prodigy*

In the book of Turpin, archbishop of Reims, on the gests of Charlemagne[2] (whose inseparable helper he was till death), I find it recorded that a knight of Charles' army, departing this life at Pamplona, left all his goods to a cleric, his dear friend, to be distributed to the poor. The cleric duly distributed everything else, but for a long time covetously kept back the knight's horse, which was one of the best in all the army. Thrice was he warned in sleep by the knight himself not to take to his own use what was left to the poor, but against right he paid no heed. A fourth time, therefore, he appeared to the cleric awake and said: 'Thou art now judged, and the Lord hath hardened thy heart against repentance; and whereas thou hast trifled with his long-suffering, hast not heeded warnings, and hast proudly refused honour to God, thou shalt on the third day after this be caught up alive by devils into the air at the third hour.' When Charles heard of this message, he encompassed the cleric about with his whole army at the hour named. The clergy took their stand armed with crosses, reliquaries and candles, the laity with swords and such weapons as befitted them; yet there broke out a great howling and the cleric was snatched up in the air out of their hands, and on

die quarta tribus inde dietis inter rupes omnibus confractis membris inuentus.

⟨xxx. *Item aliud prodigium*⟩[a]

Sedebat solus in domo sua miles a Northanhimbria circa horam decimam post prandium in estate, et ecce qui diu ante decesserat pater suus, uili pannosoque cilicio inuolutus, adueniebat. Ille demonium ratus[b] ipsum a limine repulit; cui pater: 'Karissime fili, ne timeas, quia pater tuus sum, et nichil tibi sinistrum affero; sed sacerdotem aduoca, ut uideas causam aduentus mei.' Vocato igitur et plurimis accurrentibus presbitero, procidens ipse ad pedes eius ait: 'Ille miser ego sum, quem tu dudum pro decimarum iniusta retencione innominatum in turba cum aliis excommunicasti, sed in tantum michi per graciam Dei communes ecclesie oraciones et elemosine fidelium profuerunt, ut michi liceat absolucionem petere.' Absolutus igitur cum magna multorum processione usque ad foueam ueniens incidit, que sponte super eum clausa est. Nouus hic casus nouam diuine pagine disputacionem intulit.

xxxi. *De quibusdam prouerbiis*[1]

Miles quidam, hereditarius Francie senescallus, decedens ait filio suo: 'Fili karissime, per graciam Dei gratus es uniuersis, et Dominus tecum est manifeste. Nunc autem hec ultima precepta mea conserues pro salute tua bonoque statu persone tue rerumque, et ut prospero gaudeant exitu cepta tua. Non liberabis iusto condempnatum iudicio; non bibes aquam ueterem que de se riuum non facit; non exal⟨t⟩abis seruum; non duces filiam adultere; non credes rufo ignobili.' Filius igitur patre sepulto susceptus a rege in hereditatem officium-
f. 34 que paternum, gratus ipsi regi, / toti fuit acceptus Francie; erat enim uir mansuetus et sapiens et bene se conformans bonorum moribus. Minus tamen circa patris sui precepta diligens, uxorem duxit filiam adultere, seruumque ruffum habens Greculo esurienti similem,[2] notata ipsius sollicitudine,

[a] *Rubric supplied by Wright* [b] ratus *Wright;* raptus *MS*

[1] For the framework, cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), c. 103, pp. 431 ff.

[2] Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 78.

the fourth day after was found among the rocks, three days' journey off, with every limb broken.

30. *Another Prodigy*

A knight of Northumberland was seated alone in his house after dinner in summer about the tenth hour, and lo! his father, who had died long before, approached him clad in a foul and ragged shroud. He thought the appearance was a devil and drove it back from the threshold, but his father said: 'Dearest son, fear not. I am your father, and I bring you no ill; but call the priest and you shall learn the reason of my coming.' He was summoned, and a crowd ran to the spot; when falling at his feet the ghost said: 'I am that wretch whom long since you excommunicated unnamed, with many more, for unrighteous withholding of tithes; but the common prayers of the church and the alms of the faithful have by God's grace so helped me that I am permitted to ask for absolution.' So being absolved he went, with a great train of people following, to his grave and sank into it, and it closed over him of its own accord. This new case has introduced a new subject of discussion into the books of divinity.

31. *Of Certain Proverbs*[1]

A knight who was hereditary seneschal of France said on his deathbed to his son: 'My dear son, by God's grace you are liked by all, and the Lord is plainly with you. But now, for your own safety and the well-being of your person and goods, and that your undertakings may enjoy a prosperous issue, observe these my last precepts. Never release one who has been condemned by a just sentence: never drink of old water whence no stream runs: never promote a slave: do not marry the daughter of an adulteress: do not trust a red-haired man of low birth.' So the son buried his father, and was received by the king into the hereditary office which his father had held; and was liked by the king and acceptable to all France, for he was a man of mildness and wisdom, and one who duly conformed to a good way of life. Yet, less heedful than was right of his father's precepts, he took to wife the daughter of an adulteress; more, he had a red-haired servant, like 'the hungry Greekling',[2] whose care and

diligencia rapidaque negociorum instancia, se felicem in eius arbitratur aduentu, pariter cum ipso Dei ad se benediccionem ingressam; ipsum igitur tam familie quam pecunie quam uniuersis preficit rebus. . . .[a]

xxxii. *Conclusio premissorum*

Siluam uobis et materiam, non dico fabularum sed faminum appono; cultui etenim sermonum non intendo, nec si studeam consequar. Singuli lectores appositam ruditatem exculpant, ut eorum industria bona facie prodeat in publicum. Venator uester sum: feras uobis affero, fercula faciatis.

Explicit distinccio secunda nugarum curialium.
Incipit tercia.

[a] *See p. xxix n. 1*

diligence and quick attention to business he marked, and counted himself lucky to have acquired him, so that with him God's blessing had entered his house: and him he set over his household, his finances, and all his affairs. . . .

32. *The Conclusion of what has gone Before*

I set before you here a whole forest and timberyard, I will not say of stories, but of jottings; for I do not spend time upon cultivation of style, nor, if I did, should I attain to it. Every reader must cut into shape the rough material that is here served up to him, that thanks to their pains it may go forth into the world with a fair outside. I am but your huntsman. I bring you the game, it is for you to make dainty dishes out of it.

End of the Second Distinction of the Trifles of the Court

i. *Prologus*

CUM a palacii descendunt palatini negociis, regalium operum inmensitate defessi, placet eis ad humilium inclinari colloquia, ludicrisque leuare pondera seriorum. Hoc tibi uultu placeat, cum a philosophice uel diuine pagine senatu respiraueris, uoluminis huius innolibiles[a] et exangues inepcias uel audire uel legere recreacionis et ludi gracia. Non enim fori lites aut placitorum attempto seria; teatrum et arenam incolo nudus pugil et inermis, quem in armatos obtrectancium cuneos talem ultro misisti. Teatrum tamen hoc et hanc arenam si Cato uisitauerit aut Scipio uel uterque, ueniam spero dum non districte iudicent. Scribere iubes posteris exempla quibus uel iocunditas excitetur uel edificetur ethica. Licet inpossibile michi sit hoc mandatum, quia

pauper poeta nescit antra Musarum,[1]

non difficile legere uel scribere quod bonis sua faciat utile bonitas (cum omnia bonis cooperentur in bonum)[2] nec terre bone mandare semina que proficiant. Sed quis animum nequam et discolum excolat, cum dicat scriptura 'Acetum in nitro[b] qui cantat carmina cordi pessimo.'[3]

Carmina cantauit Sadius; placet audire?

ii. *De societate Sadii et Galonis*[4]

Sadius et Galo, moribus etate forma pares, et armorum eruditi sciencia priscique generis nobilitate preclari, paribus

[a] *sic MS* [b] *MS adds* et; *om. James*

[1] This fatherless line appears as an example of the 'hipponactean' metre in the *Centimeter* of the late fourth-century grammarian Servius (*Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, iv (Leipzig, 1864), 458), and perhaps led an independent existence as a proverb, for it occurs independently at the end of Aldhelm's *Aenigmata* in MS Paris Bibl. Nationale Lat. 8440 (*Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, *MGH Auct. Antiqu.* xv (1919), p. 149), and Professor P. Lehmann in *Philologus*, lxxxiii (1928), 203, cites it also from the commentary on Priscian by Sedulius Scottus.

[2] Cf. Romans 8: 28.

[3] Proverbs 25: 20.

THE THIRD DISTINCTION

1. *Prologue*

WHEN palace officials come down from the palace business, wearied with the wide range of the affairs of monarchs, they like to stoop to talk with commoners, and to lighten with pleasantry the weight of serious thoughts. In such a mood may you be pleased, when you snatch a respite from grave counsel with the philosophic or the sacred page, either to read or listen to the insipid and bloodless follies of this book for recreation and sport. I do not touch upon the suits of the lawcourts or upon grave pleas: it is the theatre and the arena that I haunt, a naked unarmed fighter, and you have insisted on sending me forth in that guise to meet the armed squadrons of my detractors. Yet if even Cato or Scipio, or both, should visit this theatre, this arena, I hope for pardon from them, provided they are not over-strict in their judgement. You bid me record examples (stories) for posterity, such as may serve either to excite merriment or edify morals. Though it is beyond my powers to obey—for

the poor poet knows not the caves of the Muses[1]

it is not hard to gather or write something which the goodness of the good may turn to their profit (for to the good all things work together for good),[2] or to commit to good ground seed that may prosper. But who can till a mind that is vicious and ill-conditioned, since scripture says, 'Vinegar upon nitre is he that singeth songs to an evil heart'?[3]

There was a song that Sadius sang. Will you hear it?

2. *Of the Friendship of Sadius and Galo*[4]

Sadius and Galo, compeers in character, age, and looks, skilled in the lore of arms and of ancient and distinguished lineage,

[4] This is the most elaborate story in the *De nugis*: the skill of its construction and parallels to various elements in it have been analysed by R. E. Bennett, in *Speculum*, xvi (1941), 34–56. There are many 'romance' elements, and even something of courtly love in it. But it is essentially a cleverly contrived inverted romance, with the lady pursuing the knight, to her doom (see above, pp. xlii–iii).

alterutrum se diligebant et honestis amoribus, unde satis inter aduersa probati, remotis erant et proximis exemplar et prouerbium. Gaudent enim ea felicitate fideles amicicie, quod inter bonos conseruate laudes eciam ab inimicis extorqueant.

Erat autem Sadius regis Asianorum nepos, in cuius ipsi pariter palacio militabant, auunculo suo tam tenerrime dilectus, ut non esset ei sine Sadio spiritus aut uita; nec inmerito, quia secundum animi uirtutem et corporis habilitatem erat qualem te uelles fieri. Galo, licet aduena, pari per omnia beatitudine diues, excepto tanto regis amore, suum sepe tacitus flebat infortunium, quod forsitan alii uideretur successus, scilicet quod a regina nimium amabatur et uehementissimis impetebatur assultibus, in uerbis et signis quibuscunque potest aut flecti rigidus aut emolliri durus aut infatuari sapiens, tum manibus tum oculis cupidis non cupitis, susceptis et non acceptis, nec cessabant xeniola, scilicet torques, anuli, zonule, serice uestes; et uere non est ociosus amor, non obliuiosus. Nichil omittit regina solicitudinis, nichil instancie; totam se pronubam improbitate reddit, quicquid solet amor suadere furenti temptat. ⟨Temptat⟩[a] et omnimodis Galo reuerenter et uerecunde negacionem, et sine repulsa forma peremptoria, cupiens ipsam sine desperacione suspendere donec resipiscat, blandaque castigacione proficere sperat. Illa properat labentem retinere, laxisque
f. 34v decurrit habenis; / hic laborat sic currere ut non comprehendatur,[1] seratis pudicicie foribus et, quod non est modici coram Altissimo meriti, contra pulcritudinem et regine delicias carnisque proprie miliciam castra castitatis obseruat,[b] et consilio eius qui nec fallit nec fallitur munera tandem spernit, refutat breuia, nuncios horret, modis omnibus eam in desperacionem inducere conatus.

Sentis, O Sadi, tandem socii sollicitudinem, et edoctus ab ipso propriam facis.

Ingreditur ad reginam Sadius, et quasi suorum nescius

[a] Temptat *add. James*

[b] *Perhaps* obserat *James*

[1] Cf. 1 Corinthians 9: 24.

loved each other with equal and pure affection, and well proved as they were in contests, were an example and proverb to all both near and far. For this is the happy reward of faithful friendships, that when they subsist among the good they wring praise even from enemies.

Now Sadius was the nephew of the king of Asia (in whose palace both were knights of equal rank), and was so tenderly loved by his uncle that apart from Sadius he could neither breathe nor live; nor without reason, for in worth of soul and strength of body he was such an one as you would wish to become yourself. Galo, though a stranger, endowed at every point with equal gifts, save only such liking from the king, had in silence often to lament this misfortune, which by others perhaps would be reckoned a success: that he was ardently loved and persecuted with violent assaults by the queen; with all the words and signals which could avail to bend the stubborn, soften the hard, or infatuate the wise; with gestures of eye and hand, desirous and not desired, received but not accepted; with a constant flow of presents, torques, rings, belts, and silken apparel; for indeed love is neither lazy nor forgetful. No point of watchfulness or insistence was missed by the queen; by her importunity she made herself nothing but a bawd; whatever expectant passion can suggest to its mad victim she tried. Galo too tried denial, by every means, respectful and modest, and without repulsing her in peremptory form; anxious to keep her off, without driving her to despair, until she came to her senses, and hoping that he might profit by gentle reproof. She rushed after to stay him as he slipped away, and tore along with slackened rein; he strove so to run that he might not be attained,[1] locked the doors of modesty, and—what is no light merit in the sight of the Most High—defended the citadel of chastity against the beauty and delights of the queen and the warfare of his own flesh, and by his counsel who neither mocks nor is mocked, finally rejected her gifts, refused her letters, turned from her messengers, made every possible effort to make her despair of success.

At last, O Sadius! you perceived the anxiety of your friend and, on learning what it was, made it your own.

Sadius went to the queen, and, as if ignorant of her error,

errorum carmina cantat cordi pessimo;[1] laudat eam ab altitudine stematis, ab elegancia corporis et faciei, morum eciam uirtutem asserit et super omnia miraculum castitatis attollit, quod plena deliciis, quod omnibus habunda que desideria quamuis continencium excitent, nobiliorum et electorum appetibiles eludat instancias, et cum non sit que[a] sue possit resistere uoluntati, nulli sit addicta uoluptati. 'Victam' inquit 'se fateatur amodo Lucrecia;[2] sed nec sit uir qui tantam sibi sperare presumat animi uirtutem. Vnum tamen et unicum scio quem de simili possum laudare constancia, si non ei Veneris usum neget inpotencia. Sed quod in eo mirantur et stupent alii, prorsus ei deesse non dubito.' Tum illa: 'Quis hic?' At ille: 'Certe qui cuiuis hominum incomparabilis est, sed qui ditauit eum et dotauit omni felicitate Dominus, in hoc solo dampnauit, sed ut ipse satis asserit saluauit.' Suspiciosa suamque causam aliqua parte tactam regina reputans, propius assidet, inquirit attencius, quanta potest adulacione contendit audire nomen, scire personam. Sadius ut secretum habeat serio precatur; illa certissime spondet. At ille 'Meus' inquit 'Galo, cum omnia possit a mulieribus euincere, uacuum se penitus fatetur ab opere, sed michi soli.' Dictis in hiis ingemiscit in archano regina, nec lacrimas omnino continet. Salutat eam Sadius, et iniecisse scrupulum putat,[3] et licencia data libenter abscedit. Properat illa sola secreto fieri; properat ille socio fabulari, qui sollicitudinem eius affectuosa gratulacione prosequitur, et de sua quam ex hoc sperat et conceperat erepcione letatur.

Sed secus est: nam illa non dormit, quam Sadius ad ampliores excitauerat angustias. Omnibus euolutis que docere potuit eam amor, una placet sed periculosa sentencia: per nobilissimam puellarum palacii quod ob uerecundiam per se non presumit attemptare desiderat, si uerus est Sadius aut falsus. Instruit eam et docet aditum, quo possit in Galonis amplexus illabi, nudamque se nudo iungere, manum iubet inicere pudendis, et ut casta referat utrum possit an non.

[a] *perhaps for* qui

[1] Cf. Proverbs 25: 20 (and above, c. 1).

[2] 'Lucrece', whose rape led to the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome, according to legend, and the end of the Roman monarchy.

[3] Cf. Terence, *Adelphi*, 228.

sang a song to an evil heart.[1] He praised her for the height of her descent, for the beauty of her body and face; he spoke, too, of the virtue of her character, and above all extolled the marvel of her chastity, in that, full of charms as she was, rich in all that could excite the desire even of the rigidly virtuous, she shunned the ardent suit of the noble and the *élite*, and, though there was none that could resist her will, was no way a slave to pleasure. 'Henceforth', said he, 'let Lucretia confess herself excelled;[2] nay, let there not even be a man who dares to hope for such strength of soul. Yet one, and one only, do I know whom I could praise for a like firmness, did nature allow of his going astray. That that is his case I doubt not, in the matter for which all admire and are amazed at him.' 'Who is that?' said she. And he, 'Truly, he who is not to be compared to any man; yet the Lord who has enriched and endowed him with every kind of good fortune, in this alone has condemned, or, as he himself avers, saved him.' The queen, now suspicious, and deeming that her own case was being in some way alluded to, took her seat near Sadius, questioned him diligently, and strove with all possible blandishments to learn the name and know the person. Sadius besought her earnestly to keep it secret: she gave a true promise to do so. 'It is', he said, 'my Galo, who, though he could extort every favour from women, confesses, to me alone, that he cannot.' At those words the queen in secret groaned, nor could she wholly refrain from tears. Sadius made his salutation, thought he had instilled a scruple,[3] and, when leave was given, departed, joyful. She hastened to be private and alone; he, to talk with his friend, who repaid his trouble with loving thanks, and rejoiced at the rescue which he hoped and foresaw would come of it.

But it proved otherwise: for she whom Sadius had moved to greater anguish, slept not. After revolving all that love could teach her, she decided on one, but a perilous, plan: by the means of the noblest of the palace ladies she yearned to find out what for shame's sake she durst not try herself, whether Sadius spoke truth or lied. She gave her all instructions, told her how to insinuate herself into Galo's good graces, with no holds barred; to put her finger on the spot, and without risking herself, to bring back word whether he was a man or no.

Emittit ergo puellam, et inuidet emisse, cupitque iam abiecta regina puella fieri, lectoque proiecta secum uersat: 'Sic incedit et illac; ibi cubicularius, quem certe iam non amo nec nominabo, uenit obuiam ei sicut michi solet. O quam fidelis et benignus michi semper ille, quam misericors et compaciens, et quam durus ille Demea[1] qui me tociens repulit, et meis extorsus amplexibus blanda conducebat oracione, sed certe toxicata! Reginam et pulcherimam et dominam omnium me dicebat, et eciam suam. Suam? O quam bene suam, cui quantum licebat ancillabar, et ultra quantum dabatur! Quam blanda castigacione dicebat me sponsam et regi consecratam, et se iuratum suum, et se causa mei facturum omnia!—sed adiciebat "preter hoc". Deus bone, quantum erat illud "hoc"! Quicquid ego petebam erat illud "hoc"; illud erat omnia. Quid ergo dicebat? "Omnia preter hoc"? Sed "omnia preter omnia", quod est interpretatum nichil; et certe uerius dixisset "Domina mea, gracia
f. 35 tui faciam omnia[a] nichil." Et utinam hoc / non recto sermone michi recte sic intencionem suam reuelasset, et repulsa me condempnasset eterna. Deus, quis unquam se tam crudeliter a talibus eripuit, sed et nudis amplexibus? Aut michi iuuenum suspiria menciuntur, et eciam senum (sed uerissimum speculum), aut facies hec posset cuiuis hominum persuadere furorem. O, sed eram immemor! Vere fidelis et uerus est Sadius: amisit genitalia. Numquid et Galo fatuus, qui a me probra sua ⟨celauit⟩,[b] qui se non permisit attrectari, qui me repulit ne repellerem ipsum? Vere si michi fauisset, iunctissimis ei nexibus adesissem, et si moram in eo reperissem, illuc manus errasset quo certissime posset deprehendi femina uel mas, aut neutrum. O, non est ut credidi! Falsus est Sadius, masculus est, certissimis apparet indiciis quod mas, quod integer, quod absque defectu. Sed o miseram et fatuam me, puellam habilissimam et cautissimam in opus immisi proprium! Quo michi mens, quo fugerat animus? Illabetur ad ipsum, et se reuerencius et caucius habebit, donec senciatur et in primis tactibus agnoscetur altera quam ego, et si non, ipsa fatebitur,

a omnia *MS; it should probably be omitted, Winterbottom* *b* celauit *add. James*

So she sent her forth and envied her whom she had sent, yearning to be in her place; and casting herself on her couch, she communed with herself: 'Thus she is going, and that way; there that chamberlain whom of a truth I love no more, nor will name him, is coming to meet her, as he meets me. O how faithful and kind was he always to me, how compassionate and sympathetic; and how hard was that Demea[1] who has so often repelled me, and freeing himself from my embrace, escorted me with words that were kind, but surely poisoned! He would call me queen, most beautiful, and lady of all, and his own lady besides. His own? Ah! how truly his own, to whom I played the handmaid as much as was possible, and more than he allowed! With what gentle reproof would he tell me that I was spouse and consecrated to the king, that he was his sworn man, and that he would for my sake do everything—but added: "Except that!" Good God! how huge was that "that"! All that I sought was "that": "that" was everything. What, then, did he say? "All except that"? No, it was "all except all", which is, being interpreted, nothing. And certainly he could have said more truly, "My lady, for your sake I will do all nothing". And would that by such a nonsensical phrase he had shown me his true meaning, and condemned me with an eternal repulse. O God, who ever snatched himself so harshly from such an embrace? Either the sighs of the young, and of the old too, are false (yet my mirror is of the truest), or this face could rouse the ardour of any man. O, but I had forgotten! Sadius is faithful and truthful: Galo is not the man he was. The more fool he, to conceal his shortcomings from me, to keep me at arm's length, and spurn me that I might not spurn him in my turn! Had he been kind, I would have been his closest friend, and, were he slow to respond, I could have found out for myself how the land lies. O, it is not as I believed! Sadius lies, and Galo is a man; the signs are clear that he is all a man should be. O what a wretch and fool am I to have sent the cleverest of girls on my own errand! Whither had my wits, whither had my sense fled? She will steal onto him, and bear herself soberly and warily, till it is perceived and realized at the first touch that she is not I; and even if not that, she will acknowledge it

[1] The more rigid of the two contrasted brothers in Terence's *Adelphi*.

et in meas gratis accepta fiet angustias. Hoc semel erit aut bis antequam redeat. Et quid quod perseuerabit et quod amabit et quod amabitur? Non credo, non opinor, certa sum et sine dubio, quod eam ille iam—nam et me dudum, si non esset capitis mei consecracio, si non essem sponsa; sed et fides eum tenebat.[1] Quid hic impedit? Quid horum hic? Certe nichil, et certe factum est. Non est dictum 'Omnia preter hoc', sed super omnia factum est hoc. Quam leta, quam celeriter hoc rapuit ab ore meo nuncium, quam sine questione! Vere pigra non fuit, non timida; non in uia fuit ursus, non in plateis leo, cum exiit.[2] At iam nunc dies est. O quam uelox in itu, quam secura; quam in reditu tarda, quam timens! Nunc ursus in uia, nunc in plateis leo. Sed ab illo uiolento detinetur ut eam sibi perpetuet. O quam non inuita uiolenciam patitur! Quid autem queror, uel quam iuste causari possum? Ego michi fraus, ego proditrix, ego michi laqueus facta sum. Illa certe non erat; non fecit nisi quod ego, nisi quod omnis. Sed nunquid uerus est Sadius? Non, non; nichil est. Manifestum est quod potest; quia si non posset, illa uenisset. Omnia bona signa palam sunt: iam enim densior dulcis illa malarum incipit esse lanugo, nichil in eo iusto pinguius, nullus in oculis liuor, in corde nulla timiditas. Numquid posset effeminatus tot armorum penetrare cuneos, pessumdare laudes omnium, propriam attollere gloriam in tantos laudum apices? Vera sum quod falsus est Sadius. Sed illa quam in uota mea tam eleganter impegi, que meo iam gloriatur, que me cum ipso necligit, que non michi properauit, que non michi paruit tam ultro, quam[a] sibi uoluptatique sue uoluntaria fuit, illa certe meas leta tulit delicias; et quid michi dicendum, nisi quod omnis amans amens? Sed audiam quando, quomodo, si culta, si compta, si redemita recessit.'

Et uocans sociam eius quam loquebatur: 'Heus, Lai, quando recessit Ero?' Tum illa: 'Nunc in primo gallicantu.' Regina: 'Que missa crepusculo?' Lais: 'Eadem.'

[a] quam *Winterbottom;* que *MS*

[1] i.e. Galo's fealty to the king as king and good faith to him as husband kept him from her as anointed queen and wedded wife.

[2] Cf. Proverbs 26: 13.

herself and be kindly received, and it will turn to my anguish. Aye, this will happen more than once before she comes home again, and she will keep it up, and there will be love on both sides. I do not *believe*, I do not *think*, I am sure and without doubt, that already she is where I should have been, but for the consecration of my head, but for my being a spouse: but there was his loyalty to keep him back.[1] With her, where is the obstacle? What of this concerns her? Nothing. The damage is done. There was no saying "All except that"; there was doing—all and more than all. How gladly, how quickly she caught at the order from my lips, how unquestioningly! She was not slothful, not timid; there was no bear in the path, no lion in the streets,[2] when she went out. And now it is day. O how quick to go, how carefree! How slow to return, how full of fear! Now the bear is in the path, the lion in the streets. But ah! she is being kept back by that masterful man, that he may make her his for ever. Little does she resent the constraint she suffers. Yet why do I complain? What man can I justly blame, and how? I have been my own deceit, my own betrayer, my own snare. Certainly she has not: she has but done what I, what every woman would. But can Sadius have spoken truth? No, no! There is nothing in it. His manhood is beyond question, or she would have returned long ago. The signs are clear enough: that charming downy growth upon his cheeks, no flabbiness of limb, no jaundiced eye or coward heart. Could one less than a man have pierced through so many armed phalanxes, dimmed the glories of all men, raised his own repute to such a pinnacle of praise? I am sure that Sadius lies. But she whom I have so cleverly guided to the object of my own desires, who now boasts herself of my loved one, who in his company thinks nought of me, has not hurried back to me, has not obeyed me so willingly as she has served herself and her own pleasure. She for certain has gladly robbed me of my delight: and what can I say, but that all lovers are witless? Yet I will hear when and how she went, if she were in gay attire, if graced, if adorned.'

And calling a companion of hers of whom she spoke: 'You, Lais, when did Ero go forth?' Said the other: 'Now, at the first cockcrow.' *Queen*: 'She who was sent at dusk?' *Lais*: 'The

Regina: 'Quare tam sero?' Lais: 'Sero missa sero redibit.' Regina: 'Causam nostram et cur sit emissa nosti?' Lais: 'Non, sed scio quod cum omni festinacione se preparauit et opipare festiua seroque recessit.' Regina: 'Dolens est: unde[a] festiua?' Lais: 'Monilibus, anulis, ungentis, purpura, bisso, stibio, calamistro; nec ei defuit acus ad glabellam.'[1] Regina: 'Me miseram! Ad quid hoc?' Lais: 'Vere nescio; sed nullius oblita fuit quod ad amatorem iture prodesse posset. Vncta, lota, compta, cerusata, plene redimita recessit; nichil auro, uestibus aut aliquo iuuamine fraudata queritur, omnia secum intuita, nichil de citato reditu pensans.' Regina: 'Putabam
f. 35v eam tam ydiotam, / tam omnium arcium nesciam.' Lais: 'Nesciam? O quam bene prudentem in huiusmodi, si fateri fas esset!' Regina: 'Bona mi Lai, dic omnia.' Lais: 'Galonem, nescio †quibuscum licet† signis, impetit.' Regina: 'Quid ipse tunc?' Lais: 'Dissimulat, tanquam alias ametur, ut amet.' Regina: 'Dicis "ametur"; immo dicitur quod non potest.' Lais: 'Ero iam scit si potest.' Regina: 'Me miseram! Ero?' Lais: 'Ero.' Regina: 'Nostra?' Lais: 'Aliam nescio.' Regina: 'Quomodo scis eam hoc scire?' Lais: 'Certis eam coniecturis agnouimus.' Regina: 'Fallunt interdum.' Lais: 'O super omnes amencias infelix amor, qui cum summopere latere conetur, antequam ipse sciat scitur ab omnibus! Et si uerbis detur audacia—'[2] Regina: 'Bona Lai, quelibet aude.' Lais: 'Educatum aiunt Galonem inter aduenas, sed ad uenas et cor penetrat.'[3] Regina: 'Cuius uenas et cor?' Lais: 'Vtinam non ad tuas, ut menciuntur aliqui, quia meum cor omnibus impleuit angustiis; et cuius non? Sed audio cardinem.' Regina: 'Forsitan adest hec. Alias egredere; festina, ne nos colloquentes inueniat. Heus Ero, uenisti?' Ero: 'Veni.' Regina: 'Quid actum est?' Ero: 'Perueni, tetigi, sed repulsa sum. Attamen non dubito quin possit.' Regina: 'Cur non statim redisti? Que mora placuit?' Ero: 'Queuis hora desiderio mora.' ⟨Regina: . . .⟩ Ero: 'Quantum properaui

[a] Regina dolens: Est unde *MS*

[1] In Martianus Capella, ii. 132, 'glabella medietas' means 'the smooth space between the eyebrows', but many manuscripts read 'glabellae'. Hence 'glabella' could be taken as a noun, meaning the forehead or the fringe of hair hanging over it; 'acus' is a hair-pin.

same.' *Qu.*: 'Why so late?' *L.*: 'Sent late, she will return late.' *Qu.*: 'Do you know our business, and why she was sent?' *L.*: 'Nay, but I know that she made herself ready in all haste, and went out in the highest spirits, and at a late hour.' *Qu.*: 'She is in mourning: how adorned?' *L.*: 'With necklaces, rings, perfumes, purple, fine linen, eye-paint, curling-irons; not a pin was lacking to make her smart.'[1] *Qu.*: 'Alack for me! Why was all this?' *L.*: 'Indeed, I know not; but she forgot nothing that could help one that was going to her lover: scented, washed, tired, rouged, fully decked out she went: she could not complain that she lacked aught in gold, vesture, or any accessory: she looked herself carefully over, and gave no thought to a speedy return.' *Qu.*: 'I thought her such a simpleton, so ignorant of all arts.' *L.*: 'Ignorant! Ignorant! O how experienced in such matters—were it fair to confess it.' *Qu.*: 'My dear Lais, tell me all.' *L.*: 'It is Galo she is attacking, I know not at what summons.' *Qu.*: 'What will he do?' *L.*: 'Pretend that he is loved in another quarter, that she may love him.' *Qu.*: 'Loved, you say: yet it is said that he cannot.' *L.*: 'Ero knows by this time if that be true.' *Qu.*: 'Alas for me! Ero?' *L.*: 'Ero.' *Qu.*: 'Our Ero?' *L.*: 'I know no other.' *Qu.*: 'How know you that she knows this?' *L.*: 'By certain signs.' *Qu.*: 'They sometimes deceive.' *L.*: 'O love, unhappy beyond all other madness! When it tries with all its might to hide itself, it is known to everyone before it knows. And, if I had leave to speak boldly— —'[2] *Qu.*: 'Dear Lais, be as bold as you please.' *L.*: 'They say Galo was brought up among strangers, yet he reaches the veins and the heart.'[3] *Qu.*: 'Whose veins and heart?' *L.*: 'I hope, not yours, as some falsely say, for he has filled my heart with all kinds of anguish, as whose has he not? But I hear the door.' *Qu.*: 'Perhaps she is come. Go you elsewhere: quick, lest she find us talking. You, Ero, are you come?' *Ero*: 'I am.' *Qu.*: 'What happened?' *E.*: 'I came to him, I tried, but was repulsed. At any rate, I have no doubt he is a man.' 'Why did you not come back at once? What pleasure was in delay?' *Ero*: 'Any time seems delay to desire.' *Qu.* [*question lost*]. *E.*: 'What haste I made

[2] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* i. 175.

[3] Pun on *aduenas*, strangers, and *ad uenas*, to the veins. I cannot reproduce it. M.R.J.

nunc egressa! Quomodo uenissem cicius?' Regina: 'Nunc? Ab hac hora precepti mei posses a decem redisse milibus, sed egredi nisi culta noluisti; numquid nuptum ibas?' Ero: 'Bonum erat ut placere possem ei donec scirem; et placui fere, sensique uirum integrum et promptum, si te sensisset. Sed ut a⟨d⟩uertit quod minor, quod minus habilis, quod non idonea fui sicut tu, statim eiecta sum.' Regina: 'Nunc scio quod nequiter adulteraris.' Et crinibus arreptam pessumdedit pugnisque lesam et pedibus fere semimortuam sociis assignauit obseruandam cautissime, ne quicquam ei liceat; et seorsum in lecto proiecta, nichil ibi tacuit quod possit amor pestilens obscura docere corda, totasque tandem in Galonem refundit iras, et totis eum lacerat quibus ira suadet conuiciis.

Feminarum ira crudelis et immisericors ulcio personam sequitur inuisam super omne quod licet. Conatus regina dolere fraudatos repercussa non cessat, et sicut uehemencia ferebatur amoris sic inclemencia grassatur odii. Qualibet incenduntur ad iram offensa, sed eis ille tantum perpetuant odia cause quas facit amor, uel ablatus ab emula riuali uel ab affectato delusus. Delusam se regina sentit, et a concupiscenciis obtusam, nec credit sensui, sed contra proprii cordis omnia presagia, quod mirum est, ipso corde luctatur. Mandatum suum Galo de ueniendo suscipit et adest, fitque palam e diuerso congressus, assultus et defensio. Nam hec assilit, hic defendit; hec tela proteruie mittit, hic clipeo modestie suscipit;[a] hec intentat Venerem, hic Mineruam obiicit. Hic tamen eam tandem, forcium negacionum agmine facto, certissimam trudit in desperacionem. Regina, iam non regina sed tygris, sed ursa truculencior, ab amore degenerat in odium, obtundique procacitatem a constancia lamentans, tanquam lese maiestatis reum quacunque potest trahit infliccione, et se Galonem persecuturam asserit.

Dies adest regis Asianorum natalicius; assidebant ergo regi dimidii mundi primates et precipui qui conuenerant ex

[a] suscipit *Winterbottom*; suscepit *MS*

when I now went out! How could I have come quicker?' *Qu.*: 'Between now and the time of my order to you, you could have come back from ten miles off; but you would not go without decking yourself out. Were you going to your wedding?' *E.*: 'It was right for me to try to please him, until I had my answer, and I nearly did; I found him all he should be—and all he would have been, had I been you; but when he noticed that I was smaller, and less suited to him than you, I was cast out at once.' *Qu.*: 'Now I know that you are a shameless wanton!' And she seized her by the hair and maltreated her, and wounded her with fists and feet, and handed her over half dead to her companions, to be strictly watched and have no licence allowed her. Then she cast herself on her bed, apart, and kept nothing back that baneful love can teach dark hearts, and now at last turned the whole stream of her wrath upon Galo, and rent him with all the abuse that rage can suggest.

The cruel anger, the pitiless revenge of women persecutes him they hate beyond all limits. The queen, repulsed, ceased not to smart at the failure of her attempts, and as once she was swept along by the violence of love, so now she rages with the savagery of hate. Any offence kindles them to resentment, but only those causes which love originates make their hatred lasting—love, either stolen by a competing rival, or baffled by the object of desire. The queen perceived herself baffled and beaten off from her desire, yet would not trust her perception, but, strange to say, wrestled with all her heart against all her own heart's presages. Galo received a command from her to come, and came, and between them a conflict, assault, and defence took place openly. She assailed, he defended; she cast darts of shamelessness, he received them on the shield of modesty; she set Venus at him, he put forward Minerva to meet her. Finally, massing a force of firm refusals, he drove her into certainty of despair. The queen, no longer a queen but a tigress, nay, fiercer than a she-bear, sank from love into hate; and deploring that her wanton advances had been beaten off by firmness, was for dragging him, as one guilty of treason, through every humiliation, and declared that she would hurl Galo down.

It was the birthday of the king of the Asians, and there sat beside the king the magnates of half the world, and eminent

mandato conuiue. Cuntis autem epulantibus, Galo solus attonitis intendebat in mensam oculis. Erat autem emiciclum immensum regi pro mensa, regique sedes in centro, quatinus eliminato liuore in emiciclo sed⟨e⟩ntes regie sedis essent omnes equaliter proximi, ne quisquam posset de sua remocione dolere nec de uicinia gloriari. Galonis et Sadii
f. 86 simul / erat sedes. At regina peruigil, cuius ad ipsum semper erant excubie, quam Cupidinis accenderat arcus, quam grauitas extinguit plumbea, prima notat quam sollicita quam sedula Galonis anima, nec dubitat quin secretissimum habere desideret Galo quod tanto recordacionis ardore percurrit; quod quanto credit occulcius et eo[a] firmius celare propositum, tanto cupit auidius ipsum ad reuelacionem eius inducere, cupiens ipsum in facie tanti confundi principatus, cuius dolet introrsus erubescere de repulsa.

Mos autem erat regi singulis natalicii sui diebus singula regine donaria pro uoto conferre. Peciit igitur et optinet a domino suo pro donario sine nomine donum. Iurauit rex, et penituit eum, quia non iurauit Dominus.[1] Illa subintulit ut Galonem fateri faciat stante mensa coramque discumbentibus illud archane meditacionis inuolucrum, quod clam secum uolutauerat tota refeccionis hora. Expalluit rex et inhorruit, et contristata est ab utroque termino mensa. Pre ceteris tamen condolet Galoni precipuus eius amator Sadius, et primus orat uota mutari. Rex autem inprouisi penitens iuramenti, tercium se sentit innominati reum promissi. Videres confusionem Herodis et saltatricis instanciam, Phebi ruborem et obstinaciam Phetontis, regis huius angustias et regine deliros impetus.[2] Totus orat procerum cetus cum Galone micius agi, frustra tamen: que penitus intendit ulcionem, degeneri prorsus incumbit incepto, uictoriam suam reputans quod a propria uincitur ira. Procaciter igitur instat infrunita femina, quasi decus eius ex dedecore uiri pendeat innocentis. Galo sedet immotus, et quia nullius noxe

[a] eo *Winterbottom;* ei *MS*

[1] Cf. Psalm 109 (110): 4.
[2] Cf. Matthew 14: 6 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* ii, 1 ff.

guests who had been summoned to assemble. While all were feasting, Galo alone sat with troubled eyes fixed on the table. Now the king's table was arranged in a large half-circle with his own seat in the centre, so that all who sat in the half-circle might be equally near the king's seat, and, all risk of jealousy removed, no one would be vexed by his remoteness, or boast of his nearness. Galo and Sadius sat side by side. But the alert queen, ever keeping watch upon him, kindled by Cupid's bow, yet crushed with leaden depression, was the first to remark how careworn and preoccupied was the soul of Galo, and she made sure that he was anxious to keep wholly secret whatever he was ruminating with such intensity of recollection, and the more she believed him determined to conceal the matter, the more eagerly she thirsted to drive him to an exposure, willing that in the face of that noble company the man at whose repulse she was inly amazed should feel shame.

Now it was the king's custom every year on his birthday to make a present to the queen of whatever she chose. She asked, therefore, and obtained of her lord for a present a gift without naming it. The king sware and did repent, for it was not the Lord who swore.[1] She at once demanded that he should make Galo confess, there at the table in presence of the guests, the wrapped-up matter of secret thought which he had been revolving with himself during all the time of the feast. The king turned pale and shuddered, and both ends of the table were shocked. More than all, Galo's first and dearest friend Sadius sympathized with him, and was the first to beg that the wish might be changed, while the king, repenting his thoughtless oath, felt himself to be the third thus bound by an unknown promise. You might see the confusion of Herod and the insistence of the dancing girl, the blushes of Phoebus and the obstinacy of Phaethon, in the perplexity of this king and the frantic assaults of his queen.[2] The whole company of nobles begged gentler treatment for Galo, but in vain: she, wholly bent on revenge, insisted on her base purpose, and thought herself victorious, though in fact vanquished by her own evil passion. So this senseless woman rudely pressed her demand as if her honour depended on the dishonouring of an innocent man. Galo meanwhile sat motionless, and conscious

con⟨s⟩cius est, nullas timet insidias, ne⟨c⟩ quid agatur aduertit. Ad excitacionem tandem Sadii suspicit, et suspirio meditacionem absoluit altissimo. Dehinc regine preces et concessum regis edoctus ingemiscit, ueniamque petit narratibus. Et post longos instancium uirorum et negantis femine conflictus incipit et ait:

'Anno iam reuoluto, die Pentecostes, diutino febrium ardore decoctus, aput Salonam in lecto sedebam egritudinis quinto die post creticum; festa lux erat, fessique laboribus et tedio custodes mei cum reliqua familia solempnibus ludis intererant ciuitatis. Egredi cupiebam armatus uires meas, equm et arma temptare; loricam indui, galeam et arma michi uix aptaui cetera. Debilis eram; equm ascendi desuetudine mei pinguem et magis ultroneum; urbeque relicta decerpsi uiam altissimi nemoris, et a mane in uesperam nusquam frena tenui. Rapuerat me cursor equus ad partes remotissimas inopinum; quod ut aduerti, uolebam reuerti, sensique quod amor michi tantum fecerat errorem (amabam enim et non amabar), nesciusque uiarum ad magnum et mirificum delatus sum castrum. Palacia mirabar intra precelsos muros altissima, domos eburneas, claritatem et raritatem operum. Aut latebant inhabitatores, aut nulli erant. Transitum feci per medium, usque mente uersans quod dolebam, et sine meo uel sensu uel consensu tam ab equo ductus quam uectus ad palacium in muris interioribus, quod preminebat aliis mee uisionis illustrissimum, respiraui, respexi, miratus sum. Eques iui per palacium, et neminem inueniens, per maximum thalamum et duos ulteriores ortum ingressus amplissimum, puellam inueni sub floridissima cino,[1] panno serico regaliter insidentem. Descendere parabam, et debilis pre lassitudine cecidi, passus aliquamdiu suauem ad pedes eius extasim. Illa uero nullo motu similitudinem habebat uidentis aut uiuentis. Surrexi clipeoque cum hasta reiectis, coram ipsa
f. 36v suplex genua flexi, salutem dixi suplicem. / Illa nichil.

[1] *cinus* is evidently for *schinus*, the 'mastic tree' under which one of the elders mendaciously said he had seen Susanna committing adultery (Daniel 13 (Susanna): 54); but we cannot be sure what Map thought it was. The word is supposed to have been used of a hawthorn tree (Latham, p. 423), but that hardly fits the present context.

of no guilt, feared no ambush, and noticed nothing of what was afoot. At length, roused by Sadius, he looked up and ended his reverie with a deep sigh. Then when he learned of the queen's request and the king's consent, he groaned, and sought to be let off telling his story. But after a long tussle between the men who supported him and the woman who refused, he began and spoke thus:

'Just a year ago, on Whit Sunday, I, weakened by the heat of a long fever, was seated on my bed at Salona on the fifth day after the crisis of my illness. The day was a holiday and my attendants, fatigued with their tiresome labours, were gone with the rest of the household to take part in the customary sports of the place. I experienced a wish to dress and go out, to make trial of my strength, my horse, and my weapons. I put on my shirt of mail, and with difficulty equipped myself with my helmet and the rest, weak as I was: I mounted my horse who had waxed fat in long idleness and was over fresh, and leaving the town made choice of a path through a deep forest, nor from dawn to dark did I draw rein. My charger had hurried me without my noticing it to a very remote region, and when I became aware of it, I wished to turn back: I perceived that it was love that had led me so far astray; for I loved and was not loved in return, and, all ignorant of the road, I was borne to a large and marvellous town. I wondered at palaces which rose high above the lofty walls, at houses of ivory, at the brilliance and rare fashion of the buildings. The inmates were either in hiding or there were none. I passed through the midst, ruminating on my pain, and without perceiving or acquiescing, guided as well as carried by my horse to a palace in the inner ring of wall, the tallest and most brilliant of all I had seen, I drew breath, looked up, and was struck with wonder. Through it I went on horseback, and finding no one, passed by way of one vast room and two beyond it into a spacious garden, and found under a leafy tree[1] a maiden seated like a queen on a silken carpet. I attempted to dismount, and faint with weariness, fell, and for some time lay at her feet in a pleasant trance. She made no movement to show that she either saw me or was alive. I rose, cast aside my shield and spear, bent my knee humbly before her, and gave her lowly greeting. She was silent.

Adieci quicquid responsum mereri debuit; uerbum autem ab ea non extorsi, sed silebat instar ymaginis. Puduit me sine signo reuerti, quodque fateri dedecus est, ipsam supinam ut primicias pudoris acciperem uiolencia tota uiolare paraui; cumque se tueri non posset, exclamat, Riuium aduocat. Riuius aduolat. Erat autem gigas inaudite stature, magnitudinis inuise, cuius congressibus preter dominum regem et Sadium miles omnis impar.[1] Armatus affuit, competencie sue caballum insidens; oculi sui super lorice uentacula accensarum similes lampadarum. Timui, fateor, et erubui, sed iam nunc pro reuerencia regis et assidentis ei principatus misereatur mei regina, ne subsecuta narracio michi fiat obprobrium eternum.' Rex igitur et circumstancia tota misericordia moti ad lacrimas pro Galone supplicant, et inuictissimam tygridem mouere non possunt, ut uel eorum aliquem respiciat ut resipiscat uel respondere dignetur, sed solum Galonem inspicit, instans ut ceptis insistat.

Incipit iterum Galo: 'Gigas uero, licet multo furore feruidus, ad arma me reuerti iubet, inermem tanto dedignatus assultu. Congredimur impare michi nimis et periculoso congressu. Nam me leuiter et sine difficultate tota longitudine lancee sue deiecit in furcam arboris proxime, tenuitque firmiter ibi conuicians et castigans immotum, ut de suis gloriaretur uiribus, et sua uirgo de mea gaudere posset ulta miseria. Numquid nondum sufficit, O regina?' Rex orat, omnes adorant ydolum illud surdum, et eis omnino mutum, excepto quod procedere iubet. Galo: 'Deus, in quo sperabam, michi misit in subsidium aliam uirginem quam ignorabam, que predicte crudelissime uirginis profusa pedibus ueniam meis postulabat erratibus; osculabatur ei pedes uanis inundans lacrimis, nam elatissime superbie uirgo gigantis mee confregit adiutrici pede suo tenerrima contra dentes labia. Nonne satis est, regina? Quis mirabilior aut miserabilior usquam alicui casus? Sed scio, non misereris. Omnia fatebor. Amor meus et longe nobiliori dignissima puella, pedem osculata gigantis ore proh! sanguinolento, meam allegabat ex egritudine longa debilitatem, et illi dedecus esse maximum

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* i. 475.

I added all I could to earn a reply, but not a word could I wring from her; she was still as a statue. I was ashamed to return without some token; and, shame to relate, I set to work to lay her flat and be the first to violate her modesty with an embrace. Since she was unable to protect herself, she cried out and called for Rivius. Rivius rushed to the spot. He was a giant of unheard-of stature, of a size never seen; no knight except my lord the king and Sadius could be a match for his onslaught.[1] He came armed, mounted on a steed answering to his weight, his eyes seen above the vizor in his cuirass blazing like lighted torches. I, I confess it, feared him, and I blushed—but now, out of respect for the king and the princely company that sits by him, let the queen take pity on me, lest the rest of my story prove my lasting shame.' The king and all around him were moved with compassion and interceded for Galo even with tears, but could not move that unconquerable tigress to look at any one of them, and change her purpose, or even deign to reply: she looked only at Galo, and insisted that he should go on as he had begun.

Galo began again: 'The giant, though furious with anger, bade me resume my weapons, deeming an unarmed man unworthy of his attack. We met in a contest all too unequal and perilous for me. Lightly and without any effort he cast me at the extreme length of his spear into the fork of a neighbouring tree, and there held me fast, abusing and chastising my helplessness, triumphing in his own strength and to please his maiden, thus avenged by my wretched plight. Does not this yet suffice, O queen?' The king supplicated and all besought that image, deaf and dumb to all, save that she bade him continue. Galo: 'God in whom I trusted sent to my help another maiden whom I knew not, who, throwing herself at the feet of the cruel lady, begged of her pardon for my fault: she kissed her feet and flooded them with tears that were vain, for the giant's lady in her overweening pride bruised with her foot the tender lips of mine against her teeth. Is it not enough, O queen? What stranger or more pitiable case ever befell any man? But I know you have no pity: I will confess all. My love, a maid worthy of one far nobler, kissing the giant's feet with lips that alas! bled, pleaded that I was weak from long sickness, and urged that it was altogether disgraceful

uirum inanem uiribus et expertem sanguinis ad singulare certamen coegisse. Gigas erubuit, sed non pepercit; expectabat enim illius sue preces que sedebat immobilis et immisericors, et respiciebat non respicientem. Tum mea, cuius michi cor dulci condolebat amore, flens amare quia pacem optinere non potuit, inducias in annum peciit, et se dedit obsidem quod anno reuoluto die consimili, si non mors interuenisset, me contra Riu⟨i⟩um ad singulare certamen produceret, lacrimisque quibus iras omnes et omnium frangere posset corda tyrannidum, cum puella⟨m⟩ non mouisset, gigantem flexit et ad uota mansuefecit. Dies instat, et mee salutis auctrix quingentis comitata militibus in ianuis est; gigas autem in manu quinque milium sequitur. Hec me fecit meditacio stupidum in mensa, quia michi terribilis et immensa.[1] Nunc autem, optime rex, optine ueniam probrose nimium sequele.' Tum illa: 'Certe gigantis illa puella, cui detrahis quia te non attraxit, animi constantis est et firmi, laudabilis eciam in his que tu uituperas; sed tuus hic est mos, immo uicium. Modo fleas, erumpant lacrime, me que non sum gigas ⟨non⟩[a] moture; uel illa ueniat, tua laus, tuus amor, que gigantem uicit, cuius lacrimis mortui resurgunt, ire placantur demonum. O quam bene laudas quam laudas, quam bene fletus eius ut asseris cantibus prestat Orphei, qui non nisi sub ancipiti pacto meruerunt Euridicen! Sed quid ad has
f. 37 Amphion lacrimas? He fecissent / Thebeos sine carmine muros.[2] Toti sudauit utiliter orbi monstrorum domitor Hercules, hec tamen si uoluisset flesset utilius. Modo fleat illa, iubeat rex clarissimus. Hic oret; attende senatus, et certe manebo salua regis et eorum reuerencia uictrix. Audiemus omnia.' Galo: 'predictis odibilius audietis et maius obprobrium, quod inter domini regis et assidencium ei preces tuasque negaciones ad ultimum firmiter in meditacione

[a] non *add. Mynors*

[1] There is a pun here on *in mensa* and *immensa*. M.R.J.

[2] Amphion was one of the builders of Thebes: he charmed the stones into place with his harp.

to compel a man drained of strength and blood to a single contest. The giant blushed but desisted not; he waited for the request of his own lady, who sat there motionless and inexorable, and looked to her, who did not return his glance. Then mine, whose heart tenderly sympathized with me, weeping bitterly for her failure to gain me peace, begged for a year's truce, and offered herself as a surety that on the same day in a year's time, if not prevented by death, she would bring me forth to engage Rivius in single combat: and with tears which might have melted the anger and the heart of any tyrant, though she could not move the maiden, conquered the giant, and turned him to her will. The day is now come, and the saviour of my life, escorted by five hundred knights, is at the gate: the giant with a band of five thousand is following her. This is the thought that has made me silent at the table, for to me it is fearful and notable.[1] Yet now, O best of kings, have me excused from telling the too shameful sequel.' To this the queen: 'Of a truth the giant's lady, whom you belittle because she did not attract you, is of a firm and courageous spirit, and deserves praise for the very qualities which you abuse: but that is always your way, nay, your fault. Weep now if you please, let tears break out, which will not move me—I am no giant—or let your maiden come, the object of your praise and love, who overcame the giant, whose tears avail to save the dead, it seems, and stay the devils' anger. How well, to be sure, you praise her whom you do praise; how notably—according to you—does her weeping excel the songs of Orpheus, which only earned Eurydice on very insecure terms. And what was Amphion compared to these tears? They would have raised the walls of Thebes without any music.[2] Hercules the tamer of monsters sweated to the benefit of the whole world, but yon lady, had she pleased, could have helped more by crying. Well, now let her weep, if our noble king so will. Let this person go on with his speech; listen, you the company, and I am sure with all respect to the king and you, that I shall remain mistress of the field. We will hear every word.' Galo: 'You will hear what is a yet more hateful reproach than the rest, and a greater—that between the entreaties of my lord the king and those about him, and your refusals, I had at last settled firmly in my mind

figebam me die statuto, neque pro fideiussione mea quam laceras neque pro alicuius alterius casus dampno uel lucro, ⟨de⟩decore uel honore, in loco destinato contra gigantem armatum nec inermem appariturum. Condixeramus tamen sub iuramento dominum nostrum regem et ipsum cum utriusque partis exercitu plenius affuturos, quod nunc non oportet, quia non erit michi cum gigante congressus. Aduocetur Hercules et in claua uisit⟨et⟩[a] debita sue uirtuti monstra, suo reseruatum enigma sudori, Deo non homini titulos adiectos. En audistis omnia, nec unum iota ignominie mee uobis celatum est; iacture preterite pudenda timoresque futuros palam feci. Quid amplius est quo michi nocere uelit aut possit regina? Iam michi nil restat, nisi uastas inhabitare solitudines et hominibus insueta loca, frequenciam omnium uitare gencium, et ut memoria mei quantocius a facie terre deleatur, ut instar Empedoclis Ethne flammis insiliam,[1] uel incumbam gladio Pirami,[b] uel Neptuni me tradam belluis ne si diu uixero longum sim infamie signum et monimentum dedecoris et probrosa ostensio digitorum. Gaudeant hac luce, quam uelox exuam, quibus uite conceditur libertas, qui loqui quod iuuat audent, et tacere quod necem ingerit. Caput huc aduexi liberum, et inflictum est huic ori meo silencium, ne loquar amplius nisi quod nolo, uel taceam nisi quod non oportet. O letalis et leto peior seruitus! Libera ligatis et flagiciosis est mens, et quo cupit indefensa transfertur; michi, quod dampnatissimo nemini contigit, ligatus est animus, et est infrunite fronti datus hostia miles,[2] dudum quidem miles, nunc monstrum militum et femine uictima, nescio quid purgatura delicti.' Conticet, et exilit a mensa; nec solus, nam principum plurimi regieque familie cohors electa dolentes eum conducunt. At regina iam dudum graui saucia cura[3] dolores addit doloribus, eorum post terga uociferans: 'Ex ore Galonis audiuimus indicia sue timiditatis certissima, quod cum gigante non erit ei congressus. He sunt laudes empticie conducti uulgi,

[a] uisitet *Bradley;* uisit *MS* [b] Pirami *James;* Pirini *MS*

[1] See below, pp. 290–1.
[2] Apparently a quotation or echo, not identified.
[3] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.*, iv, 1.

that on the appointed day I would not either for my faith's sake, which you tear to pieces, nor for loss or gain, shame or honour in any other respect, appear at the place of assignation to meet the giant, either armed or unarmed. Yet we had agreed with an oath that our lord the king and he should be on the spot, each fully supported by his army; but now there is no need for that, for I shall not go to meet the giant. Let Hercules be summoned and let him visit with his club the monsters that are the due prey of his valour, the exploit reserved for his toil—renown such as is given to a God, not to a man. See, you have heard all: not one jot of my shame has been kept back from you: I have disclosed the ignominy of my past failure and my fears for the future. What further will or power to injure me is left to the queen? For me nothing remains but to seek an abode in waste solitudes and regions unhaunted by men, to shun the company of all mankind, to let my memory be blotted from the earth with all speed, to leap like Empedocles into the fires of Etna,[1] fall on my sword like Pyramus, or cast myself to Neptune's monsters, lest a longer life make me an enduring beacon of infamy, a monument of disgrace, and a mark for the finger of reproach. Let those enjoy this light of day (which I shall quickly leave) who can claim liberty of action, can be bold to say what they please, and keep back what brings death. It was a free head that I bore hither; now silence has been imposed on these lips; I can no more utter a word save that which I would not, nor withhold one, save that which I should not. O deadly slavery; nay, worse than death! The mind even of the fettered criminal is free, and runs whither it will unforbidden: for me—my soul is in fetters, the lot not of even the most hopelessly condemned. The knight has been delivered a victim to a senseless forehead[2]—knight, indeed, once, but now a monster among knights, the victim of a woman, doomed to expiate a crime unknown.' He ceased and rushed from the table, and not alone; for many of the princes and a whole troop of the best of the king's household accompanied him, in sorrow. But the queen, this long time vexed with heavy pain,[3] added anguish to his anguish, crying out after him: 'We have heard from Galo's own mouth the best evidence of his cowardice, that he will not fight the giant. So much for the venal praises of the hired mob

quibus extollebant ad astra Galonem; he sunt asserciones oris proprii, iactancieque superbe. Gigantem eum dicit; o utinam nunc demandetur, ut uideamus si gigas est! Certissime scimus omnes sub Hercule deperiisse gigantes. Hec est hominis exterriti uox et deuicti, castigati duriter et stupidi. Sane satis gigas est qui quolibet elaciorem gigante nanum ictu fecit unico. Iam celo[a] suo dii timeant totaque caueant sedulitate, ne rediuiui Tytanes eis ungues iniciant. Sub Mulcibero[1][b] sudent Steropes et Piragmon, ut in moncium cumulos non sit inermis Iupiter; assumat eciam idem ipse fulmina, Mars cassidem, spicula Phebus, Pallas egidem, Diana pharatras; aut si tanti sint gigantes quantos iste describit, struat inter aduersas acies prestigia Stilbon,[2] ut reuerencie patris obuiam referant. Inequalia dis indixit prelia Galo; gaude, Sadi, qui doles, et innocenciam tuam ab inuidia leteris eripi.'

Sic hiis et aliis Galo conductus a regina conuiciis, egreditur tam silencio rixe uictor quam longanimitate triumphator incestus. Iam ipso longius a ciuitate agente, reuersis aliis,
f. 37v Sa/dius eum ueris exorat lacrimis, et ait: 'Scio totum orbem tue concupiscencia milicie ueneranter ardere, teque manentem in regum desideriis et principum; sed te michi cunta debere nemo negabit, cuius animam in corde tuo tenes ancillam tue. Sicut ergo me frena nullius potencie tenere possunt ne tibi quelibet uota perficiam, nulla te calcaria moueant meam uitare presenciam uel effugere societatem. Credibile satis est quod in omni narracione quam extorsit regina uerax es, excepta confessione timiditatis, que numquam in cor tuum ascendit. Singulare cum gigante certamen nolo, quia sic locutus es, ineas; sed in armis tuis me sub tui pretextu periculo subicere placeat, ut sub nomine tuo nullo consciente salua tibi militem[c] indempnitate, ne uel uictus doleas uel a triumpho me uictore frauderis,

[a] celo *Boutemy;* telo *corr. from* celo *MS* [b] Mulcibero *James;* multifero *MS* [c] militem *Winterbottom;* militum *MS*

[1] Another name for Vulcan, god of fire, the smith, and so the armourer of the gods.

[2] A name used by Martianus Capella for Mercury, because it is a Greek name for his planet.

that extolled him to the stars; so much for his own tales and proud swaggerings. He calls him a giant. I should dearly like him to be summoned, for us to see if he really is one. Why, we know for certain that all giants were exterminated by Hercules. It is the tale of a frightened, beaten man, a well-thrashed craven. Still he is giant enough, since with a single blow he has dwarfed one who was more stuck-up than any giant. It is time for the gods to look to their own heaven and use their best precautions lest the Titans come to life and strike their talons into them. Mulciber[1] and his men Steropes and Pyracmon had better sweat for it lest Jupiter find no arms against the mountain-masses; that same Jupiter should pick up his thunderbolts, Mars his helmet, Phoebus his arrows, Pallas her aegis, Diana her quiver. Or if the giants really are as big as Galo makes them, Stilbon[2] should exercise his cunning arts against the enemy that they may submit to his father. Galo has declared war, war to which the very gods are unequal. You, Sadius, who are so sorrowful, may triumph, and rejoice that your innocence is freed from his envy.'

So Galo went forth, accompanied from the queen's presence by these and like invectives; his silence made him the winner in the altercation, as his patience had helped him to triumph over her wantonness. He was now at some distance from the city, and the others had turned back, but Sadius stayed to plead with genuine tears, saying: 'I know that all men burn with reverent emulation of your knightly skill and that you have a sure place in the affections of the king and his nobles: yet none will deny that you owe all to me, me, whose soul you hold in your heart as the handmaid of your own. So, just as no prohibition, however powerful, can restrain me from fulfilling any wish of yours, let no impulse move you to shun my presence and company. I can believe that in all the story which the queen wrung from you you spoke truth, except in your confession of fear, a thing which never came into your mind. I would not have you engage in single combat with the giant, since you have declared against it; yet do consent to expose me to the risk in your armour and under colour that it is you, so that I may wage battle in your name, and no one know it, and you be kept safe, without danger of bewailing defeat, or being cheated of the triumph if I win;

ut nullo possit casu fortuito de rupta societate nostra liuor letari.' Hec fidelibus lacrimis et supplici gemitu Sadius. Substitit igitur Galo crebris singultibus suspensus a responso; cum loqui licuit, ait: 'Gaudeat alma fides, et ab antiquis exul diebus leta repatriet, securam se defensore Sadio decantare non timeat. Karissimi mi, reperit amor tuus uiam qua reuertar, ut tue modus inuencionis conuertatur in modico, scilicet ut furtim arma nostra mutentur, et in tuis ego quorumlibet opinione decepta cum gigante congrediar, quatinus occiso me ueritas occisi manifesta sit, uel superstite, tibi gloria triumphi clam depositis armis solempni laude celebretur. Addo etiam, quod ante congressum domino meo regi, domine regine me tecum hoc pacto retentum intimes, ut pro me duelli discrimen subeas. Hoc eciam michi prestet amicicia tua, ut inter inicia conflictus, facta confluencium corona, liberatricem meam aduoces, et ipsi soli reuelata doli nostri ueritate secum toto tempore conflictus consilium habeas consolacionis. Si forte cum ipsa uel ex nostris alique uel ex alienis alie conuenerint, cognosces illam maximis proximam,[a] mediocribus maiorem, alta ceruice, scapulis demissis, felici proceritate pre ceteris uenustam, ut possit decor opertus ex hiis que sunt aperta desideranter appeti.'

Dictis hiis et fideliter obseruatis, ecce†saluatum†[b] solempniter occupatum a cohorte gigantis usque ad partem mediam; pars altera regi quem dicunt Asianorum relinquitur, et impletur opipare. Gigantis igitur erecto tentorio precioso, coram hostio tentorii cunctorum in oculis pannis regaliter insidebat sericis uirgo que Galonis leserat in ore uirginem, eo quo preuisa fuerat modo. Gigas igitur armatus egreditur, ad cuius inmensitatem expalluit tota corona, generali gemitu ueram admiracionem confessa. Gigas insidet equo maximo tanto ponderi satis apto, factisque discursibus et giris exacerbat eum, et futuram edocet necessitatem, et quasi lusibus ad seria preparat proxima. Quicumque uident mirantur et metuunt, et super Sadium leuant ululatum, et quanto prosequuntur[c] fauore Sadium, tanto persequuntur Galonem odio.

[a] proximam *James;* proximans *MS* [b] saluatum *MS; Bradley suggested* sabulatum *or* sabaletum*; perhaps* spatium *or* spectaculum *Brooke* [c] prosequuntur *Boutemy;* persequuntur *MS*

so will envy have no chance of exulting over a breach in our friendship.' Thus Sadius, with faithful tears and suppliant sighs. Galo was held from replying for a time by his quick sobs; when he could speak he said: 'Now let kind constancy rejoice; long banished, let her return with gladness, nor fear to proclaim herself in Sadius' keeping. My dearest friend, your love has found out a path for my return, if only your desire may be a little changed. Let us privately exchange our armour; I will meet the giant in yours and cheat the belief of all; if I fail, the truth will be manifest; if I survive, you shall secretly put off my armour, and the glory of the triumph shall be celebrated for you with full honours. This more I add, that before the fight you shall make known to my lord the king and the lady queen that I am bound to you by the condition that you are to bear the peril of the fight in my stead. And this further service let your friendship do me: at the beginning of the conflict, when all the company of spectators is gathered, take to you the lady who freed me, and to her alone disclose the truth of our trick, and all the time of the fight converse with her and console her. If any ladies of our own or of the other party chance to enter with her, you will recognize her, as near in height to the tallest, above the mean; her head is high, her shoulders low; her comely stature marks her out among all, and the beauty you behold enkindles the desire for that which is unseen.'

This plan made and faithfully carried out, see! the lists duly filled, one half by the giant's band: the other left to the king, so named, of the Asians, and splendidly furnished. The giant's tent, a costly one, was set up, and at its entrance, before the eyes of all, throned like a queen on silken carpets, was the maiden who had struck Galo's lady in the mouth, in such fashion as we have heard. Forth came the giant in armour; and at his huge size all the company grew pale, and a universal murmur voiced their genuine surprise. The giant was mounted on a great horse, answering to his huge weight, whom he spirited up with curvetings and circlings, to teach him his coming task, thus preparing him by sport for graver things at hand. All who saw wondered and feared, and raised a cry of sympathy with Sadius, lavishing as much hate on Galo as love on Sadius. These two

Audiunt ipsi nec mouentur, sed agunt inter laudes et conuicia fideliter Sadius, fiducialiter Galo.

Gigas igitur in Galonem irruit obuium;[a] diuersis se petunt ictibus; gigas fractam linquit in scuto Galonis lanceam, Galo gigantis equm a fronte consuit in armos, et utrumque simul deicit. Videns igitur is ipsum cum equo simul obrutum, tanquam ardua quercus ab ultimo securis icto corruentem, ait: 'Quia Galonem in tua potestate constitutum armari permisisti, ne tibi foret inpar cum inermi congressio, descendo, ne michi fiat inequale cum pedite duellum.' Descendit, exsurgunt pedites, et in alterutrum fortiter insurgunt. Rex multo deplorat gemitu nepotem, qui nullo subest periculo. Regina Sadii dat in uultum conuicia, multis-
f. 38 que lacerat / absentem obprobriis. Sadius eam decipi gaudet, cum silencio sustinens, et ut amplius inuideat, auersus ab ipsa, quam consolari ceperat quatenus datur amanter excolit. Regina uidet et inuidet, illam electam se spretam arbitrans, iraque succensa dupplici duplicat et triplicat utrique rixas. Quociens aliquid sinistri Galoni casus affert, omnium conuertuntur in Sadium oculi. Cogitatur et dicitur in Galonem detraccio, sed in Sadium fit detraccionis ostensio.

Secundum formas bellancium uidetur inequalis congressio, secundum ictus plena iudicatur equalitas et minoris maior audacia. Retrocedit ex industria gigas, ut irruentis impetum quasset inopino subitoque repulsu, sed tam prope, tam acriter instat Galo, tam indefessus, ut omnino gigas a spe fraudetur, et ut fuga spontanea iam fiat necessaria; iam in amice sue tapeto uacillat, et ipsum Galo repentino conatu propellit ut ad illam gigas talo offendat et ultra corruat. Clamor hinc attollitur, illinc submisse gemunt suspiria, nec celatur quibus est aut ira propensior aut profusior leticia. Rex et sui desiderant et, quantum sinit date reuerencia pacis, locuntur nutibus ut in iacentem Sadius irruat. Galo tamen iusta facecia deiectum surgere precipit et ad arma reuerti.

Gigas igitur exsurgit inpiger, et uisis dilecte sue lacrimis

[a] *Perhaps* obuiam *Winterbottom*

listened unmoved, but under praise and blame Sadius remained loyal, Galo undaunted.

The giant rushed to attack Galo, and blows were exchanged: the giant left his lance broken in Galo's shield. Galo clove the giant's horse from forehead to shoulder and cast horse and rider to the earth. Beholding him overset, with his steed, like some tall oak tottering under the final blow of the axe, he said: 'Inasmuch as you allowed Galo to arm himself when he was at your mercy, so as not to meet a defenceless man in unequal fight, I dismount, to avoid an unequal contest with one who is horseless.' He dismounted: they stood up on their feet, and attacked each other fiercely. The king sighed deeply in anxiety for his nephew, who in truth was exposed to no risk. The queen uttered her railings in the face of Sadius, and assailed with many a reproach one who was not there. Sadius enjoyed her mistake and bore all in silence, nay, to augment her spite, he turned from her, and addressed himself lovingly, within due bounds, to her whom he had taken in hand to console. The queen saw and was enraged, thinking the other chosen and herself scorned, and with redoubled rage doubled and trebled her attacks on both. At any ill chance that befell Galo, all eyes were turned against Sadius. Abuse was conceived and uttered at Galo, but it fell wholly upon Sadius.

Judged by the figures of the combatants, the contest seemed unequal; judged by their blows, equality seemed complete, and the weaker man the more daring. The giant would recoil on purpose to break the attack of the advancer by some sudden unexpected charge: but Galo pressed him so close, so keenly, so steadily, as to disappoint him of his hope, and turn his feigned flight into a real one. He now staggered on the edge of his lady's carpet, and with a sudden push Galo drove him to stumble on her with his heel and fall beyond her. A shout arose on one side, a low groan on the other, and there was no concealment of feeling—quick anger or exuberant joy. The king and his company yearned to see Sadius attack the giant as he lay, and so far as reverence for pledged peace allowed, urged him by gestures. But Galo with due courtesy bade the fallen man rise and regain his weapon.

The giant accordingly rose with alacrity, and at the sight of

immemor indulte proximo uenie, iam non quid comitas aut iusta retribucio dictet attendit, sed toto feruore cordis preceps defertur in hostem,[1] fortiterque resistentem durissimis infestat assultibus, 'et bene pugnantem bene pugnans efficit hostis'.[2] Eleuata tandem in altum manu ictu consummare temptat unico duellum, et dum in galeam descendit fortiter ensis in capulo fractus est. Timet igitur gigas sibi, et se fere uictum corde fatetur; sed more suo Galo resilit, ut per omnia bonus appareat, inducias giganti licenciamque concedens alium querendi gladium, dicens: 'Querenda est uirtute gloria, non casu.' Letus ille suique, Sadii dolent omnes amici, promptamque uictoriam queruntur in periculum ultro conuersam. Hoc autem michi uidetur iniuria preceps, quod quis id scienter agat, unde letentur hostes, amici doleant. Recedit gigas ad tentorium, et a cubiculario gladium grandem et pulcherimum accipit, et abstractum agnoscit illum esse cuius acumini non lignum, non os, non calibs, non aliqua resistunt arma, seque deceptum dicit a baiulo prioris, ipsumque baiulum scindit eodem a ceruice per spinam et renes in terram dicens: 'Serue nequam, hic michi uictoriam in primis dedisset ictibus'; et addidit: 'Heus tu! qui loco Galonis mecum discrimen inisti, qui certe Galone multo melior es, carceri meo te redde, si uitam tuam morti preferre cupis.' Galo subintulit: 'Quantum tibi contulit animi uel iactancie gladius ille, non ex tua uirtute prouenit sed ex mea licencia, liceatque tibi si quid potest adhuc utilitatis adicere. Securus sum ex ui corporis et animi uirtute, non ex armorum adiecto; mea michi laus in adminiculum.' Gigas igitur iratus in ipsum irruit, et ictu primo de clipeo Galonis quicquid contingit fulminis instar abscindit, et secundo de lorica partem plurimam et clipeo. Sentit Galo uidetque palam quod ipsum a facie gladii nulla possunt arma saluare; scit eciam presidium uiribus et arte querendum, et contra tam instantis morem periculi non fugere sed fugare parat, et tam crebrum exibet

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 236.
[2] Possibly a quotation; not identified.

his loved one's tears forgot the indulgence just accorded to him and no longer heeded what generosity or fairness prescribed, but rushed headlong at his foe[1] with all the fury in him and dealt his hardest blows in face of a stout resistance, 'and his good fighting made his fighter good.'[2] At length, raising high his arm, he would have ended the duel with one stroke; and when the sword dashed down upon the helmet, it broke off short at the hilt. The giant now feared for himself, and inwardly admitted himself almost beaten; but, as usual, Galo stepped back—showing himself throughout noble—and granted the giant a respite and leave to fetch another sword, with the words: 'Honour must be gained by valour, not by luck.' Glad were the giant and his people; sorry were all the friends of Sadius, complaining that a victory already in his hand was turned by his own act into a danger. To me, however, it seems hasty and unjust for any so to act purposely as to cause joy to his foes and sorrow to his friends. The giant retired to his tent, and took from his chamberlain's hands a huge and splendid sword, and on drawing it recognized the blade as one whose sharpness neither wood, bone, nor iron, nor any armour could resist. 'I was deceived', he cried, 'by him who brought me the other.' And with it he clove the bearer from his head through his backbone and reins to the earth, saying: 'Worthless slave, this sword would have won me the day at the first blow', and added: 'Ho, you that in Galo's stead have engaged in fight with me, and are assuredly a far better man than Galo, surrender yourself to my prison, if you prefer life to death.' Galo retorted: 'What courage of soul or what exultation that sword has given you comes not from your valour, but from the respite I allowed you. You are free to make any gain of it that you can. Strength of body and valour of mind are my security—not advantage of arms: my renown is my help.' The giant rushed angrily upon him; with the first stroke he cut from Galo's shield all that he touched, as with a thunderbolt, and with the next a great part of his mail-shirt and shield. Galo clearly realized that no armour could protect him from that sword, he saw that safety must be sought by strength and craft; against such a pressing sort of peril he planned not to take flight but to cause it, and so rapidly did

in hostis uultum dextere sue gladium, ut nullatenus absque uulnere possit inter scuta gigantis exire manus. Instat agens serio et licet non aduersum hostem cogit esse retrogradum, et super amatam suam tandem precipitem dedit ipsam pedibus eius offendiculum. Retulit ergo pedem Galo, cumque
f. 38v sibi de uita timeat, / periculosum facit securitatis indicium. Surgere gigantem iubet et ne timeat hortatur, regine prestans unde Sadium laudet et in eius surgat leta conuicia. Gigas ergo de uenia gaudens, et indulto prouide fruens beneficio, tutus in ipsum insiliit et gladium tam forti descensu Galonis inserit umboni, quod lorica concisa sumitate pugionis faciei sue graue uulnus impresserit. Emanat inde cruor et arma Galonis ad pedes usque perfundit; quocumque recedit uel accedit, uestigia plena relinquit, spectaculum amicis odiosum et inimicis gloriam. Galo, nec mirum, gladium timet, cui peruium uidet quicquid obicitur; deludit ictus cedendo, †scutum aliquando,†[a] summopere curans ne firmum inueniat gladius obstaculum cui possit herere. Rex nepoti metuit, totumque cupit pro salute sua regnum inpendere. Regina manum loris inicit, Sadii uocat satellites, captiuum abduci precipit, et non assecuta quod iubet a circo recedit, anceps an de Galone confuso gaudeat an doleat de morte Sadii. Galo uidens hostem solito ferociorem et irreuerenter in se precipitem manumque suam tuto cecam errore, manu[b] prudenter et attente struit insidias, et ipsam inter agendum ictu prepeti surreptam amputauit, gladiumque uelox arripit, proprium in locum suum ponit, equm ascendit. Triumphator ergo uictum gigantem per nasellum galee regi sub nomine presentat Sadii, munus gratissimum, multaque graciarum accione prosecutum. Circumstant omnes uictorem, uulnus optant uidere faciei. Rex magis inpaciens more manum apponit exarmare caput, quod quidem ipse prohibet fieri, Sadiumque secum et puellam abducit, ut seorsum in secreto fiat armorum commutacio. Galo cum puella domi residet, Sadius ab omnibus expectatus curiam

[a] *Possibly add* obiciendo *or the like, Winterbottom*

[b] *For* manui, *but Map may have thought* manu *a dat. form: see Thesaurus Linguae Latinae s.v. 342.56 f. (Winterbottom)*

he wield the sword of his right hand against his enemy's front that the giant's hand could never come from behind his shield without a wound. Hard he pressed him and, though he did not make his foe turn his back, forced him to retreat, and finally driving him headlong upon his lady, made her a stumbling-block for his feet. Galo then stepped back and though in fear for his own life made a perilous demonstration of confidence. He bade the giant rise, urging him to have no fear, and gave occasion to the queen to praise Sadius and triumphantly abuse himself. The giant, delighted at the respite and making clever use of the indulgence given him, leapt on him with confidence and dashed his sword with such a mighty downstroke on Galo's shield that he cut his mail-shirt through and with the point of the weapon made a deep wound in his face. Out flowed the blood and stained Galo's armour to the feet. Wherever he stepped, backward or forward he left tracks full of it—a sight hateful to his friends, a boast to his enemies. Galo, no wonder, feared the sword which he saw could penetrate any obstacle. He evaded its strokes, sometimes offering his shield, his chief care being that the sword should find no solid object to cut into. The king, in fear for his nephew, would gladly give his whole realm for his safety. The queen clutched the reins, called on Sadius' men, ordered them to drag him away by force, and failing to be obeyed left the theatre, in doubt whether to exult in Galo's shame or bewail Sadius's death. Galo, seeing his foe now waxing fiercer, and rash in his assaults, his hand striking blindly with lucky vagueness, watchfully and deftly laid ambush for that hand, caught it on the move, and with sudden downstroke cut it off, quickly snatched the sword, sheathed his own, and mounted his horse. Victor now, he presented the beaten giant to the king, posing as Sadius, and speaking through [or leading him by] the nasal of his helm. The gift was welcome and was greeted with profuse thanks. All crowded about the conqueror and begged to see the wound in his face. The king, yet more impatient of delay, put forth his hand to strip Galo's head, but he would not allow it to be done, and took Sadius and the maiden away with him, to effect the exchange of armour in secret. Galo then remained at home with the maiden, while Sadius, eagerly expected, betook himself to the

petit. Requiritur a rege uulnus, et de faciei stupet integritate milicia. Regina uelox accurrit, cui Galo semper ad obprobrium in ore, Sadius ad laudem, aureas affert cum unguentis preciosis pixides; cui Sadius: 'Nichil unguentis tuis et michi; sciatis illum triumphasse qui signum habet adhuc uictorie, qui uulnus accepit, qui iam non effectus est nanus, qui gigante maior apparuit. Ego sum ille, signum ad uestras derisiones, qui cum puella stans falsas michi laudes audiui a uobis et indignissima Galonis obprobria, cuius[a] iam (Deo gracias!) uirtus incomparabilis omnes triumphauit inuidias.' Ad hec regina quasi Gorgone uisa per stuporem obriguit, conaturque discredere quam horret ueritatem. Proinde iam nemo dubitat de uictore; certi sunt de triumpho Galonis et de fide Sadii; iam clamor attollitur omnium, et uictrices ei deferunt certatim aquilas;[1] iam uulnere uiso reuerenter ei supplicat rex et illate petit ueniam iniurie. Cumque gaudeat tota solempniter ciuitas, regina sola tantum habet undique confusionis, ut obtusa relangueat, serpenti similis serotino, qui per estum interceptus adumbrari a feruore non potuit, et in quoduis ultor obstaculum frustra totum uirus euomit, exinanitus in uespero sub herba latens insidias animalibus a pastu redeuntibus struit, mortemque singulis cupit, et manet impotens; sic hec uacua uiribus uanis intabescit desideriis, solam frustra retinens nocendi uoluntatem. Sane iusto Dei iudicio fine bono gauisus est Galo, Venerisque fornace decoctus pudicicie purissimum exemplar enituit; et reuelatis regina[b] maliciis merito fleuit, in derisum et
f. 39 fa/bulam omnis ocii conuersa.

Fatua forsitan hec uidebitur et friuola narracio, sed fatuis et friuolis, quibus nichil proponimus; de talibus forte nobis erit sermo cum inciderit, at non talibus. Quod possumus et scimus benignis ⟨et⟩[c] argutis inpendimus, scientes quod abscinthium et thimum argumentosa degustet apis, ut electos

[a] cuius *James;* cum *MS James*

[b] regina *James;* regine *MS*

[c] et *add.*

[1] Cf. Lucan, v. 238.

Court. The wound was looked for by the king; the whole company of knights were stupefied at seeing his face untouched. Quickly came the queen, reproach of Galo and praise of Sadius ever in her mouth, and brought golden boxes of precious unguents. 'None of your unguents for me', said Sadius to her; 'know that he has won the day who bears the mark of victory, who was indeed wounded, he who is no more a dwarf, but is shown to be greater than the giant. I am he who was the target for your taunts, who, standing by his lady, listened to your mistaken praises of me and most undeserved abuse of Galo, whose incomparable valour, thank God, has now triumphed over all jealousies.' At this the queen, as if she had beheld a Gorgon, stiffened in stupefaction, trying to disbelieve the truth she feared. From that moment none doubted who was victor, all were assured of Galo's triumph and Sadius' faith, all raised a shout and vied in bearing him the eagles of victory:[1] at sight of the wound the king approached him with the respect of a suppliant and asked forgiveness for the injustice inflicted on him. And now that the whole city was given up to joy, the queen alone was plunged into such confusion on all sides that she shrank, sick and bruised, like some snake at evening, which, caught in the day's heat, has found no shade from its burning, and vengefully spews out all its venom upon any and everything that crosses it, and now, emptied of poison, lies late among the grass trying to wait for beasts returning from the pasture, willing death for them all, yet unable to inflict it. So she, powerless, pined in vain desire; all that was left her was the useless will to hurt. Truly it was by a just judgement of God that Galo enjoyed a good end, and, purged in the furnace of Venus, shone out a pure pattern of continence; while the queen, her malice exposed, was rightly left to weep, the scorn and byword of every idle hour.

This story will perhaps be thought foolish and frivolous, but only by the foolish and frivolous, and to them we do not offer it; *of* such perhaps we shall speak when occasion offers, but not *to* such. Our powers and our knowledge we spend on the well disposed and the clever; for we know that the busy bee tastes both wormwood and thyme that it may gather into the treasure-house of wisdom the honeycomb it has collected

ex amaris et dulcibus conferat in thesaurum sapiencie fauos, ex friuolis his, et a Deo[a] sibi data gracia colligens quatinus eligat et diligat amaras iusticie uias, ut Galo, nec obstinate cum regina probrosis contendat inherere deliciis, eritque carmen cordi cantatum optimo.[1]

iii. *De contrarietate Parii et Lausi*[2]

Laudet lector et amet auditor, quod Galonis et Sadii serena fuerit et sine nube societas, mirenturque Parii pariter et Lausi nubem in amiciciis et fraudem. De corde nata Luciferi prima seuit in Deum inuidia scelus ausa suppremum, et de celo deiecta primam et precipuam orbis partem paradisum irrepsit, unde uictrix et uicta detrusa quicquid extra reperit explorat et magnifice memor nacionis quecunque deorsum uidet despicit, supra se conatus erigit et degenerare dedignans superiora semper attemptat, tanquam gradibus ulterius et ulterius ascensis repatriare non desperet. Parem se facit omnibus et conformem, cum sit impetus eius in impares; nam semper in superiores insurgit. Est enim in modicis parua, sublimis in altis, in tugurio pauper, in palacio diues. Vicium quodlibet proscriptos habere uidetur aliquos fines; hec omnes metas excedit, et quod in mundi tenetur terminis intabescit, in omni uita terre, maris et aëris pestilenter inhabitat, ut eciam uermi uermis inuidere sciatur; †quicquid secundum melius et deterius in uita dicitur inficit, et ab inferiori suscepta superius inpetit,†[b] et cum obtusa sit in Deum audere, sublimia queque, quasi que Deo proxima uidentur, blasphema decerpit. Celi deiecta, paradisi profuga, primo nobiscum exulauit, et in modico sibi de nostro patriam fecit exilio.

Hec superbe solium[c] Babilonis ingressa latenter regem eius Ninum in singulis inuidiosum inuenit, inuidum reddidit, et qui fuerat orbis amator et pax in odium eiusdem peruertit et malleum, de cuius tirannide quam inuide satis excercuit

[a] *Obscure, and possibly corrupt* [b] *This sentence is obscure, and probably corrupt* [c] *Perhaps for* solum, *'land', Brooke*

[1] Cf. pp. 210–11.

[2] Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), c. 283, pp. 688–91; for other versions of this story see A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: its sources and analogues* (London, 1909), pp. 232 ff. Ninus was the legendary founder of Assyria and Nineveh. Cf. Stith Thompson, K 2135.

both from bitter and from sweet, yes, and from such frivolities as it gathers too, by God's grace given to it, to the end it may choose and love the bitter paths of righteousness, like Galo, and not, like the queen, obstinately persist in shameful pleasures. So will a song be sung[1] to a good heart.

3. *Of the Variance between Parius and Lausus*[2]

Let the reader approve and the hearer love the fact that the comradeship of Galo and Sadius was serene and cloudless, and let both wonder at the cloud and fraud that stained the friendship of Parius and Lausus. Born in the heart of Lucifer, envy first raged against God, and dared the worst of crimes: cast out of heaven, she crept into Paradise, the first and noblest region of the world; thrust out thence, conquering and conquered, she now roams over all she finds outside and, mindful of her high birth, despises all she sees below her; she directs her efforts upward, and hating to fall lower, is ever trying to climb up, as if she did not despair of mounting step by step and regaining her old home. She feigns herself equal and like to all, though her attacks are not aimed at equals; for she rebels always against those above her. Among the mean she is small, among the mighty high, in the hovel poor, in the palace rich. Every other vice seems to have some limits marked out to it; this one alone oversteps all bounds, repines at being shut within the world, has her pestilent abode in all that live in earth, sea, or air, so that even worm may be seen to envy worm; infects all in life that is described as worse or better, when entertained by that below her, turns against that above her, and now that she is beaten back from her attempts against God, blasphemously pulls away all that is high, because it seems nearest to God. Cast out of heaven, banished from Eden, she suffered exile at first with us, and in no long time made our place of exile her home.

This Envy came secretly to the throne of proud Babylon, found the King Ninus in every point enviable, and made him envious. So that he who had been the lover and the peace of the world was turned by her into its hate and scourge. Of his tyranny, and how jealously and graspingly he exercised it

et cupide contra finitimos, liquet in auctoribus. Sed hec que Ninum infecerat,[a] duos eius indignata cubicularios amicos inuicem et per omnia concordes Lausum et Parium, eo quod essent a rege primi, placuit ei post ipsum eos euertere et, quia pociori non potuit, peiori fucum sue malediccionis affricuit. Inuidet ergo latenter Lauso Parius, iusto nequam, miti peruersus, et tractatibus obscenis insistit peruigil, quomodo, quando, qua possit arte nocere. Quicquid ante Lausi placuit in moribus horret, totum[b] in suam interpretatur pessimus augur iniuriam: quod ille domino suo deuotus assistit, quod dispensanter et prouide ministrat, quod fideliter famulatur, quod feliciter acceptatur a domino, quod eciam ipsius amator est uerus et promocionis adiutor, duplicitatem dicit, beneficiique fidum auctorem fraudis arguit. Lausus ei tam ficcionis immemor quam faccionis inscius omnem exhibet bona simplicitate societatem. Par utrique uultus et in uerbis idemptitas aperta, dispar affectus et opposicio cordium operta. Equis placere certabant obsequiis amor et liuor, et tam bene caritati est hec adulacio simillima, quod expresse nemo deprendit uim similitudinis. Hos ut Nisum et Eurialum mirabantur homines, quos ut Pyrithoum et Thesea uidebat Deus.[1]

Iam flammas odii quas incenderat ultro non suffert ultra
f. 39v Parius; iam a fornace / nutritiua uiolenter erumpunt, et in actum prodire cupit degenere diu decocta sudore meditacio; iam omnimodam amico Parius mente concipit infrunita necem, et cum ei cladem omnem exoptet, clam unicam et secretissimam querit, ne noctis in lucem nata prosiliat, in noticiam nequicia. Mulieres Scithas scit in singulis oculis geminas habere pupillas, et necare quos irate respexerint.[2] Scit mathematicos Tracie sola carminum uiolencia quibus affuerint occidere. Quid pestibus his occulcius? Que mors ad accusandum inepcior? Vtrimque suspicionis reperit

[a] infecerat *James;* interfecerat *MS* [b] totum *Wright;* totam *MS*

[1] Nisus and Euryalus were companions of Aeneas and faithful friends (cf. *Aen.*, v. 294 ff., ix. 176 ff. etc.). Pirithous, king of the Lapithae, and Theseus, were partners in crime: they invaded Hades together to carry off Persephone, for which they were both imprisoned in Hades.

[2] Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 16–17.

against his neighbours you may read in history. But this same Envy that had poisoned Ninus, conceived hatred against two of his chamberlains, Lausus and Parius, men who were friends and in every point united; these, as being next after the king, she thought good to overthrow after him, and, unable to infect the better of them, rubbed off upon the worse her own cursed colour. Thus Parius secretly envied Lausus; the vile envied the righteous, the froward the kind, and ever on the watch pursued him with foul trailings, seeking how, when and by what device he night do him hurt. All that used to please him in Lausus' character he now loathed, and like the worst of diviners interpreted all as an injury to himself. That he devotedly waited on his lord, that he administered economically and wisely, served faithfully, prospered in his lord's favour, nay, that he was a sincere lover of Parius himself and helped him to preferment—all this Parius called double dealing, and charged his loyal benefactor with deceit. Lausus, as innocent of fiction as he was unconscious of faction, showed him in kind simplicity every mark of friendship. In the outward expression and the words of each there was a show of identity, but their inner feelings were unlike, and there was a veiled opposition of hearts. Affection and envy vied in doing equal service, and the false love was so like the true that no one detected the real meaning of the apparent likeness. Men wondered at them as at Nisus and Euryalus, but God saw them as Pirithous and Theseus.[1]

By this time Parius could no longer bear the fires of hate which himself had kindled: they burst forth vehemently from the furnace that nourished them, and the design that had long been brewed and basely sweated over lusted to come forth into action. Now did Parius in his distracted mind revolve all fashions of death for his friend; but though he desired for him every possible disaster, he sought out privily a single and most secret one. The child of night must not leap to light, nor crime to the knowledge of all. He knew how the women of Scythia have in each eye two pupils, and slay those on whom they cast an angry look.[2] He knew how the astrologers of Thrace can kill bystanders with the mere force of their spells. What more secret than these pests? What way of death affords less ground to the accuser? Yet in both he found

argumenta, ipsos sceleris timet auctores, et quod ipse scit neminem latere credit, audet in Deum cui nudus est, et in famam tremit armatus; ut hominem simul et mortem extinguat, omne facit mentis adulterium, et in cogitaciones totus defluit alienas, ut nomine uocetur nouo, sicut hominis sic morticida. Venena placent, sed insolita, sed singularia, sed ut nocentissima sic latentissima, sic qualia nulla Scithe[a] et Traces; Circen preterit et Medeam,[1] et quecunque ueritatis habent uestigia pretermittit. Inuisum et inauditum procurat facinus, omne⟨m⟩[b] satagit mouere lapillum; et quia nichil inuenit quod non ex uetustate prodeat, repercussa resilit obstinacio, redit tamen ad uetusta mens indaga nouitatis et inuencionis indiga. Memor igitur Herculis et Deianire, Nessicum parat amico suo uenenum,[2] et lintheis clausus interit infectis.

Mortem Lausi loquuntur omnes, sed modum nesciunt, nec in eam quispiam quid loquatur agnoscit; et cum nulla sit de proditore suspicio, nulla fit in ipsum prodicionis mencio. Mors cum homine decessit, cuius causam nullus[c] inuenit. Queruntur et flent omnes, sed omnes excedunt lacrimas lamenta proditoris; crines auellit et se pugnis cedit homicida, seuiciam pietate palliat, sub amoris pretextu ueritatem auertit odii, supra cadauer se proicit in tumulum, conuiciis[d] et minis contra uim uetancium sepeliri proteruat. Morti Parius non homini parabat exequias, et eam caute coram omnibus intumbat; accepta uix tandem consolacione foris qua non egebat interius, sublimi solus alta ceruice superbit solio, sine consorte locum omnem obtinens.

At Ninus ueri doloris index Lausi filium superstitem inducit in palacium, puerum quidem amabilis elegancie, moribus et forma nobilem; patricide suo traditur in officio patris erudiendus; lupus agnum accipit in ulnis, et contra

[a] Scithe *Mynors;* Scythas *MS* [b] omnem *James;* omne *MS* [c] nullus *Wright;* nullius *MS* [d] conuiciis *James;* inuiciis *MS*

[1] See below, pp. 310–11.

[2] Deianira, Hercules' wife, asked the advice of Nessus on how to recover her husband's affection. Nessus recommended her to give him a robe smeared with centaur's blood; but the blood had been poisoned (by Hercules' own arrow), and the robe clung to his flesh and gave him great pain. He escaped only by having himself burned on a pyre (cf. Ovid, *Met.* ix. 99 ff., and below, pp. 304–7).

grounds for misgiving, he feared the workers of the crime; what he knew himself he thought could be no secret to any, so he was bold in offending God, before whom he stood defenceless, and trembled before common report, though well protected against it. To blot out alike the man and the murder, he befouled his whole mind, and let himself wholly dissolve into strange designs, and so gained a new name, that of morticide as well as homicide. He decided on poison, but the poison must be no common one, unique, as secret as it was virulent, unlike any of Scythia or Thrace. Circe and Medea[1] he passes by, has nothing to say to any that betray a vestige of the fact. He sets on foot a crime unseen, unheard of, and leaves no stone unturned. Finding nothing that does not hail from antiquity, his obstinacy recoils, repulsed. Yet again his mind, on the track of a novelty, and lacking the power to invent, has recourse to antiquity once more. At last he remembers Hercules and Deianira, and prepares for his friend the poison of Nessus.[2] Lausus, wrapped in envenomed sheets, dies.

All talk of his death, but the manner of it no one knows, nor can find what to say against it. As there is no suspicion of the traitor, no whisper of treachery is breathed against him. The death dies with the man, and no one guesses its cause. All mourn and weep, but the lamentations of the traitor overpass the tears of all. The murderer tears his hair and beats himself with his fists, masking his cruelty with piety, turning aside the fact of his hate under the guise of love, he casts himself into the grave upon the corpse, and resists with threats and abuse the efforts of those who will not suffer him to be buried with it. The funeral Parius ordained was for a murder, not for a man; and that murder he entombed shrewdly in the sight of all. At last, and reluctantly, he consented in public to receive the comforts which his inner man needed not, and now alone with erect head sat proudly on the high throne, and filled the whole room with no sharer of his seat.

But Ninus, betraying true grief, took into the palace the surviving son of Lausus, a boy of lovable refinement, noble alike in character and in beauty. He was delivered to his father's slayer to be instructed in his father's duties; the wolf took the lamb in his arms, and showed in his face

mentis arbitrium exultacionem exhibet in uultu. Puer felix eruditur in modico, et proficit in officio decenter; iam in conspectu Nini tantam habet graciam, ut tam Lauso preferatur quam Pario. Iam omne consilium habet cum puero rex, nichil ei cum Pario,[a] iam ad cultum capitis, manuum et pedum regis frequens est puer, et suspensus numquam. Furit ergo fur hominum, et furoris omnem excitat audaciam; rediuiuo liuore consumitur et in pristinas redit tante cladis auctor angustias; recordatur item omnium quecumque fuerunt uel esse possunt mortium, et de triumpho patris armatur in filium. Tela ministrat qui suggessit inuidiam; omnem enim dirigit iniquitatem auctor scelerum, et ne creata deficiat uel errabunda uagetur, artibus exhibet, semitas edocet, et gressus confirmat impios. Parium ergo qui magistrat instruit, et in noue duplicitatis facinus inducit.

Vocat Parius quem educauerat puerum; a laude speciei sermonis et morum[1] eius incipit, et ut in execrabile mendacium adulacio descendat, solum ipsum tanti regis familiaritate dignum, tam secretis aptum dicit obsequiis, sollicitudinem eius laudat et asserit. In uno solo tamen tota blandicie castigat errorem, dicens: 'Cum te, dulcissime fili, natura
f. 40 supra modum beauerit, et in singulis tibi mem/bris aptitudinem suam eleganter impresserit, ne diis faceret inuidiam, citra perfectum substitit, et ne tenerrimus oris dulcissimi flosculus ut uisu sic tactu cunctos euerteret animos, fetorem innasci pertulit. Tibi, karissime, loquor ut filio pater, modis omnibus exhortari te cupiens quatinus ne domino regi circa cultum capitis et uultus tam propinquus assistas; paulo temperancius et uitancius age, ne te per frequenciam reddat odibilem, quod ipse tibi per amoris celat reuerenciam, et licet pacientissimus egre nimis tolerat.' Hec ait Parius, et simul oborte[b] lacrime licet infideles fidem distillant puero. Stupet

[a] *The MS is blurred and partly illegible for about 16 lines, but has been deciphered under the ultra-violet lamp*

[b] oborte *Wright;* aborte *MS*

[1] Or 'of his beauty, speech, and bearing'.

the joy to which his heart was a stranger. The lad was clever and learned quickly, and made good progress in his duty; he gained such favour with Ninus as to be preferred even to Lausus, as well as Parius. By this time all the king's talk was with the boy, not with Parius; he was constantly called to the tendance of the king's head, hands, and feet, and never excused from duty. Thereat the spoiler of men burst into fury, and stirred up all the boldness of his rage. The author of the crime burned with jealousy rekindled, reduced to his former perplexity. He called again to mind all forms of death, accorded or possible, and his triumph over the father now gave him weapons against the son. The one who inspired the envy now suggested the means, for the author of crime is the guide of all iniquity, and lest, once created, it should falter or wander astray, supplies it with cunning devices, shows it the path, and orders its wicked goings. He therefore who was Parius' master taught him and led him into the commission of a fresh fraud.

Parius summoned the lad whom he had brought up. He began with a eulogy of the beauty of his speech and bearing,[1] and, in order that flattery should easily descend to an accursed lie, he told him that no other was so worthy of the confidence of the great king, so fitted to do him private offices; he marked and praised his diligence. In one point only, in the kindest terms, he criticized him, and said: 'My sweetest son, while nature has blessed you beyond measure, and has endowed your every limb with her finest fitness, she has—not to excite the envy of the gods—stopped short of perfection, and lest the tender blossom of your sweet mouth should overcome every heart by contact as it does by the sight of it, has brought herself to allow an ill odour to grow there. I speak to you, my dearest one, as a father to a son, and I want to impress upon you by all means to avoid coming so near our lord the king when you are tending his head and face; be a little more restrained and careful, lest that defect, which in loving consideration he does not let you know of, and which, though most patient, he can hardly bear, should by persistence make you intolerable to him.' Thus said Parius, and tears sprang forth as he spoke, and false as they were, distilled belief into the boy. The poor lad was confounded

miser et obrigescit; fletum ei prestruit nimia doloris anxietas et loquelam, et interceptam animam cogit a uenis in cor. Restituto tandem spiritu, magistro quantas scit et preualet grates exsoluit, tota benignitate pedibus eius accumbens. Quam dura nequicia que non miseretur et resipiscit! Exsurgit a scelesto celestis, et pedes elatissime superbie linquit caput humilitatis; mentis meror egerrime transit in carnem, et afflicte fortiter anime transcorporatur angustia. Decumbit lecto; non exit grabatum. Ninus quem perdiderat querit, inuenit, in sponda lecti tristis assidet, et cui ualide compatitur hunc benigne consolatur. Puer pre pudore faciem auertit, ne fetore mentito dominum offendat. Rex ueritatis inscius uehemencie passionis imputat, medicos ei quoscunque potest optimos exhibet, et temporis tractu non modico sanum ab eis accipit. Puer sanitati deditus et officio, nullatenus ad dominum suum presumit nisi uocatus accedere, capite famulatum demisso prosequitur et auerso uultu totum regi complet obsequium. Ninus notatis his iam non credit eum bene conualuisse, cerebrum ei lesum dicit, uel adhuc debile; diu sustinet, nec aliquid malignitatis aut fraudis imponit, in partem bonam interpres optimus.

Parius igitur fere uotum assecutus fraudis nefarie locum eius frequens occupat, accedentem arcet et arguit, et quasi defectus eius implere cupiens, altero uocato subitus aduolat, castigacionibus consiliis et suis interposicionibus eum longe detinet, uenientem uituperat, uitantem laudat, et incantacionibus infatuat aduersis. Diebus omnibus totus in lacrimas puer defluit. Miratur Ninus et dolet, et sciscit⟨at⟩ur quid hec. Ille stupidus ob uerecundiam silet. Secrecius igitur affatur rex Parium, sub interminacione uera fateri iubet. Ille proditor pedibus eius aduolutus ueniam hiis uerbis exorat: 'Propicietur michi clementissimus rex, ne fiam accusator et causa mortis puero quem enutriui et quem unico semper sicut patrem eius affectu dilexi;

and stiffened with horror; the extreme pressure of his grief checked his tears, and his speech, and drove his life, so rudely shocked, from his veins into his heart. When he regained breath, he paid his instructor all the thanks he could, and, all affection, fell at his very feet. How hard was the villainy that would not pity him, or relent! He that was of heavenly mind rose from before the hellish one; the humble head ceased to touch the feet of towering pride: but the sadness of his sick soul passed into his body, and the anguish of a mind sorely afflicted became flesh. He lay down on his bed, and would not leave his couch. Ninus sought and found him whom he had missed, and sat sadly by the head of his bed, kindly comforting him with whom he keenly felt. The boy in modesty turned away his face so as not to offend his lord with the pretended evil odour. The king, ignorant of the truth, set it down to the strength of his disorder, engaged all the best physicians for him, and after a considerable time received him cured at their hands. Restored to health and to his duty, the boy never presumed to approach his lord if not summoned, carried out his service with bowed head, and did all his offices about the king with averted face. Ninus noted this and thought that not yet was he wholly recovered: the brain must be ailing, he said, or still weak. He bore with him long, and made no charge of malice or deceit, kindly putting the best interpretation on his conduct.

Parius, who had now almost gained the end of his vile deceit, often took the boy's place, sent him away and blamed him when he approached, and as if anxious to supply his shortcomings, would rush quickly to the king when he called for the other, kept him at a distance by rebukes, by advice, and by interposing himself; when he came scolded him, praised him when he stayed away, and befooled him as by evil spells. Every day the boy was continually in tears. Ninus was surprised and sorry, and enquired the reason. The youth, confounded by shame, said nothing. The king then addressed himself privately to Parius and with threats bade him reveal the truth. That traitor, falling at his feet, interceded for pardon thus: 'Have pity on me, most merciful of kings, do not make me the accuser and the cause of death to this boy whom I have brought up, and loved with singular affection, as I loved his father.

uerbum autem hoc a uobis ipsius amore nimio celaui, fateor. Quacunque miseracione delictum eius ueniam habeat, hoc ego merui mortem silencio, tam fauore pueri quam mea simplicitate seductus. Et quod me nunc flentem et inuitum fateri cogit dominus meus, ab ipso uix instanciis infinitis extorsi, et in quo certissime noui mendacem, michi contra meam iurauit sentenciam se multas in cultu capitis et uultus regii perpessum angustias, et os uestrum (quod odore prenobili pomis estiuis et balsamo recenti precellere non est dubium) sentine comparauit. Moriens et morte dignus hec loquor. Hinc est quod dominum meum tanto uitat odio, quod ab ipso uultum auertit, caput inclinat, manum ori preponit, declinat alloquia.'

Quis hanc discredere uerisimilitudinem possit? Quis puer non deuitet dominum? Quis dominus non fiat sanguinarius
f. 40v innocenti? Quod unquam crudelius adinuentum est / scelus? Que nequiora uel a quibus excogitata uel audita sunt uenena? Quam utrimque grauis et seua sedicio! Quam pestilens et crudelis iniquitas hec est in domo demonum uestita dupplicibus! At certe timebit a frigoribus niuis.[1]

Rex Pario credulus, iam amenti similis, amatori suo fit inmisericors, et cum sit irato rege nichil immicius, differt tamen ulcionem, experiens an possit misereri, cupiens magis indultor esse quam ultor. Adsunt interim ludi solempnes annui ciuitatis, quibus ipse rex interesse tenetur, regalibus insigniis et diademate redimitus, uel in eisdem festiuis ornatibus mittere qui uicem eius supleat et tocius anni principatum a rege primus optineat toto regno Babilonis. Iubet ergo rex puerum ad ludos ornari, proprium tante solempnitatis equum ascendere, potestatem et inperium tocius anni tribuens. Parius hiis intellectis minus actum credens quod restat agendum impiger exequitur;[2] regem non audet aggredi, puerum inuadit, et modis omnibus sollicitat in retribucionem tocius benignitatis exhibite uel exhibende, cum lacrimis

[1] The obscure allusion is to Proverbs 31: 21. M.R.J.
[2] Cf. Lucan, ii. 657.

This matter I have kept from you, I confess, through my excessive love for him. If by some exercise of mercy his fault may meet with pardon, *I* have by my silence invited death, led astray partly by kindness to the boy, partly by my own simplicity: what my lord now compels me—weeping and reluctant as I am—to confess, I barely wrung from him by extreme insistence, and—though I well know he lied—he swore to me, against my certain knowledge, that in tending the king's head and face he suffered great discomfort, and he compared your breath (which undoubtedly in its excellent savour excels the fruits of summer or fresh balsam) to bilge-water. I die and deserve death as I speak the words. This is why he avoids my lord so despitefully, why he turns away his face, bows his head, puts his hand before his mouth, and shuns speech with you.'

Who could disbelieve such a plausible tale? What boy so warned would not shun his master? What master so deceived would not shed innocent blood? What crueller crime was ever devised? What viler poison ever invented or heard of, or by whom? What dark and fierce conspiracy was here against each party! What pestilent and savage iniquity is this, in the house of devils 'clad in double garments', of a truth! Yet assuredly it will have to be afraid of the cold and snow.[1]

The king believed Parius, and was nearly mad with rage; he had now no mercy for him who loved him, yet though nothing exceeds an angered king in cruelty, he put off his vengeance, to try whether he could show mercy, for he would rather pardon than punish. Meanwhile the accustomed yearly games of the city drew near, at which the king was bound to be present, decked with the regal insignia and crown, or else to send one clad in that festal garb to take his place, on whom the king conferred the primacy for that whole year over all the realm of Babylon. The king therefore ordered the boy to be decked out for the games, and to mount the horse reserved for that solemnity, and assigned to him the power and command for the full year. Parius, hearing of this, reckoned that not enough was gained, and eagerly set about to gain what yet remained.[2] The king he durst not approach, the boy he did, and urged him by every means, nay, with tears, now at last unfeigned, besought him, that in recompense of all the

orat nunc primo ueris, honorem hunc sibi nesciente Nino conferri. Pronus ad carissimi promocionem nutricii puer facilis annuit. Parius ergo die festo palacium egreditur, corona regia, uestibus, s⟨c⟩eptro solempnis et equo. Ninus eminentem turris ascendit sedem, ut de puero uideat quod procurauerat, et ecce Parius in porta prenobilis, ad quem omnium oculi. Moram facit, ut diucius expectatus aduentu prefulgeat digniori, maiestatemque non minuat precipitata leuitas, cum repente iuuenis ab abdito subornatus irruit, et indigne maiestati iustam et iussam exhibens irreuerenciam, ad cubile tantarum prodicionum cor gladium premit, ut ferri frigiditas omnium temperet fornacem irarum. Excidit occisus, quoniam occidit super iracundiam eius sol;[1] iuuenis asilum altare proximum petit, accurrit urbis uniuersitas, et iam non murmur hominum sed tumultus est. Rex autumans puerum esse qui plangitur, sue uidere uenit auctorem iniurie. Parium agnoscit mortuum et puerum inmorientem ei uidet, dulcissimum inuocantem inter lamenta magistrum, crinibus auulsis et pectore tunso fidelissimi plangentem diligenciam nutricii. Delusum se dicit, ut uidet, Ninus, at modum ignorat; talamum interius euocato seorsum a turbis puero secrecius intrat; puer, ex doctrina defuncti, demisso capite manum ori preponens in genibus astat. Rex item iratus et aliam ei iam mortem in animo preparans, inquit: 'Quid naso manum apponis? Quomodo tibi soli factus sum abhominabilis? Nunquid oris mei tantus est fetor, ut propius accedere nequeas?' Puer: 'Immo mei, domine, quod uito ne sencias.' Rex: 'Quis tibi reuelauit?' Puer: 'Docuit me Parius, quem amabat unice, quod a me celauerant uniuersi, scilicet oris mei tam nimium esse fetorem, ut uobis molesta fieret presencia mea. Hinc michi propius attendendi presumpcio deperiit; hinc michi semper coram hanelitu meo manus, ne mea uobis inportuna sit feditas, et meo possit afflari uicio serena serenissimi uultus uestri sobrietas. In retribucionem

[1] Cf. Ephesians 4: 26.

kindness he had shown him or would show, he would yield him this honour without telling Ninus. Readily did the boy consent, eager for the advancement of his dear foster-father. So on the holiday Parius left the palace glorious in royal crown, robe, sceptre and horse. Ninus mounted to a high seat in a tower, to see what he had devised against the boy, enacted, when lo! Parius appeared splendid at the gate, and all eyes were turned on him. He stopped awhile, in order to add dignity and brilliance to his coming by delay, and not spoil his majestic approach by hasty speed, when on a sudden a youth (suborned for the purpose) rushed on him from an ambush, and paying righteous and obedient disrespect to his unworthy regality, thrust his sword into that heart, the bed of so many treasons, to slake with the cold of the steel the furnace of all that rage. He went down slain, for on his wrath the sun had gone down.[1] The youth took sanctuary at an altar hard by, the whole city ran together, and there was, not a murmur, but a tumult, of men. The king, supposing that it was the boy who was so bewailed, came to see him who had sinned against him. He saw Parius dead, and the boy cast as in death upon him, calling amid tears upon his dearest master, bewailing with torn hair and beaten breast the care of his faithful foster-father. Ninus when he saw it declared himself deceived, yet could not tell how: he summoned the boy away from the crowd, and went apart into an inner chamber. The boy, instructed by the dead Parius, knelt before him with bowed head, his hand on his mouth. The king's anger rose afresh, and, inwardly designing another death for him already, said: 'Why do you put your hand to your nose? How is it that to you only I am become loathsome? Is the stench of my mouth so strong that you can come no nearer?' The boy: 'Nay, rather that of mine, lord, and I shun your perceiving it.' The king: 'Who told you of it?' The boy: 'Parius told me, whom he loved as none else, that which all had kept from me, that the stench of my mouth was so evil that my presence was offensive to you. Therefore my hope of waiting upon you near at hand was cut off. Therefore is my hand always held before my breathing, that my foulness may not trouble you, or the calm purity of your serene countenance be tainted by my defect. And as a recompense for this

autem huius premunicionis et alias exhibite fidelissime cure, peciit a me michi collatum a uobis honorem, et tulit. Ecce coram uobis totam hanc animam effusam, et me misericordie uestre genibus prouolutum, donec de pena debita doleam uel gratulari possim de uenia.' Ninus ad hec non
f. 41 inmerito motus, in breui studio quid / contigerit aduertit, magnatesque suos Parii pestilentis duplicem edocet prodicionem et iustissimam[a] liuoris ulcionem, Deo iudicante; puerumque restituit in graciam, et sedicionum auctoris cadauer in equleo suspendi iubet, ut manifestetur in mortuo quod male uixerit.

Misericors Pater noster in uirga corrigit et baculo filios et in correpcione conseruat ab ultore furoris, donec plene contempnant, sicut Parius, qui statim conceptis primis aduersus Lausum ex inuidia motibus adquieuit odiis, et inde non restitit, sed totus institit. Qui quot tolerauerit ex Lausi prosperis aduersa, uel ex prouectibus depressiones, ex augustis angustias, tot intelligere debuit castigaciones. At ipse contemptu perfecto Deum a se fugauit; quo propter homicidium fedum auerso, catuli leonum rugientes hunc a Deo sibi quesierunt escam,[1] et datus est eis, et custodierunt eum, plenamque uoluntatem habentem[b] ut filium Lausi cum patre simul occideret, aliisque sibi saginatum nequiciis, uocauerunt cum placuit. Hoc modo quem Dominus dereliquerit, ille custodit cui derelictus est, ut ipsi semper impune deseuiat cui deseruit, dampnosisque successibus inpinguetur ad mortem, donec impleta sit iniquitas ad uindictam. Audiant hec et resipiscant liuidi, nec spernant quomodocunque rem eis masticauerim, si quid utilitatis[c] subesse uidebitur.

Apis et dulcibus et amaris herbis insidet, et ex singulis aliquid cere uel mellis elicit; amator sapiencie quemlibet in aliquo poetam approbat, et ab omni pagina quam baiulauerit recedit doctior. Instat enim et adheret litere, nec habet aliquam inuisam nisi peruisam, aut neclectam nisi perlectam. Si quid

[a] iusticimam *MS* [b] *MS has* plenamque uol. habentem *after* occideret; *corr. James* [c] ultilitatis *MS*

[1] Cf. Psalm 103 (104): 21.

warning and for all the other faithful care he has bestowed on me, he begged of me that honour which you had conferred on me, and obtained it. So now is all my soul poured out before you, and here am I prostrate at the knees of your mercy, awaiting either the pain of my due punishment or the joy of pardon.' Ninus, moved, and no wonder, discerned after brief thought what had passed, and informed his nobles of the double treason of the pestilent Parius, and the most righteous punishment of his envy by the judgement of God. He restored the boy to favour, and ordered the carcase of the author of the conspiracy to be hanged on a gibbet, that the body might manifest the evil life.

Our merciful Father corrects his children with his rod and staff, and by correcting preserves them from the avenger of wrath, until they wholly despise him, like Parius, who at once yielded to the hatred he had conceived against Lausus at the motion of envy, and went not back therefrom, but ever pressed forward. Now howsoever many reverses he might sustain from the prosperity of Lausus, or depressions from his promotion, or anguish from his augustness, these he ought to have taken as so many chastenings. But by wholly despising God, he made him flee from him, and when his face was turned away because of his foul crime, the young lions roaring after their prey did seek him as their meat from God,[1] and he was given to them, and they kept him, and whereas he had the full will to kill the son of Lausus as well as his father, and was gorged with other villainies, they called him to them when they would. Thus he whom God has forsaken is kept by him to whom he is left, to exercise his rage unchecked for the benefit of him whose bidding he has done, and by disastrous successes is fattened up for death, until iniquity is filled full for vengeance. Let those of jealous mind hear this and repent, nor scoff at my way of digesting the matter for them, so long as some profit shall appear to underlie it.

The bee settles upon sweet and bitter plants alike, and from each draws some wax or honey; the lover of wisdom relishes every writer (poet) in some point, and comes away the wiser from every page he has turned. For he pores upon the letter and clings to it, holds no word disapproved till perused, none overlooked till looked over; if the author

auctor opinatus est prouide, comprobat; si uero (quod absit!) ubique fuerit inutilis, non auctoris imputat inepcie sed hebetudini proprie, sepeque repulsus dum inprobe luctatur euincere quod iuuet[a] aut prosit, in nouas et meliores incidit argucias quam penes se auctor habuerit. Non sic impii, non sic, sed oderunt antequam audierint, uilipendunt antequam appendant, ut sicut in sordibus sunt sordescant adhuc.[1]

Solum ex hoc placeo quod uetusta loquor; libetne tamen nuper actis aurem dare parumper?

iiii. *De Rasone et eius uxore*

Raso Christianus, unus ex hiis quos uulgo uauassores[2] aiunt, castrum habebat quod ipse fortissimum necessitate tuicionis exstruxerat; habebat enim frequentes cum uicina sibi paganorum ciuitate congressus, cui quidam admirabilis (quod nomen dignitatis est) presidebat. Cumque ipsi Raso uiribus impar esset et numero, sua tamen et unici filii sui strenuitate preualebat. Cuius matre defuncta nouos ex coniugio sibi cupiens amicos thoro priori secundam substituit, duxitque pulcherrimam magnarumque diuiciarum dominam, cui sic anima eius conglutinata est, ut zelotipie causa se graui diu et ancipiti deliberacione suspenderit, utrum sibi prestet ad pudiciciam eius caute seruandam Danem eam facere uel Procrin.[3] Danem audit auro deceptam, et quecunque non amat scit amare posse 'forma, probitate uel auro';[4] Procrin illectam Cephali laudat amoribus, uxoriumque sapienter ei liberas fecisse licencias ait, et utrumque felicem, ipsam quod ipse uxorius, illum quod illa inde pudica, id est merito et retributione; uidet clausam errasse, liberam se clausisse; quod in libidinem exiit inclusa, quod se uallo pudicicie sepsit exclusa; quod

[a] iuuet *James;* iuuat *MS*

[1] Cf. Psalm 1: 4; Revelation 22: 11. For 'uilipendant . . . appendant' see pp. 286–7.

[2] On vavassors, see F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1961), pp. 16–23. In origin, the title 'vavassor' was interchangeable with 'vassal'; in 12th-century England it was used of knights of a certain social standing, but was not a word of precise meaning.

[3] Danae was seduced by Zeus, who visited her in a shower of gold, although she was imprisoned in a tower. Cephalus came to his wife Procris in disguise, to test her fidelity; but it is far from clear whether Map refers to this or some other

expresses anything wisely, he applauds it; if (which Heaven forbid) he is in all points unprofitable, he does not charge it upon the author's incapacity but on his own dullness, and though often defeated, yet in his persistent struggles to extract something helpful or pleasant, he stumbles upon new refinements, better than the author's own. Not so the ungodly, not so: they hate before they have heard, scoff before they scrutinise, that being filthy, they may be filthy still.[1]

My only merit is that I tell of ancient things: yet will you please for a moment to give ear to a tale of modern times?

4. *Of Raso and his Wife*

Raso, a Christian, and one of those who are commonly called Vavassors,[2] had a castle which he had fortified for protection's sake as strongly as he could. For he had frequent encounters with a pagan city near him, which was commanded by a certain emir—a designation of rank. Raso, though inferior to him in power and numbers, had the upper hand, thanks to the prowess of himself and his only son. This son's mother was dead, and Raso, to secure new friendships by marriage, replaced his first union by a second, and wedded a lady, mistress of great wealth and very beautiful, to whom his soul so clave that stirred by jealousy, he earnestly and doubtfully pondered whether for the safe keeping of her honour it were better to make of her a Danae or a Procris.[3] Danae he had heard was deluded by gold, and he knew that she who loves not can be led to love by beauty, valour, or gold.[4] Procris he approved, who was caught by the love of Cephalus, and declared him a wise lover of his wife for giving her free licence; both, he said, were happy, she because he doted on her, he because that made her chaste (by his desert and her recompense of it). He saw that Danae, who was shut up, went astray; that Procris, who was free, shut herself up: that the imprisoned one went forth to wantonness, the freed one fenced herself about with a wall of modesty, that she

incident of their affecting story—or had indeed misremembered it. The story was told at length by Ovid in *Met.* vii. 694–862.

On Raso's story, see esp. Liebrecht, pp. 39 ff.

[4] In verse metre, but the source has not been traced.

que timuit ausa est, que dilexit neglexit. Mauult beneficio meritorum amari quam carceris affliccione timeri; timor enim sollicitus est ne timeat, amor anxius ut ametur. Soluit igitur a
f. 41v freno iumentum, ut / quocunque fames iusserit pabula querat, ultroneam extollens ad astra pudiciciam, castitatem indagine castroue coactam castrati meritis equalem asserens. Illa uultu seuero, uerbisque certissimis comitantibus et que rem comunt lacrimis, totam facit securitatem. Ille desiderata uota complectens allacrimatur ei, et notatis uere fidei multis argumentis rigore mollito a uiro pristino defluxit in uxorium. Iam nichil unico et optimo credit filio, immo ipse cum preclara familia sua ceptis eius addicitur; quicquid est appetibile manui sue subicitur, nec restat quod ipsa desiderio suo dignetur.

Adduxit ei quadam die casus admirabilem cum maximo comitatu militum ad ianuas, quem Raso coram sua quasi procus adhuc tam acriter inuasit, ut nullo[a] possit argui senectutis incommodo. Captus est autem ea die sua filiique sui uirtute admirabilis et incarceratus, et clauis in manu domine. Habebat etatis admirabilis plus puero, iuuene minus,[1] eratque ipsi statura nimietatis utriusque media, corpus habile, facies quantum Sarraceni potest amabilis. Capta est in oculis eius domina,[2] et quoniam ipsi facultas est omnium data, forte posset uotum implere de facili; fit audax ex licencia, nulla se castigacione cohibet, ab ipso sperat quicquid a sene deficit, singularem ei carcerem facit tenebrosum et fortem, et zone clauem eius appendit proprie, districcione ciborum et potus captiuum conficit, et id modicum quo utendum ei censetur per fenestram ut urso proicit. Neminem patitur accedere quasi nulli fidem habeat, sciens quod omnis superbia fame domatur, et quod Raso sue credit inpensum fidelitati in iniuriosam ipsi cedit libidinem. Creditur, et laudatur; qui credit, et laudat; uir fallitur, nec

[a] nullo *Wright;* nulla *MS*

[1] Cf. ii. 17.
[2] Cf. Judith 10: 17.

who feared dared to sin, she who loved cared not for it. He chose rather to be loved for the kindness he earned, than feared because of the hardship of a prison: for fear seeks a respite from fear, love a way to be loved. He therefore loosed the beast from the bridle, and let her seek pasture wherever appetite bade, and extolled to the stars her voluntary chastity: that purity which was confined by net or fortress, he said was no better than a eunuch's. She by her austere bearing, accompanied by assuring words and tears that adorned them, inspired him with complete security: he welcoming her vows, which he so desired, shared her tears, and as he marked many proofs of her sincerity his rigour softened and he mellowed from what he had been into a doting husband. No longer did he entrust anything to his one gallant son, who, indeed, with his brilliant band of followers was subjected to all her wishes; all that could be sought for was put in her control; nothing remained for her to deign to desire.

One day chance brought the emir with a great company of knights to his gates, and Raso—a suitor still it seemed—attacked him in his lady's sight so impetuously that none could charge him with being touched by the defects of age. By his and his son's valour that day the emir was taken and imprisoned, and the dungeon keys were delivered to the lady. The emir was in age more than a boy, less than a young man,[1] in stature he had the mean between the two extremes; he was active in body and in face, as far as a Saracen could be, lovable. The lady was taken prisoner by his eyes,[2] and as she had the control of everything it was perhaps easy for her to fulfil her desire. Liberty made her bold, she exercised no chastening self-control. The emir she thought could give her all that an old husband could not. She assigned him a separate cell, dark and strongly built, and hung the key of it at her own girdle. She tamed her prisoner by scant measure of food and drink, and the little she thought fit to allow him she cast in to him through the window, as if he were a bear. She allowed no one access to him, as if she trusted no one; she knew well that all pride is tamed by hunger. What Raso thought to be pains spent in loyalty to him turned to wantonness that did him hurt. She was believed, and praised; and the believer also praised her. The husband was deluded, and no

mirum, uerissimos enim amores exprimit uxor ypocrita. Securus exit ad expediciones et prelia Raso, et sibi ex fide uxoris domi uidetur esse dum foris est. Nacta igitur libertatem lupa, susceptis ad amorem sibi seruandum quascunque iubet caucionibus, eques cum admirabili decepta custodia clam recedit. Insidet admirabilis equo Rasoni carissimo, quia et optimo et omnium impari. Quibus in optata ciuitate receptis ad castrum[1] suum Raso reuertitur; audit et dolet, et in hoc se maxime derisum dicit, quod contra fabulas et hystorias et omnium ab inicio consilia sapientum se femine crediderit. Non tamen admirabilis, non uxoris, non eorum que[a] tulerunt, sed solius equi iacturam intemperate plangit, nec filii nec familie consolacione leuatur.

Post aliquot ergo dies in habitu pauperis ciuitatem ingreditur, et inter sedentes ad elemosinam annotatur a sua, que, ut finem timori suo faciat, eum admirabili suspendio dignum iudicans tradit. Qui uoce preconia ciuitatem concitat, quatinus Rasonem uideant publicum hostem, et reipublice sue pestem ducant ad exterminium. Fit concursus et clamor populi, sonant litui et tube. Ad clangorem igitur et tumultum excitatur qui excubat prope filius Rasonis et causa cognita, quamtocius in siluam se cum armata familia patibulo[b] proximam conferens cum silencio prestolatur; et ecce coram omnibus saluatrix ciuitatis domina multis conducta laudibus, et admirabilis disponens et moderans omnia. Inopinos igitur et inermes inuadunt rapide, filiusque Rasonis admirabilem ictu primo mortuum deicit. Domina super optimum equum euadit facile; fit maxima strages equitum et peditum, et
f. 42 tocius populi / dira direpcio. Reductus ad propria Raso inter tantas leticias mestus residet, uilipendens predam et spolia, captiuos et mortem admirabilis, desolacionem ciuium et suam erepcionem, et quicquid actum est; cum non redibetur equus, nichil reputat. Mutat ergo uultum et habitum; simulat, dissimulat, non curat cui similis fiat dummodo

[a] que *James;* qui *MS* [b] patibulo *Boutemy;* latibulo *MS*

[1] *castrum* and *castellum* were used both for 'castle' and 'town' in medieval Latin, and this commonly causes confusion: see *MLD*, fasc. C, pp. 294, 296; C. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800–1216* (London, 1975), p. 71 and n. 2.

wonder, for the hypocrite wife expressed the truest of love. Raso set out for raids and battles without fear, and so trusted his wife that when abroad he thought himself at home. The wanton, thus gaining full liberty, exacted from the emir whatever pledges she ordained, to keep his love, eluded the guard, and fled in secret with him on horseback. The emir was mounted on the horse Raso loved best, a noble one and unmatched by any, and when they were safe in the city they desired, Raso came back to his castle.[1] He heard and sorrowed, and 'in this', said he, 'I am worst befooled, that in defiance of tales and of history and of the advice of all wise men from the beginning, I trusted myself to a woman.' Yet it was not the loss of the emir, nor of his wife, nor of all they had taken from him, but only of his horse, that he mourned without stint, nor could be relieved by the consolations of his son or his men.

A few days later he entered the city disguised as a beggar, and was detected by his wife among those who sat awaiting alms; and she, to put an end to her fears, handed him to the emir as one who deserved the gallows. He, by proclamation of a herald, summoned the city, to behold Raso, the enemy of the State, and escort the peril of the Commonwealth to his destruction. A concourse and general clamour ensued: bugles and trumpets sounded. The clangour and commotion aroused the son of Raso, who was on the watch not far off, and when he learned the cause of it, he quickly betook himself with his armed troop to a wood near the place of execution, and there waited in silence; when, lo! here came the lady, saviour of the State, escorted publicly amid the praises of all, and the emir commanding and controlling everything. Instantly they attacked the procession, unprepared and unarmed; with the first blow Raso's son laid the emir dead. The lady, mounted on the noble horse, escaped with ease; there was an immense slaughter of horse and foot and terrible havoc among the whole crowd. Raso, brought back to his home, remained sad amid all the rejoicing: little he cared for the spoil and booty, for the prisoners, or the death of the emir, for the losses of the citizens, for his own rescue and all that had been achieved: nothing was gained while his horse was not recovered. He accordingly disguised his face and habit, feigned, dissembled, cared not whom he was like as long

sibi dissimilis; compositus et sibi quantum potest oppositus, eadem euasionis die pauperibus assidet, et introductus cauet ne domine opponat faciem, sed procurat ut retro precelsum cui ipsa insidebat scamnum dorso ad dorsum sedeat.

Precatur in hora cene qui coepulabatur miles dominam, quatinus cum ipso nocturno tempore ad suas recedat quibus habundat ciuitates, allegans quod ab omni timore Rasonis libera possit in deliciis tota gaudere uita. Talibus et aliis paucis uerbis allubescit, orataque nouitatis amatrix mulier ad sua facile desideria trahitur; hora designatur antelucanum, locus porta meridialis. Hiis ergo caucius Raso notatis, letus egreditur, festinat et armatus a castro[1] suo reuertitur in noctem et in illa meridiali pernox excubat, securus in militem irruere si uenerit, ut ipsum interimat, uel dominam sub ipsius abducere typo, si preuenerit. Sed que non dormit in desideriis mulier anticipat horam; uidens uirum armatum adductum sibi optatissimum equum offert, quatinus ope sua conscendat eum. At ille uisa spe sua non inmerito inpiger descendit, equisque mutatis leti properant; falsa domina se falli non sentit, et nescia quo tendat uota sequitur irrita. Raso labore uictus et longa uigilia dormit eques, et ab uxore stertens agnoscitur. Orat illa quod modicum diuertat donec dormierit; ille diuertit, sed descendere timet, lancea fultus sompnum capit. Miles ergo cui non concessa scandala delusus, totam concitat urbem, dominam fugisse nunciat, et ecce ipsum cum manu armatorum multa prope locum dormicionis. Pessima illa, que non cessat scrutari qualiter eripiatur, uenientem uidet et quibuscunque potest aduocat signis. Illis iam prope agentibus, equs Rasonis non assuetus in congressu quiescere, leuato capite hinnit, et pedibus arenam terens dominum suum a morte premunit; beneficio cuius excitatus Raso primis incursibus resistit fortiter, filiumque suum quem in proxima sperabat siluula familiamque uoce precelsa euocat. Illi spe sua nullatenus segniores uelociter aduolant, et obuias fortiter abrumpunt acies.

[1] See p. 266 n. 1.

as he was unlike himself; made up, and differing from himself as much as might be, he took his place among the beggars on the very day of his escape, and when he entered took care not to show his face to the lady, but managed to sit back to back with her behind the high seat which she occupied.

At supper the knight who feasted next to her prayed the lady to flee with him that night to his own rich domain, urging that so she would be freed from all fear of Raso, and be able to spend a life of pleasure. By such words and more he soon gained favour, and the woman, greedy of novelty, was easily bent to his desires; the hour before dawn was appointed, the place the southern gate. Raso carefully marked all this, and went joyfully out; with all haste he came back armed from his castle[1] at nightfall and kept an all-night watch at that southern gate, sure of either attacking the knight when he came, and killing him, or else of carrying off the lady if she arrived first, in the knight's guise. The woman, sleepless from desire, anticipated the hour: seeing an armed man there, she led up the steed he so coveted and offered her help to him in mounting. When he saw his hope fulfilled he quickly dismounted—no wonder—they changed horses and set off merrily. The deluded lady perceived not her delusion, and knew not whither she was going, and followed a wish that was vain. Raso, overcome by exertion and long watching, slumbered on his horse, and snored: his wife recognized the snore. She begged him to turn aside a little and sleep it out: he did turn aside, but feared to dismount, and dozed, leaning on his spear. The disappointed knight, who had not been permitted to offend, meanwhile roused all the town, proclaimed that the lady had fled, and see! here he comes with a great force of men and approaches the place of sleep. The villainous woman, unceasingly watching for a means of escape, saw him come and beckoned him on with urgent gestures. When they were now near at hand Raso's horse, not used to being inactive in a fight, raised his head, neighed, and pawed the sand, thus saving his master from death. Thanks to him, Raso awoke and met the first attack stoutly, loudly shouting at the same time for his son and his band, whom he believed to be in a neighbouring thicket. Quick as his hope, they speedily dashed up, and by main force broke down the opposing ranks.

Raso equi sui celeritate quocunque uult transfertur, et quibuscunque cupit hostibus[a] imminet; familiam suam hortatur, et se totum impendit ulcioni. At filius suus sicut unicus unice patrem diligens uniformiter et omni conatu satagit illam ulcisci que causa malorum extitit,[1] qua tandem decollata, cum capite ipsius triumphator abcedit. Redit Raso cum suis letissima trophea referens.

De cetero ceteris ait: 'Cauete et (ego uobis dico) Rasoni credite, quoniam que multa euaserunt aues recia modico tandem capiuntur in laqueo, sicut hec auis.' Scriptum est 'Frustra iacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum.'[2] Huiusmodi pennatis raro frustra iacitur, non enim habent oculos. Hec auis, hec uulpa, hec femina tot bonas uiderat fidei sue facies, tot audierat et non exaudierat diuitum preces, et a facie Sarraceni captiui exlegis et attenuati capta exlex facta est et uilis et adultera legis et uiri; quibuscunque (secundum
f. 42v Veneris loquor iura) se retibus debuit, se negauit, / et sibi laqueum indebitum et inopinum iniecit. Hec pennas habuit, quoniam auolauit; oculis caruit, quia se non cauit, eo quod sibi uisum est crimen dulcius quo nocencius, quo Rasoni dampnosius.

At non similiter Rolloni ut Rasoni sua nocuit innocencia.

v. *De Rollone et eius uxore*[3]

Rollo, uir magni nominis et preclare milicie, moribus et omni statu felix, cum non esset zelotipus, pulcherimam habebat uxorem, cuius amore languebat uicinus puer, forma, genere, diuiciis et optima indole omnes illarum parcium excedens pueros. Nec quid speraret habebat;[4] fortissimis enim negatiuis depulsus secum lacrimosus intente querebat, quid sibi deesset ad meritum amoris. Rollonem tandem respicit, militem serenissime fame, se uero puerum[5] intra septa cunarum adhuc morantem nichil egisse, nichil egregium

[a] hospitibus *MS;* hostibus *MS margin*

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 361. [2] Proverbs 1: 17.

[3] Two versions of this story are given by Giraldus (*Gemma ecclesiastica*, ii. 12, *Opera*, ii. 226–8); in the first the hero ('Resus') is called Reginald de Pumpuna, in the second Richard de Clare—both stories are said to be recent. A similar story was later told by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino in *Il Pecorone*; Hinton has shown that Gerald and not Map was his source (*Modern Philology*, xv (1917–18), 203–9).

[4] Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* ii. 2. [5] See pp. 166–7 n. 3.

Raso, aided by his swift horse, moved wherever he would, and fell upon every foe he picked out, urging on his men, and spending his whole force on revenge. His only son, only loving his father, singly and with all his might sought to punish her who was the cause of ill,[1] and at last smote off her head, and rode off with it in triumph. Raso and his men came home laden with the spoils they most desired.

Ever after he would say to all: 'Be on your guard and, I warn you, believe Raso when he tells you that the birds which have escaped many a net are taken at last in a little snare, as was this bird.' It is written: 'In vain the net is spread in the sight of the winged fowls';[2] but for such winged ones as these it is seldom spread in vain, for they have no eyes. This bird, this vixen, this woman, had seen so many fair faces of her own faith, had heard and not hearkened to so many rich men's suits, and yet was caught by the face of a captive, outlaw, starving Saracen, and became outlawed, vile; she betrayed the law of marriage and her husband; to whatever nets (I speak according to the ordinances of Venus) she owed herself, she refused herself, and entangled herself in a snare neither necessary nor expected. Wings she had, for she flew away: eyes she had not, for she did not look out for herself, inasmuch as the crime seemed sweeter to her the more harm it did and the more it hurt Raso.

But Rollo did not suffer as Raso did, by his simplicity.

5. *Of Rollo and his Wife*[3]

Rollo, a man of great name and achievement in chivalry, prosperous in his reputation, and in all his conditions, had a most fair wife, but was no victim of jealousy. A youth, his neighbour, sighed for her love; in beauty, birth, wealth, and excellent ability he surpassed all the youths of that region. Nor had he any ground for hope:[4] repulsed by the strongest refusals, he used with tears to question himself, what he lacked to earn love. At last he considered Rollo, a knight of the brightest renown, and himself, who, a boy[5] still lingering within his cradle's bounds, had done nothing, achieved no

gessisse; iam se merito spretum dicit, et nisi preualuerit non debere preponi. Suam ait iniustam peticionem, illius iustissimam negacionem. Iam properat, iam hanelat ad arma, iam omnibus interest ubique congressibus, et edoctus preliorum astucias, uarietates et casus, ab ipso Rollone milicie cingulum accipit, ut proinde sibi fiat accepcior, et possit domine familiarius loqui, uel significare quod dolet; et si nonnisi tantum eam uidere debeat, idem fecerit. Exit igitur quocunque ipsum magister amor euocat ad omnes armatas sediciones uel rixas, et quamcunque torpentem aut sopitam reperit, excitat et perducit ad summum, et †non perductis†[a] omnium est potissimus et potentissimus. Euadit in breui laudes uicinie precellens omnibus, et non transcensus ad maiores accenditur. Vincit ferratas acies,[1] muros et turres, et qui transuehit ipsum animus ad omnes uictorias a seipso effeminatur, sed infeminatur,[b] quoniam in femineam transit impotenciam, ut earum instar sine respectu post uota currat, ouis intus et leo foris, et qui castra subuertit exterorum, a domesticis curis castratus emollescit, plangit, precatur et plorat. Illa non ut uirgo uel uirago, sed ut uir deuouet et spernit, et quibuscunque potest modis in desperacionem trudit.

Contigit ut die quadam iter facienti Rolloni in dextera illius tam desiderate uxoris sue fieret obuius predictus iuuenis, quem ex nomine designauit Resum, conductisque ipsis aliquantulum quasi dominis et maioribus benignis et supplicibus uerbis, dicta salute migraret. Illa dissimulat insolenter. Rollo uero diu respicit emigrantem toto suspensus in ipsum animo, tandemque reflectit oculos erratque silens. Suspiciosa timensque sibi domina ne quid aduert⟨er⟩it, querit quid hoc, quare diu respexerit non respicientem. Cui Rollo: 'Libenter aspexi quod utinam semper uideam, nostri temporis prenobile prodigium, hominem genere, moribus et forma, diuiciis et fama et tocius terre fauoribus insignem, et qualem non reperit scriptura ex omni parte beatum.'[2] Illa ex tanta laude plus

[a] *James suggested that* non *be perhaps omitted, which would improve the sense, but* perductis *also seems corrupt (Winterbottom)* [b] *Perhaps* sed pocius infeminatur *or* non eff. sed inf. *James*

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 622 ('ferratos rumpit . . . postes').
[2] Cf. Horace, *Carm.* ii. 16, 27 f.

distinction. 'I am rightly scorned,' said he, 'and unless I do better than Rollo, I do not deserve to be preferred to him. My own suit is unjustified, her refusal is most righteous.' He now with breathless speed betook himself to warfare, took part in all encounters everywhere, learned well the tricks, changes and chances of battle and received the belt of knighthood from Rollo himself, with the object of becoming acceptable to him and being able to talk familiarly with his lady and open to her his grief; and he would have done the same had the prize been the mere sight of her. So he went forth whithersoever Love his lord called him, to all contests of arms or brawls, and where he found a quarrel slackened or slumbering he stirred it up and brought it to a head, or where he did not, was still the foremost and strongest of all. Superior to all, he soon went beyond the praises of his own neighbourhood, and, unsurpassed, burned to attain wider fame. He burst through ranks of iron,[1] walls and towers, and the spirit which carried him to all his victories became effeminated, nay, rather infeminated by himself, since it passed into the weakness of a woman: womanlike pursuing its wishes without thought, a lamb within and a lion without; and the overthrower of castles abroad, unmanned by his inward cares, grew soft, wept, prayed, and mourned. She, like no virgin or virago, but like a man, repelled and spurned him, and by every means in her power, thrust him down into despair.

It chanced one day that as Rollo journeyed, riding at the right hand of his wife so sorely coveted, this youth met him, was addressed by his name, Resus, accompanied them, as his lords and seniors, a short way with courteous and humble converse, saluted them, and left them. The lady scornfully ignored him. Rollo, however, looked long after him as he rode off, his whole soul absorbed in contemplation of him, and at last turned his eyes away and rode on in silence. Her misgivings were roused, and in fear lest he should have noticed anything, she asked the reason why he looked so long on him who looked not back. Rollo answered: 'I looked with delight on what I wish I could always see, the noble wonder of our time, a man distinguished for birth, beauty, character, wealth, renown and every earthly gift, and what the book could not find—"at all points blessed." '[2] She, hearing such praise,

animo concipiens quam ore habens, subintulit: 'Nec michi pulcher uidetur, nec ipsum bonum audiui.' Aliud autem in mente uersat, scilicet quod Rollo fidelis et ueridicus est, et quod ab aliis audierat ipsius est assercione credendum. Penitet iam ipsum repulisse, iam desperat posse redimi quod actum est, et quem humillimum superba spreuerat, superbissimum horret humilis optare.

Cumque post iter thalamo recipitur, flere libet, nec licet ob scandalum; dolores enim criminis querunt latibula, et noctis filie secretos habitant seorsum thalamos. Inde se proicit in secreta secessus intimi, exploratisque plorando consiliis, una tandem et audax placet sentencia, nuncio
f. 43 temptare si uenire / dignetur. Desiderantis euolat legatus et ardentem concupiscencia reducit inflammate, iussusque recedit. Ornatum igitur Veneri sibique thalamum archanum summa secuturi uota subintrant, et inter eundum inquit illa: 'Miraris forsitan, dulcissime mi, que me tibi tam subito causa post tot tam crudeles dederit negaciones. Rollo causa fuit; nam fame non credideram, sed sua michi, quem ueracissimum noui, persuasit assercio te Appolline doctiorem, Ioue leniorem, Marte leoniorem,[a] pro tempore, loco et modo; nec est aliqua diis data preter eternitatem felicitas, quam non tuis adiunxerit laudibus. Credidi, fateor, et capta sum, et ecce tibi desideratas offero leta delicias.' Et decumbit et attrahit; ⟨Resus se retrahit,⟩[b] frenumque furori ponens respondit: 'Nunquam a Reso Rolloni pro benignitate retribuetur iniuria; inurbanum enim est ut ei thorum uiolem, quem michi totus negauit orbis et ipse prestitit.' Sic abscedit et abstinet; potest et non est transgressus; uicerat ipsam ut sibi pareat,[c] uincit seipsum ut ipsa careat; uictoria prior diu dilata, posterior cito collata, illa fugando longis quesita uigiliis, hec fugiendo breui sed forti parta uigilancia; illa

[a] leoniorem *MS; perhaps* leoniniorem *James Mynors*
[b] Resus se retrahit *conj.*
[c] pareat *James;* parcat *MS*

conceived more in her mind than she could say with her lips, and observed: 'He does not seem to me very handsome, nor have I ever heard of him as brave.' But her thought was different; Rollo, she knew, was sincere and truthful, and what he had heard from others was to be believed on his report. She now repented having repelled Resus, despaired of redeeming her past act, and humbled, shuddered at desiring the proud one whom when he was humble she had spurned in her pride.

When they returned and she gained her chamber she could have wept, but might not, for the scandal; for the pains of sin seek out hiding-places, and the daughters of night dwell apart in privy chambers. Thence she rushed into the recesses of an innermost retreat, wept, explored her resources, and finally settled upon one course, and that a bold one, to try by a messenger if Resus would deign to come to her. The emissary of the eager woman hastened off, brought him enflamed with desire to her, likewise burning, and at her command retired. The two stole into the secret chamber prepared for them and for Venus, to achieve their dearest wish, and as they went, the lady said: 'You are wondering, perhaps, dearest one, what it is that has made me yours all at once after so many harsh repulses. Rollo was the cause; I had not believed common report, but his words—for I know him to be most truthful—persuaded me that you, as far as time, place, and means allow, are wiser than Apollo, kinder than Jove, more lion-like than Mars; nor is there any blessing enjoyed by the gods save immortality which he omitted from your praises. I believed, I confess it, and surrendered, and here with joy I offer you the pleasure you covet.' She lay down and beckoned him; [Resus drew back], and putting sudden restraint on his passion, replied: 'Never shall Rollo be requited by Resus with wrong for his goodness: it were discourteous for me to stain that couch, which the whole world denied and he gave to me.' Thus he refrained and turned away: he might have transgressed and did not: he had tamed her to his will and now tamed himself to be without her: the first conquest was long deferred, the second won in a moment; the one, of repulse, sought by long vigil, the other, of flight, gained by short but sharp vigilance; the one

dulcis et dilectans, hec amara et dolens, sed fructus earum mutatis inuenientur saporibus in tempore messis.[1]

Sic contra fidem Nasonis a iuuene et cupido reddita est, quantum in ipso est, uirgo; hec autem in ipso sue feruore libidinis, in ianua Dyones, in precipicio prompte ruine, in desperacione continencie. Quis non miretur, et non hunc imitetur si possit? Hic certe potuit fugam inuadere gracia preuentrice, et arreptus euadere gracia subsecutrice. Fortis hic, sed in eo fortis utrimque Dominus; laudabilis hic, sed a Domino. Videbit hec piger et expectabit; graciam[a] excusabit et incurret[b] offensam. Nos autem nunc non sic, sed sciamus sine Ipso nichil posse fieri,[2] et conemur tamquam ex nobis inicia sint, et nulli conatui desit spes et oracio. Accingamur uim facere Deo,[c] nobis ut assit, et nostram Ipsi placere sciamus uiolenciam. Virtus pallium apprehensa non linquit, sed quo traxeris ultro comitatur optata. Qui carni precipit, effugit iram, et qui sibi frenum ponit, a Domino dirigitur. Ipsi grates a quo gracie.

Explicit distinctio tercia nugarum curialium.
Incipit quarta.

[a] expectabit graciam; *MS*
[b] incurret *Winterbottom;* incurrit *MS*
[c] Deo *James;* donec *MS*

sweet and delightsome, the other bitter and doleful; but in the time of harvest their fruits will appear with different tastes.[1]

Thus, contrary to what Ovid would have us believe, the lady was restored a maid, so far as concerned him, by a young and ardent man; yet she remained in the fire of her own lust, at the threshold of Dione, on the very brink of a sheer fall, ready to give up her purity. Who would not wonder, and copy him if he could? Assuredly he was able to take to flight by grace preventing him, and when caught to escape with grace for follower. He was strong, nay, rather the Lord was strong in him on both hands; worthy to be praised, yet so as it was given to him by the Lord. The slothful will see this and hope for the best: he will make grace a pretext and run into sin. But for us, let it not now be so with us, but let us recognize that without him we can do nothing,[2] and let us strive as if the first step lay with us, and let hope and prayer accompany every effort. Let us gird ourselves to compel God to be with us, and be sure that our violence is pleasing to him. Virtue, if we seize her garment, does not leave us, but willingly goes with us, a desirable companion, whithersoever we draw her. He who controls his flesh escapes wrath, and he who bridles himself is guided by the Lord. To him be gratitude, from whom comes grace.

The End of the Third Distinction of the Trifles of the Court

[1] Cf. Matthew 13: 30.
[2] Cf. John 15: 5.

i. *Prologus*[1]

AD nostram omnium instruccionem expedit ut nemo clausis oculis uel auribus uel aliquo sensuum inofficioso uiuat, sed sed ex rebus oportet extrinsecis intrinsecus edificari. Per hec sane, quia ceci sumus ad futura, presencia quedam palam sunt et preteritorum aliquot. Que non uidimus uidere properemus; que non audiuimus, non fastidiamus, sed Deo futura comendantes, informari festinemus ex his in quibus nobis Dominus imitacionem posuit aut fugam, nostrum semper orantes refugium, ut eleccionis pure bonorum Ipse in nobis consecucionem, et fuge malignitatis Ipse faciat effugium.

Video iuuenes que uident et audiunt uel spernere uel paruipendere, multosque domi torpentes, quorum senectus aut uilis est aut mediocritatem non euadit. Puerum uidi, de cuius eciam cognacione glorior, inter nos et a nobis educatum, semper ab ore narrantis pendentem,[2] maioribus suis herentem, collegia bonorum querentem, forcia queque temptantem, nunquam ociosum, indefesse negociosum, acerrime indagacionis ad omnia honesta in tantum ut, cum non esset literatus (quod doleo), quamlibet literarum seriem transcribere sciret. Antequam esset annorum uiginti, matrem nostram et suam Angliam exiuit, seque Philippo Flandrensium comiti[3] solum alienigenam dedit, quatinus armis instrui mereretur ab ipso,
f. 43v ipsumque / preelegit dominum; nec iniuste, quoniam omnium huius temporis principum, excepto nostro, strenuissimus est armis et regimine, postquam Henricus rex iunior decessit, nostri filius Henrici regis, cui nemo (Deo gracias!) hodie par est.

Decessit autem ille prenominatus Henricus[4] apud Martellum

[1] See above, pp. xxv, xxviii. Chapter 1 was written in 1183.

[2] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 79.

[3] Philip of Alsace was count from 1168 to 1191. He is known to history as an able and vigorous ruler, who laid the foundations of the future greatness and prosperity of Flanders. J.E.L. On him, see H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, i (Brussels, 1902), 197–202.

[4] Henry, son and heir of King Henry II of England, was born on 28 Feb. 1155, was crowned king at Westminster on 14 June 1170, broke into revolt in 1173, was reconciled to his father in 1174, again rebelled in Apr. 1183, and

THE FOURTH DISTINCTION

1. *Prologue*[1]

IT is expedient for the instruction of us all that no one should live with closed eyes or ears, or with any sense inactive; he ought to be edified inwardly by outward things. By them, as we are blind to the future, some parts of the present are made plain and some of the past. Let us make speed to perceive what we did not see ourselves; what we did not hear, let us not scoff at, but submitting the future to God, let us hasten to be taught by the things which the Lord has set before us to imitate or avoid, always praying him who is our refuge that he would grant us the power to choose purely the things that are good, and a way to escape from evil.

I see young men despising or making light of what they see and hear, and I see many idling at home, whose latter years are either positively contemptible or do not rise above mediocrity. I have seen a lad, and am indeed proud to be of his kin, who was brought up in and by my own people, ever hanging on the lips of a speaker,[2] seeking the company of his elders, haunting the meetings of the brave, making trial of all high deeds, never lazy, untiring in business, insatiably curious about all honourable arts, so much so that though he was no scholar (which I regret) he could copy any set of letters. Before he was twenty years old, he left England—my mother and his—and offered himself alone and a foreigner to Philip, Count of Flanders,[3] to learn of him (if worthy) the art of chivalry, and chose him out for his lord: a wise choice, for of all the princes of these days, except our own king, he is the mightiest in arms and in the art of ruling—now that the young King Henry is dead, the son of our King Henry who, God be thanked, is matched by none to-day.

Now this Henry whom I have named[4] departed this life

on 11 June (St. Barnabas' Day) in that year died of dysentery at Martel on the Dordogne. J.E.L. On his last years, see esp. Warren, pp. 580–93; on him see also O. H. Moore, *The Young King Henry Plantagenet* (Columbus, Ohio, 1925); on the date of his coronation A. Heslin (Mrs Duggan) in *Studies in Church History*, ii (1965), 165 n.

mense quo hanc paginam apud Salmurum scripsi, die sancti Barnabe apostoli, anno ab incarnacione Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo secundo[1] et sue natiuitatis xxvii°, uir noue adinuencionis in armis, qui miliciam fere sopitam excitauit et ad summum usque perduxit. Eius possumus uirtutes, qui eum uidimus ipsius amici et familiares, et gracias describere. Speciosus erat pre ceteris statura et facie, beatissimus eloquencia et affabilitate, hominum amore gracia et fauore felicissimus, persuasione in tantum efficax ut fere omnes patris sui fideles in ipsum insurgere fefellerit. Absalon eum, si non maior hic uero fuit, comparare possis: ille unum habuit Architophel, hic multos, et nullum Chusi. Quod quidem hodie manifestauit Dominus, qui omnes misericordias Dauid fidelis domino nostro patri suo compleuerit, id est illas quas ipse fideli suo Dauid habuit,[2] quoniam ex omni tribulacione eduxit eum Dominus, et super iram inimicorum suorum despicit oculus eius.[3] Absalon suus totam excitauerat Aquitaniam, Burgundiam, et ex Francis multos in patrem suum dominum nostrum, et omnes Mansellos et Andegauenses et Britones, et ex quibus nobiscum militabant maxima pars uacillabat ad ipsum. Manselli tamen et Andegauenses palam nos obsidentes Lemouicas, spretis lacrimis et supplicacione nostra, liquerunt, et repatriantes coegerunt exercitum solui paucitate remanencium. Confluentibus autem ad ipsum Absalon uiribus orbis in patrem suum apud Martellum iurauit, et ea die percussus ab ultrice iustissima dextra martello mortis euanuit, et uersa est in sedacionem sedicio; quieuit igitur orbis Phitone perempto.[4] Qui cum iussisset corpus suum Rotome sepeliri, ablatum est et in ecclesia sancti Iuliani[5] ui detentum a Cenomanensibus et ibi tumulatum; sed hodie iussit rex pater eius illud inde Rotomam deferri, quatinus ibi sit eius imperpetuum memoria uiri fauoris et graciarum pleni. Qui quod diues, quod generosus, quod

[1] An error (presumably a scribe's) for 1183 and 28th: Henry was born 28 Feb. 1155 and was actually 28 when he died. See esp. *Gesta Henrici II*, i. 300–1; Robert of Torigny, *Chronicle*, ed. R. Howlett (RS), p. 183. (James noted a possible echo of Lucretius, i. 19 in 'miliciam . . . sopitam' in the same sentence; but the link is a very tenuous one, and Lucretius was very little known in the Middle Ages. 'Speciosus . . . pre' is an echo of Psalm 44: 3 (45: 2)).

[2] Cf. Isaiah 55: 3 (cf. Ogle, pp. 210–11; and for the whole passage, 2 Kings (2 Samuel) 15–18).

[3] Cf. Psalm 53: 9 (54: 7).

at Martel in the month in which I wrote this page at Saumur, on the day of St. Barnabas the Apostle, in the year from the incarnation of the Lord the one thousand one hundred and eighty-second,[1] and of his birth the twenty-seventh: a man fruitful of new devices in war, who roused chivalry from something like slumber, and raised it to the height. We who saw him as his friends and intimates are in a position to tell of his grace and manly gifts. He was fairer than the children of men in stature and in face, richly endowed with eloquence and charm of address, blest with the love and favour of his fellow men, so powerful to persuade that he beguiled almost all his father's liegemen to turn against him. You might liken him to Absalom, if indeed he was not superior to Absalom. He had but one Ahithophel; Henry had many, and no Hushai; and this the Lord has now made plain, in that he has fulfilled for our lord his father all the mercies of David the faithful, that is to say, those mercies which he had for his faithful David,[2] for the Lord hath delivered him out of all his trouble, and his eye looketh down upon the wrath of his enemies.[3] His Absalom had stirred up all Aquitaine and Burgundy, and many of the French, against our lord his father, and all them of Maine and Anjou and the Bretons; and of those who were fighting on our side the more part fell away to him. They of Maine and Anjou indeed, when we were besieging Limoges, set at nought our tears and entreaties and openly deserted us and set off for home, forcing us to disband our army because so few were left. And when the power of all the world was flocking to Absalom, he took an oath against his father at Martel, and on that same day smitten with the hammer (*martellum*) of death by the all-righteous avenging hand, he was not, and riot was turned to quiet, and so the world was at rest when Python perished.[4] Though he had ordained that his body should be buried at Rouen, it was carried off and forcibly detained at the church of St. Julian[5] by the men of Le Mans, and there interred: however, now (*or* to-day) the king his father has ordered it to be taken thence and brought to Rouen that the perpetual memorial of him may be in that place—a man full of grace and favour. Rich, noble, lovable,

[4] Cf. Claudian, in *Rufinum*, i, Praef., 15.

[5] Le Mans Cathedral. Cf. Torigny, pp. 305–6.

amabilis, quod facundus, quod pulcher, quod strenuus, quod omnimodis graciosus, quod paulo minor angelis,[1] totum conuertit in sinistram, et peruersa felicitate fortissimus tam infrunito factus est animo patricida, ut in summis desideriis mortem eius posuerit, sicut aiunt Marlinum de ipso prophetasse: 'Linx penetrans omnia exicio proprie gentis imminebit'.[2] Nichil inpenetratum liquit, omnem lapillum mouit, totum fedauit prodicionibus orbem, prodigialis proditor ipse prodigusque malorum, fons scelerum serenissimus, appetibilis nequicie fomes, pulcherrima peccati regia, cuius erat regnum amenissimum. Vt sciatis quomodo creator fuerit hereseos proditorum: pater suus totum sibi sedauerat ad pacem mundum, tam ex alienis quam ex suis; hic autem rumpi federa fefellit, et in regem pacificum contra iuramenta iuratorum arma coegit,[3] periurus ipse patri me uidente multociens; frequens ei ponebat scandalum, uictusque redibat, eo semper ad delicta procliuior quo securius aduertebat sibi ueniam non posse negari. Nullas unquam meruit iras quas non posset primis placare lacrimis, nil concupiuit quod non paucis extorqueret blandiciis, quippe qui quemuis hominem contra seipsum optinebat, quia contra conscienciam et fidem Deo derelicto, qui malleus percussus in Martello penitens decessit ut aiunt, sed ad pacem patris nullo potuit inflecti monitu, quasi[a] 'Si decessero, quiescam; /
f. 44 si non, impugnabo.' Depositam habebat in corde guerram, fratremque suum Ricardum, cuius intabescebat odio, reliquit heredem, et decessit iratus; dissimiliter respexit Dominus finem.[b]

ii. *Epilogus*[4]

Hunc in curia regis Henrici libellum raptim annotaui scedulis et a corde meo uiolenter extorsi, domini mei preceptis obsequi conatus. Horrebam enim quod agebam, luctabar

[a] *Perhaps add* diceret *after* quasi *James or imperfect, James (see p. xxix n.).*

[b] *The chapter seems unfinished*

[1] Cf. Psalm 8: 6 (5).

[2] From the prophecies of Merlin (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, vii. 3, ed. Griscom, p. 388).

[3] Or 'gathered troops'.

eloquent, handsome, gallant, every way attractive, a little lower than the angels[1]—all these gifts he turned to the wrong side, and that mighty man, corrupting his blessings, became a parricide of such baleful soul that his dearest wish was for his father's death, just as Merlin is said to have prophesied of him: 'The lynx probing through all shall be bent on the destruction of his own race.'[2] Truly he left nothing unprobed, no stone unturned; he befouled the whole world with his treasons, a prodigy of unfaith and prodigal of ill, a limpid spring of wickedness, the attractive centre (*lit.*, tinder) of villainy, a lovely palace of sin, whose realm was full of pleasantness. To let you know how he was the originator of the heresy of traitors: his father had calmed all the world into peace with him, both abroad and at home, but he procured the breaking of treaties and stirred into action the weapons[3] of those who had sworn allegiance, contrary to their oaths, against that prince of peace: again and again, as I witnessed myself, he was perjured to his father: repeatedly he set snares in his way, and when foiled returned to him, ever the more prone to crime the more clearly he saw that it was impossible not to forgive him. He never provoked anger which he was not able to pacify with the first tear he shed; never set his heart on anything that he could not extort with a little coaxing: he was one who could win over any man against his will, forsaking God and going against conscience and faith. This hammer, smitten at Martel, died, they say, penitent, yet no monition could bend him to make peace with his father. 'If I die, I will be quiet; if not, I will attack him', was his word. He had war in his heart. He left his brother Richard (with hate of whom his heart was withered) heir, and departed in wrath. The Lord looked upon his (their) end unequally.

2. *Epilogue*[4]

This little book I have jotted down by snatches at the court of King Henry, and have wrung it by force out of my heart, in the attempt to obey my lord's orders. For I was disgusted with my employment, and strove hard to squeeze out what

[4] See above, pp. xxv, xxviii: this chapter, down to 'uideant' 'they view' (p. 286) was written in 1191; the rest of the chapter belongs to 1181.

euincere quod nequibam. Cum enim ab omnibus curiis sint Muse refuge, nostram super omnes abiurauerunt, quia prorsus ab eis auersam et longe plus aliis aduersam, quia uexacio tantum quietis interpolari non paciebatur ut ad sompnum sufficeret, nedum ad studium. Cogebam eas et indignabantur; uerumptamen, audita morte domini mei predicti regis, post biennium exequiarum exinanitus lacrimis, ad puteal[1] exsurgo, lucrum inestimabile nunc primo uidens quod a curia liber sum, unde relegatus quiete noua percipio quam misere fuerim ibi religatus. Quiete dico, recte quidem, si quies est certis indiciis agnoscere tenebrarum ⟨principis⟩[a] absolucionem, et permittente Domino, qui foras eum ad uincula misit, regnum ipsius omnibus dominari. Dati sumus illi cui cessit facultas et caro beati Iob, et tanto seuiorem eum sentimus et nos ad uictoriam impromciores quanto sumus a paciencia remociores. Scrutatur et euertit orbem antiquus ille dierum,[2] omnium corda possidet et †obtentu mundi†[3] gloriatur; preua⟨ri⟩cator serpens spiris omnia cingit; aut nichil aut modicum extra relictum est. Dudum a prauis exactoribus fiebant iniquitates sub alicuius cause pretextu, saltem ut aliqua similitudine iusticie uelamen haberet nequicia. Nunc autem et iusticia periit, et facies eius non requiretur. Immo pace deleta penitus apertus est in rapina furor, et tam obstinate frons omnis induruit, ut pudor et reuerencia nichil sint. Iam nemo lesus queritur aut querere potest cur hoc, quia racio nusquam est, et nemo respondet ad hoc. Et michi nunc primo placere potest puteal, quia cum orbe mutate sunt Muse, et iam non oportet ab antris earum loqui, nec in regulis arcium artari. Quidlibet ut libet agimus, et non est distinccio uirtutis et uicii. Redeat Cato, reuertatur Numa, Fabii reddantur et reuocentur Curii, fiant rediuiui Rusones:[b] id agetur quod agitur. Nam ubi nichil humanitatis, non utetur sapiencia Cato, Numa iusticia, Fabius

[a] principis *Bradley; om. MS* [b] Rusones *James;* rusores *MS*

[1] Here and below Map places the Muses in a *puteal.* It is not clear if he thought they lived in a spring or a well (strictly, *puteus*) or in an enclosure (*puteal*); and the matter is complicated by his reference to their mountain homes below, Helicon and Pieria (Pierus). [2] Cf. Daniel 7: 9.

[3] James translated 'obtentu' as if it were 'dominatu', and 'obtentu' indeed seems corrupt.

was beyond my powers. For while the Muses flee all courts, ours they have abjured beyond all, as being entirely opposed to them and more wholly distasteful than any other, since the worry of it would not allow an interval for rest sufficient for sleep, let alone study. So I forced them, and they were displeased; however, now, after hearing of the death of the king my lord whom I have named, after two years of memorial services, my fount of tears dried up, I rise and approach the sacred spring,[1] and realize (for the first time) the inestimable gain of being freed from the court; banished from it, I see in my unwonted quiet how hard were the bands that held me there. Quiet I call it, and of right, if quiet it be where one can clearly mark that the prince of darkness is at large, and that by permission of the Lord who has cast him out into bondage his sway is ruling all. We have been delivered over to him to whom the possessions and the body of blessed Job were given, and we feel him the fiercer and ourselves the less able to overcome him the farther we are from the grace of patience. That ancient of days[2] ransacks and oversets the world, possesses the hearts of all men, and glories in the dominion of the earth;[3] the deceiving serpent encircles all with his coils, and little or nothing is left outside them. In old days injustice was done by evil extortioners under some pretext of reason, that at least their villainy might be veiled by some semblance of righteousness. Now even justice has perished, and no man will seek after her face. Nay, peace is altogether done away, and fury is overt in plundering, and all foreheads are so brazenly hardened that modesty and respect go for nothing. Now no man who suffers wrong complains or can ask wherefore, for reason there is none, and no man answers him. And now for the first time the sacred spring suits me, for along with a changed world the Muses are changed, and no more need one speak out of their caves nor be fettered by rules of art. Whatever we please we do as we please, and there is no distinction between excellence and defect. Let Cato return if he will, Numa come back, the Fabii be restored to us, the Curii recalled, the Rusones revive, things will go on still as they do. For, where there is no such thing as civilization, there will be no room for Cato's wisdom, Numa's justice, the integrity of Fabius,

innocencia, comitate Curius, pietate Ruso;[1] cum nichil eorum unde boni fuerunt . . . ,[a] nimirum stupidi sunt. Si Neronem, si Vitell⟨i⟩um, si Catelinam suscites, se reperient[b] inmaniores plurimos. Si Mamertum a manibus excites, nichil ad tot Rufinas[c] facient Elycon et Pierus. Dormiat ergo cum Homero Maro, cum Catulo Marsus; uigilent et dictent Cherulus et Cluuienus, Bauius et Meuius, et me nichil interstrepere prohibebit.[2] Talium tempora sunt poetarum. Obiurgare non possunt Muse nec iniurias ulcisci, nec in artibus causabuntur, quod alias ubique fit. Ideo tutus et inermis aggredior quod trepidabam.

Tales nunc inueniat libellus lectores; hii me poetam facient, sed non sic impii legunt, non sic,[3] et ideo misellum hunc uentilabunt ut puluerem; oderunt enim antequam audierint, uilipendent antequam appendant, inuident priusquam uideant.

Incidencia uero si notare fas est, incidit.

Amicum habui, uirum uite philosophice, quem post longa tempora multasque uisitaciones annotaui semel habitu, gestu uultuque mutatum, suspiriosum, pallidum, laucius tamen cultum, loquentem parcius et grauius, insolita simultate superbum. Pristina perierat facecia morosaque iocunditas; f. 44v egrum se dicebat, et male / sanus erat. Soliuagum uidi, meaque quantum reuerencia mei sinebat declinantem alloquia. Veneris arrepticium uidi. Quicquid enim uidebatur, totum erat proci, nichil philosophi. Spes tamen erat, ut post lapsum resurgeret. Ignoscebam quod ignorabam; ludum putabam, et erat seuum serium. Vxorari tendebat, non amari; Mars nolebat fieri, sed Mulciber.[4] Tamen[d] michi mens excidit,

[a] *Something is wanting, such as* in precio habeatur *or* estimetur, *James* [b] reperient *James;* reperientur *MS* [c] *Perhaps* Rufinos *James* [d] *Perhaps* Tandem *James*

[1] In *Epig.* v. 28 Martial pillories the crabbed Mamercus, who will think and speak no good of you, even if you surpass the Cur(v)ii in piety, the Rusones in courtesy, and several others in their specific virtues. Map has twisted the catalogue, and added Cato, Numa, and the Fabii to replace less well-known figures in Martial (cf. also Juvenal, viii. 191–2).

[2] For Marsus and Catullus, cf. Martial, i. Praef.; v. 5. 6; for Choerilus, Horace, *Ars poet.*, 357; for Cluvienus, Juvenal, *Sat.*, i. 80; for Bavius and Maevius, Virgil, *Ecl.*, iii. 90; for 'interstrepere', *Ecl.*, ix. 36. ('Rufinas' alludes to Claudian's *In Rufinum*, Helicon and Pieria or Pierus were the haunts of the muses.)

the courtesy of Curius, the piety of Ruso.[1] Since nothing that made them honoured is of any account, why, they stand mute. Were you to raise up Nero, Vitellius, Catiline, they would find many more monstrous than they were. Were you to bring Mamertus back from the shades, Helicon and Pieria would have nothing to say in face of so many Rufinae. So let Maro sleep on with Homer, Marsus with Catullus; let Choerilus and Cluvienus, Bavius and Maevius awake and sing, and there will be nothing in the way of my squalling along with them.[2] The times deserve such poets. The Muses cannot complain nor avenge their injuries, nor bring an action about their art—which is the practice everywhere else. Therefore I can approach the task I used to fear, in confidence and unarmed.

Such readers may my book now find: they will count me a poet; but as for the ungodly it is not so that they read, not so,[3] and therefore they will winnow poor me like dust; for they hate before they have heard, scoff before they scrutinise, envy before they view.

Now if it is allowable to take note of common happenings, one such happens to occur to me.

I had a friend, a man of philosophic life, whom after long lapse of time and frequent visits I once observed to be changed in habit, mien and face, full of sighs, and pale, yet better dressed and speaking less and more thoughtfully than his wont, and proud of his unusual guise (*or* in unwonted aloofness); his old courtesy and accustomed pleasantry were gone. He said he was ill, and indeed he was far from well. I saw him wandering alone, and shirking, so far as politeness allowed, a meeting with me. I saw that he was suffering from an attack of Venus. In every point of his appearance he was the suitor, not the sage. Yet there was hope that after his fall he might yet arise. I was inclined to excuse what I did not understand. I thought it jest, but it was savage earnest. He was on the way to be wived, not to be loved; he would be, not Mars, but Mulciber.[4] However, my wit left me,

[3] Cf. Psalm 1: 4. For 'uilipendent . . . appendant' cf. pp. 262–3.

[4] Vulcan (see below, pp. 300–1); Venus was Vulcan's wife, but fell in love with Mars (see below, pp. 294–7).

et quia mori pergebat, commoriebar ei. Locutus sum et repulsus. Misi qui loquerentur, et ut noluit eos audire, dixi 'Fera pessima deuorauit unicum meum.'[1] Et, ut omnes amicicie uices implerem, epistolam ei scripsi, mutatis nominibus nostris, me qui Walterus sum Valerium uocans, ipsum qui Iohannes est et ruffus Ruffinum. Intitulaui epistolam sic:

iii. *Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum philosophum ne uxorem ducat*[2a]

Loqui prohibeor et tacere non possum. Grues odi et uocem ulule, bubonem et aues ceteras que lutose hiemis grauitatem luctuose preululant; et tu subsannas uenturi uaticinia dispendii, uera, si perseueras. Ideo loqui prohibeor, ueritatis augur, non uoluntatis.

Luciniam[3] amo et merulam, que leticiam aure lenis concentu placido preloquuntur, et potissimum philomenam, que optate tempus iocunditatis tota deliciarum plenitudine cumulat; nec fallor.

Gnatones[4] diligis et comedos,[b] qui dulces presusurrant illecebras, et precipue Circen,[5] que tibi suspirate suauitatis aromate gaudia plena perfundit,[c] ut fallaris. Ne[d] sus fias aut asinus, tacere[e] non possum.

Propinant tibi mellitum toxicon ministri[f] Babel; blande ingreditur et delectat, et impetum spiritus tui conducit; ideo loqui prohibeor.[6]

Scio quod in nouissimo ut coluber mordebit[7g] et uulnus imprimet[h] impar omni tiriaco;[i] ideo tacere non possum.

[a] *For the MSS of the* Dissuasio *and the sigla used, see pp. xlviii–xlix* [b] comedos *W;* comedas *AB;* commendans *MS* [c] perfundet *AW* [d] ne] ut *W* [e] ideo tacere *W* [f] propinat . . . minister *MS* [g] mordebit ut coluber *AB* [h] imprimetur *MS* [i] thiriaco *B;* tiriace *A;* toxico *MS*

[1] Cf. Genesis 37: 33.

[2] This little tract against marriage was perhaps written earlier, and certainly circulated separately (see above, pp. xlvii–xlix). The names of author and recipient are hidden under classical pseudonyms (cf. JS, *Letters*, i, pp. xlviii–xlix). Map may have taken his own from Valerius Maximus (cf. above, p. xxxiv: Dorothy M. Schullian, in *Speculum* xii (1937), 516–18 suggested that the names were taken from a MS. of Valerius Maximus in which he was miscalled Valerius Rufus); Tupper and Ogle suggest the influence of Jerome's attack on Rufinus.

The chief sources are Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the favourite text book of mythology, and Jerome's *Adu. Iouinianum*, the favourite text book of anti-feminism. Manitius suggested (iii. 262 n. 2) that the refrain 'loqui prohibeor . . .' echoed 'loqui ignorabit qui tacere nesciat' in the poem attrib. to Ausonius, ed. R. Peiper (Teubner, Leipzig, 1866), p. 406.

and as he was going on to death, I was for dying with him. I spoke and was repelled. I sent others to speak, and when he would not hear them I said: 'An evil beast hath devoured mine only one.'[1] And so, to discharge every office of friendship, I wrote him an epistle in which I changed our names, calling myself, who am Walter, Valerius, and him, who is called John and has red hair, Rufinus. And thus I entitled my epistle:

3. *A Dissuasion of Valerius to Rufinus the Philosopher, that he should not take a Wife*[2]

I am forbidden to speak, and I cannot keep silence. I hate the crane and the screech-owl's voice, I hate the owl and the other birds that dismally shriek their prophecies of the woes of winter and mud. And you, you scoff at my bodings of loss to come, true bodings, if you persist. So I am forbidden to speak—I the prophet of truth, not of my own will.

I love the nightingale[3] and the blackbird which in gentle concert tell of the joys of the soft breeze that is coming, and more than all, Philomel, who fills the pleasant season we desire with all the fullness of delight: nor am I deluded.

You love the Gnathos[4] and the comedians who whisper of pleasant enticements to come, and above all Circe[5] who pours for you full draughts of joy, with the perfume of the sweetness you sigh for, to delude you. Lest you be turned into a hog or ass, I cannot keep silence.

To you the cupbearers of Babel hold out the honeyed poison; it goes down sweetly and gives delight and brings on the heat of your spirit; therefore I am forbidden to speak.[6]

I know that at the last it will bite as an adder,[7] and inflict a wound that no antidote can cure; therefore I cannot keep silence.

[3] Similarly in *The Owl and the Nightingale* the latter symbolizes gaiety, the former asceticism and gloom.

[4] i.e. parasites (after Gnatho in Terence's *Eun.*).

[5] The enchantress, best known to us from the *Odyssey*, to Map probably from Ovid, *Met.* xiv.

[6] Cf. Proverbs 23: 31; Ezekiel 1: 12.

[7] Cf. Proverbs 23: 32.

Multos habes uoluptatis tue persuasores in capud tuum facundissimos, me[a] solum elinguem preconem ueritatis amare quam nauseas; ideo loqui prohibeor.

Reprobata est fatua uox anseris inter olores[1] tantum delectare doctos; ea tamen senatores edocuit[b] saluare urbem incendio, thesauros rapina,[c] se ipsos a telis hostium. Forsitan et tu cum senatoribus intelliges, quia prudens es, quod[d] organant tibi olores interitum et anser salutem strepit; ideo tacere non possum.

Desiderio tuo totus inflammaris, et speciosi nobilitate capitis seductus, chimeram miser nescis esse[e] quod petis; sed scire deuoues quod triforme monstrum illud insignis[f] uenustetur facie leonis, olentis maculetur uentre capri, uirulente armetur cauda uipere; ideo loqui prohibeor.

Illectus[g] est Vlixes simphonia Sirenum, sed quia Sirenum uoces et Circes pocula nouit,[2] uirtutis[h] uinculis[i] sibi uim fecit, ut uitaret uoraginem. Ego autem in Domino sperans conicio[j] quod Vlixis imitator eris, non Empedoclis, qui sua philosophia ne dicam melancolia uictus, Ethnam sibi mausoleum elegit, et parabolam quam audis auertes,[k] quod timeo.[3][l] Ideo tacere non possum.

Tandem ualidior est tuus ignis[m] ille quo tibi conuenit[n] pars aduersa, quam ille tuus quo in me accenderis; ne maior minorem ad se trahat et peream, loqui[o] prohibeor.

Vt spiritu loquar quo tuus sum, pensentur ignes lance qualibet,[p] equali uel inequali; uertatur in[q] periculum capitis mei quicquid agas, quicquid[r] iudices; indulgendum est michi, qui pre amoris impaciencia tacere non possum.

[a] me *om. MS* [b] docuit *W* [c] ab incendio . . . a rapina *W* [d] quod] quia *B* [e] esse nescis *W* [f] in signis *ut videtur MS* [g] illectus] delectatus *ABW* [h] uirtutis *MS;* ueritatis *ABW* [i] *om.* uinculis *MS* [j] conicio] adicio *W* [k] aduertes *MS* [l] et parabolam (parabola *MS*) . . . timeo *om. BW (see n. 3)* [m] ignis tuus *ABW* [n] conuenit *MS;* conuiuit *ABW* [o] ideo loqui *W* [p] quamlibet *MS A* [q] in *om. MS A* [r] agas quicquid *om. MS*

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* ix. 36 (in what follows Map refers to the famous story of how the geese saved Rome from sack by the Gauls).

[2] Cf. Horace, *Ep.* i. 2. 23.

[3] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xiv. Empedocles, the philosopher, according to one version of the story died by throwing himself into Etna. Map seems to be saying, very obscurely, that he hopes and forecasts that his friend will imitate Ulysses: for in

You have many advocates of your desire, to the peril of your life, and those most eloquent: me only you have to stammer the bitter truth, which sickens you: therefore I am forbidden to speak.

The foolish voice of the goose was chidden amidst the swans[1] which are only taught to please: yet that voice enabled the senators to rescue Rome from fire, her treasures from pillage, themselves from the enemy's darts. Peradventure you too will understand, as they did—for you are wise—that the swan's melody is of death to you, and that the goose's scream is salvation: therefore I cannot keep silence.

You are all on fire with your passion, and, led astray by the beauty of a comely head, you fail to see, poor man, that what you are wooing is a chimaera: yes, you refuse to learn that that three-formed monster is adorned with the face of a noble lion, polluted with the body of a stinking goat, armed with the tail of a rank viper: therefore I am forbidden to speak.

Ulysses was enchanted by the concert of the Sirens, but because 'the Sirens' voice and Circe's cup he knew'[2] he forced himself, by the bonds of virtue, to shun the whirlpool. I, as I hope in the Lord, forecast that you will be a follower of Ulysses, not of Empedocles (who, undone by his philosophy —let me not say his madness—chose Etna for his monument), dodging the parable which is told you, as I fear you will.[3] Therefore I cannot keep silence.

Finally, that fire of yours which the opposing side shares with you is stronger than that which inflames you against me. Lest the greater draw to it the less, and I perish—I am forbidden to speak.

If I may speak in that spirit which makes me yours, let the two fires be weighed in any balance, just or false, and let the result turn to the peril of my head, whatever you do, whatever you decide: you should make allowance for me who, in the impatience of my affection, cannot keep silence.

Ulysses cool reflection checked the ardour of the Sirens' attraction, whereas (in Horace's words, *Ars poet.* 465-6) 'Empedocles ardentem frigidus Aetnam insiluit' —coolly jumped into burning Etna. But if this is so, Map himself might take the situation more coolly; and the parable, and the fires of the next paragraph, are quite obscure.

Prima primi uxor Ade post primam hominis creacionem primo peccato prima soluit ieiunia contra preceptum Domini. Parentauit inobediencia,[a] que[b] citra mundi terminum non absistet expugnare feminas, ut sint semper[c] indefesse trahere in consequenciam quod a matre sua traxerunt. Amice,
f. 45 contumelia uiri est uxor / inobediens; caue tibi.

Veritas que falli non potest ait de beato Dauid 'Inueni uirum secundum cor meum.'[1] Hic tamen egregie precipitatus est amore mulieris ab adulterio in homicidium, ne unquam sola ueniant scandala. Diues est enim[d] omnis iniquitas societate plurima, et quamcunque domum intrauerit suis tradit inquinandam conuiciis. Amice, Bersabee siluit, in nullo malignata est; nichilominus tamen facta est stimulus subuersionis uiro perfecto et mortis aculeus marito innocenti. Numquid innocens[e] erit que contendet[f] eloquencia, ut Dalida Sampsonis, et forma, ut Bersabee, cum huius sola pulcritudo sic triumphauerit et nolens? Si non es amplius secundum cor Domini quam Dauid, crede quod et tu precipitari potes.

Sol hominum Salomon, thesaurus deliciarum Domini, sapiencie singulare domicilium, crasso tenebrarum fuscatus[g] atramento lucem anime sue, odorem fame sue,[h] gloriam domus sue feminarum amisit fascino,[i] et postremo incuruatus coram Baalim, ex ecclesiaste Domini mutatus est in membrum zabuli, ut adhuc maiore uideatur[j] detrudi precipicio quam Phebus in casu Phetontis, qui de Apolline Iouis factus est pastor Admeti.[2] Amice, si non es sapiencior Salomone, quod nemo est, non es maior quam qui potest a femina fascinari.[k] Oculos tuos aperi et uide.[3]

Optima femina, que rarior est fenice, amari non potest sine amaritudine metus et sollicitudinis et frequentis infortunii. Male uero,[l] quarum tam copiosa sunt examina

[a] inobedienciam *MS(?) A* [b] que] et *W* [c] ut sint semper] que semper erunt *W* [d] enim est *W* [e] innocens] nocens *MS W;* nocens non *B* [f] contendit *W* [g] fuscatus *MS;* fucatus *ABW* [h] odorem fame sue *om. MS* [i] feminarum am. fasc.] amore mulieris am. *W* [j] uideretur maiore *W* [k] fasc. a fem. *W* [l] uero] autem *W*

[1] Cf. Acts 13: 22, for 'ueniant scandala' cf. Matthew 18: 7; etc.; for David and Bathsheba, 2 Kings (2 Samuel), 11.

[2] There is confusion here: the usual story was that Apollo was made shepherd of Admetus for a year as punishment for killing the Cyclopes. For the fall of

The first wife of the first Adam, after the first making of man, by the first of sins broke the first fast against the command of God. Disobedience was the parent of this; and on this side doomsday, she will never cease to stimulate women to be unwearied in following out what they have derived from their mother. Friend, a disobedient wife is a reproach to her husband: be on your guard.

The Truth which cannot err says of blessed David, 'I have found a man after mine own heart.'[1] Yet even he was notably cast down by the love of a woman from adultery to murder, to show that offences never come single. For every ill deed is rich in companions, and into whatsoever house it enters, it delivers that house to be defiled by its fellow vices. Friend, Bathsheba kept silence, she uttered no wrong, yet nevertheless she was made a thorn of overthrowing to a perfect man, and a sting of death to her innocent husband. Shall she indeed be counted innocent who strives to win by eloquence (as did Samson's Delilah), or by beauty (as did Bathsheba), seeing that the mere beauty of the latter triumphed even against her will? If you are not even more after the Lord's heart than was David, believe that you too may be cast down.

Solomon, the sun of men, the treasury of the Lord's delight, the peculiar abode of wisdom, had the light of his soul obscured by the thick ink of darkness, lost the perfume of his renown and the glory of his house under the glamour of women, and in the end bowed his knee to Baalim, and from being the Preacher of the Lord turned to be a limb of the devil, thus seeming to be thrust down a sheerer precipice than was Phoebus after the fall of Phaethon, when from being the Apollo of Jove he became the shepherd of Admetus.[2] Friend, if you be not wiser than Solomon, which no man is, you are not too great to be bewitched by a woman. 'Open thine eyes and see.'[3]

The truly good woman, who is rarer than a phoenix, cannot be loved without the bitterness of fear and care and frequent disaster. But bad women, who swarm in such numbers

Phaethon, son of Phoebus Apollo, in his capacity of Helios, god of the sun, see Ovid, *Met.* ii. For Solomon's decline, see 3 Kings (1 Kings) 11; for 'incuruatus coram Baalim' 3 Kings (1 Kings), 19: 18.

[3] Cf. 4 Kings (2 Kings) 19: 16.

ut nullus locus sit expers malignitatis earum, cum amantur amare puniunt et afflicciori uacant usque ad diuisionem corporis et spiritus.[1a] Amice, eth⟨n⟩icum[b] est 'Videto cui des'; ethica est 'Videto cui te des'.

Vexilla pudicicie tulerunt cum Sabinis Lucrecia et Penolope, et paucissimo comitatu trophea retulerunt. Amice, nulla est Lucrecia, nulla Penolope,[c] nulla Sabina; time omnes.[2]

Ingresse sunt acies in Sabinas Scilla[d] Nisi et Mirra Cinare,[3] et secute sunt eas turbe multe omnium uiciorum exercitu stipate, ut gemitus et suspiria et tandem infernum[e] captiuis suis faciant. Amice, ne preda fias inmisericordium predonum, non dormias in transitu earum.

Iupiter, rex terrenus, qui eciam[f] dictus est celorum rex[g] pre singulari strenuitate corporis et incomparabili mentis elegancia, post Europam mugire coactus est.[4] Amice, ecce quem bonitas super celos extulit, femina brutis comparauit. Poterit et te femina cogere ad mugitum, si non es Ioue maior, cuius magnitudini nemo alius par fuit.

Phebus, qui sapiencie radiis tocius orbis primiciauit ambitum, ut merito solis nomine solus illustraretur, infatuatus est amore Leucotoes, sibi ad ignominiam et illi ad interitum, et ecliptica diu uicissitudine uarius factus est frequenter sui egenus luminis,[h] quo totus uniuersaliter[i] egebat mundus. Amice, ne lumen quod in te est tenebre fiat,[5j] Leucotoen fugito.

Mars, qui deus bellancium dici meruit triumphorum familiari frequencia, in quibus expedit maxime prompta strenuitas, nichil sibi metuens a Vulcano ligatus est cum

[a] diuis. anime et corporis *W* [b] Eth⟨n⟩icum *Holford-Strevens;* ethicum *MSS* [c] et paucissimo . . . Penolope *om. MS; a contemporary hand supplies the rest of the sentence, with* omnes time [d] cilla *W* [e] et tand. infernum] ut tand. infamiam *(in marg.* al. infernum*) MS* [f] eciam] et *W* [g] rex cel. *(*cel. rex *A)* dictus est *ABW* [h] sui luminis expers *W* [i] uniuersaliter *om. MS* [j] fiat] sint uel fiant *W*

[1] Cf. Hebrews 4: 12.

[2] Lucretia, Penelope, and the Sabine women were also used as examples of wifely constancy in contrast to the present generation by Matthew of Vendôme (*Comoedia Lydiae*, ed. E. du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge* . . . (Paris, 1854), p. 358—cited Hinton, *Notes*, p. 454):

Quid nunc coniugium, quid nunc sponsalia iura,
quid confert socii gratia lege thori?

that no place is clear of their malice, when they are loved, punish (sting) bitterly and give themselves over to vexing even to the dividing of the body from the soul.[1] Friend, it is heathen wisdom to say: 'Take heed to whom thou givest': it is Christian ethics to say 'Take heed to whom thou givest thyself.'

The banner of chastity was won by Lucretia and Penelope and the Sabine women, and it was a very small troop that brought the trophy home. Friend, there is no Lucretia, no Penelope, no Sabine left: mistrust all.[2]

Against the Sabines Scylla, daughter of Nisus, and Myrrha, daughter of Cinyras,[3] entered the fray, and there followed them many a band aided by the hosts of all the vices ready to give their captives groanings and sighs and in the end hell. Friend, lest you become the prey of merciless pirates, be not asleep when they are passing by.

Jupiter, an earthly king, who was even called king of heaven for his wonderful prowess of body and incomparable distinction of mind, was reduced to lowing after Europa.[4] Friend, consider, him whom his excellences had raised above the heavens, a woman made even with the beasts. You too can be reduced by a woman to lowing, if you be not greater than Jove, whose greatness has never been equalled.

Phoebus, who by the rays of his wisdom first made the circuit of the whole earth, so that of right he alone was glorified with the name of the Sun, became infatuated with love for Leucothoe, which turned to shame for him and death for her and, long spotted with the changes of eclipse, was often impoverished of his own light—of which the whole world in common stood in need. Friend, lest the light that is in you become darkness,[5] shun Leucothoe.

Mars, who earned the title of the god of warriors by the familiar frequency of his triumphs—to which his ready prowess greatly helped him—when he suspected nothing, was bound

Nusquam Penelope, nusquam Lucretia dudum;
. . . . . .
Parua fides hodie; minor est inde in muliere;
omnes si numeres, nulla Sabina manet.

[3] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* viii, x (both ladies betrayed their fathers, Scylla from love of his enemy, Myrrha by falling in love with him). [4] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* vi. 103 ff.

[5] Cf. Luke 11: 35 (and for Leucothoe, Ovid, *Met.* iv. 190 ff.).

Venere, inuisibilibus quidem cathenis, sensibilibus tamen; hoc autem ad applausum[a] satirorum et derisum[b] celestis curie.[1] Amice, meditare saltem cathenas quas non uides et iam in parte sentis, et eripe te dum adhuc sunt ruptibiles,[c] ne claudus ille faber et turpis, quem nec deus est mensa dea nec dignata cubili,[2] te sue Veneri suo more concatenet et
f. 45v te sui similem, turpem et claudum, uel[d] / (quod magis metuo) loripedem faciat, et non possis, quod saluat, fissam habere ungulam, sed alligatus Veneri dolor fias et derisio uidencium, dum tibi applaudunt ceci.[e]

A falso dearum iudice reprobata est Pallas, quia[f] delectare non promisit sed prodesse.[3] Amice, numquid et tu sic iudicas?

Video te iam fastidienti animo tota celeritate percurrere que legis, et sentencias non attendere sed expectare scemata. Frustra expectas dum hic turbidus amnis effluat,[4g] aut dum[h] hec feculencia secedens pura sibi fluenta subroget; similes enim sui fontis oportet esse riuulos, turbidos aut claros. Sic impericiam cordis mei uicium oracionis exprimit, et strumosa diccionum imparitas delicatum offendit animum. Huius imbecillitatis michi conscius, diuertissem me a dissuadendo libenter; sed quia tacere non potui, ideo[i] locutus sum ut potui. Quod si michi esset tanta stili uirtus quantus est scribendi animus, tam elegancia tibi uerba[j] transmitterem et tam nobili maritata coniugio, ut singula seorsum et simul omnia suum uiderentur auctorem benedicere. Sed quia[k] michi omnia debes quecumque nudus adhuc amor et infecundus,[l] non dico sterilis, promereri[m] potest, ex omnibus michi aurem interim prebe pacienter, dum euoluam quod implicui, et a me non[n] requiras purpurissum oratoris aut cerussam,[o] que me nescire fateor et fleo, sed scribentis uotum et pagine ueritatem accepta.

[a] ad plausum *AW* [b] et ad derisum *W* [c] sunt ruptiles (-les *added in 2nd hand) MS;* ruptibiles sunt *W* [d] uel] immo *W* [e] *post* ceci *add.* et uidentes minantur *MS corr., Lambeth 550* [f] quia] quoniam *MS corr.* [g] defluat *W* [h] dum *om. W* [i] ideo *om. ABW* [j] uerba tibi *W* [k] quia] qui *MS* [l] adhuc et infec. amor (amator *MS corr.) A MS corr.* [m] mereri *ABW* [n] non] ne *MS* [o] cerusam *MS*

[1] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* iv. 171 ff.

[2] Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 63 ('fissam . . . ungulam' 'the divided hoof' is based on Deuteronomy 14: 6).

by Vulcan along with Venus, with chains that could not indeed be seen but could be felt; and that, to the applause of the satyrs and the laughter of the court of heaven.[1] Friend, give at least a thought to the chains which you do not see, and already begin to feel, and save yourself while yet they can be broken, lest that ugly lame smith whom 'no god deems worthy of his board, no goddess of her couch'[2] chain you after his manner to his Venus, and make you like him ugly and limping, or, which I rather fear, lame outright, so that you cannot have the divided hoof which makes the clean beast, but, bound to Venus, you become the scorn of all that behold you, amid the applause of the blind.

Pallas was rejected by the treacherous arbiter of the goddesses, because she promised, not to give him pleasure, but to do him good.[3] Friend, would you too judge like that?

I see you by this time tired out and running through what you are reading with all the haste you can, not weighing the sense but on the lookout for figures of speech. It is in vain that you wait till this turbid river runs away,[4] till this scum disappears and is succeeded by a clean stream, for the rill must needs be like its source, troubled or clear. So it is that the faults of my style reflect my want of skill, and the scrofulous unevenness of my compositions offends a refined taste. Conscious as I am of this weakness, I would gladly have avoided the task of dissuasion; but because I could not keep silence, I have spoken as I could. If indeed I possessed as great command of the pen as desire to write, I should send you such delicate phrases, welded together in such noble union, that each by itself or all together would seem to call for a blessing on their author. Yet, since you owe to me all that a love, bare as yet and unfruitful—I will not say barren—can possibly earn, as part of all that debt you must for a while lend me a patient ear, while I unwind what I have tangled, and you must not expect from me the rouge and white paint of the orator (of which I mournfully confess I know nothing) but be content with the good will of the writer and the honesty of the written page.

[3] In the judgement of Paris, Pallas (Minerva) offered the judge success in war; Aphrodite (Venus) offered him a beautiful wife. Paris gave judgement for the latter.

[4] Cf. Horace, *Ep.* i. 2. 42.

Iulius Cesar, cuius amplitudini artus fuit orbis,[1] die qua nobile filum ipsius ausa est occare seua[a] nimis Atropos, Tongilio[b] humili quidem sed diuino, quia stilos predocenti, aurem humiliter[c] inclinauit in ualuis Capitolii; quod si et animum, penas ei dedissent, quibus ipse. Tu uero michi stilorum tuorum prenuncio aurem inclinas ut aspis ueneficis;[2] animum adhibes ut aper latratibus; placaris ut dipsas cui sol incanduit a cancro; tibi consulis ut spreta Medea;[d] tibi misereris ut equor naufragis. Quod manus contines, reuerencia regie pacis est. Amice, humiliauit se licet citra perfectum[e] domitor orbis fideli suo, et pene pedem retulit quia pene paruit, peneque[f] succubuit quia non plene obediuit,[g] nichil illi humilitas multa profuit, quia non plena. Quid tibi conferet tua tam ferina inhumanitas et rigor inflexus et horror supercilii, qui ultro irruis in latronum insidias inermis? Humilia te sodes ad modum humilitatis eius, qui totum sibi mundum humiliauit, et audi amicum tuum.[h] Et si Cesarem errasse credis, quia[i] consilio non credidit, exaudi et attende quid aliis contigerit, ut tibi prosit eorum[j] lesio. Indempnis est enim castigacio quam persuadent exemplaria. Nescio quo refugio tutus es, aut quo asilo torpescis. Cesar immisericordes perfidos repperit[k] et non est reuersus; tu, si unquam tale gignasium[l] euasisti, pios impios inuenisti.[3]

Phoroneus rex,[4] qui thesauros legum[m] populis publicare non inuidit sed his[n] primus Grecorum studia deaurauit, die qua uiam ueritatis[o] ingressus est, ait Leoncio fratri suo: 'Ad summam felicitatem michi nichil[p] deesset si michi

[a] seua] seria *AB* [b] Tongillo *MS;* Tungilio *A* [c] humiliter aurem *AB* [d] Media *MS* [e] profectum *MS* [f] peneque] et pene *W* [g] non plene obed.] pene obed. et non penitus *W* [h] et audi amicum tuum *om. MS* [i] quia] qui *W* [j] prosit eorum tibi *MS;* tibi prosit aliorum *A* [k] repperit] al. respexit *MS corr. in margin* [l] tales gignasios *W* [m] legum thesauros *W* [n] sed his] sed is *W;* qui *MS in litura* [o] ueritatis] uniuersitatis *Bodley 728;* uniuerse carnis *Digby 67* [p] nichil michi *AW*

[1] Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 168. Atropos was the Fate who finally cut the thread of life. Tongilius is not given as the name of the soothsayer on the Ides of March in any known source; a Tongilius was named by Cicero, *In Catilinam*, ii. 2. 4, as an associate of Catiline. (Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft*, II, viA, 1710).

[2] Cf. Psalm 57 (58): 5.

[3] The argument of this passage is obscure.

[4] Cf. Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, xviii. 3; *Hist. Scholastica*, Genesis, c. 70 (*PL* cxcviii. 1112): 'Phoroneus filius Inachi et Niobes primus Graeciae leges dedit'.

Julius Caesar, for whose greatness a world gave scant space,[1] on the day when Atropos, too severe, dared to snip his noble thread of life, gave ear humbly at the door of the Capitol to Tongilius, one humble indeed, yet heaven-taught, for he foretold the daggers: had Caesar lent his mind as well, those would have been punished who punished him. But you give ear to me who predict your dagger as the adder does to the charmer;[2] you pay attention, as the wild boar to the barking of the hounds; you show as much good temper as the thirsty snake under the white heat of the sun in Cancer; you are as wise in your own interest as Medea when she was cast off; you have as much mercy on yourself as the sea has on wrecked sailors. If you keep your hands off me, it is only out of respect for the king's peace. Friend, the conqueror of the world humbled himself to his faithful servant, though not perfectly, and almost withdrew his foot (from the snare) for he almost obeyed, yet bowed to punishment because he obeyed not fully; his great humility did him no service, because it was not complete. What will you gain by your brutal discourtesy, your unbending stiffness, your shuddering disdain, you who, uncalled, are rushing unarmed into an ambush of robbers? Humble yourself, I pray you, with the humility of him who humbled the whole world, and listen to your friend. And if you think that Caesar erred in not taking advice, hear me out and note what has befallen others, that their hurt may be your profit. That chastisement which examples minister gives no pain. I know not what refuge protects you, or in what sanctuary you are dozing. Caesar found a band of traitors merciless and returned no more. You, if ever you have managed to escape a like battlefield, have found the pious to be pitiless.[3]

King Phoroneus,[4] who did not grudge the publication of laws to the people, but was the first who gilded the studies of the Greeks therewith, on the day when he set out upon the way of all truth, said to his brother Leontius: 'I should have lacked nothing to make me supremely happy, had I

Leontius seems to be an invention of Map's.

Phoroneus is also mentioned by Bernard Silvestris (*Megacosmus*, trans. ed. W. Wetherbee, New York and London, 1973, p. 76; Hinton, *Notes*, p. 455, gives this and other references for this group of stories).

semper uxor defuisset.' Cui Leoncius: 'Et quomodo uxor obstitit?' At ille: 'Mariti omnes hoc sciunt.' Amice, utinam tu[a] semel maritus fueris et non sis, ut scias quid felicitatem[b] impediat.

Valencius imperator[1] octogenarius et adhuc uirgo, cum audisset die fati sui preconia triumphorum suorum recoli, quibus ipse fuerat frequentissimus, ait se tantum una[c] uictoria gloriari,[d] et requisitus 'Qua?' respondit: 'Qua[e] inimicorum nequissimum domui carnem meam.'[2] Amice, hic imperator[f] inglorius migrasset a seculo, nisi ei fortiter[g] restitisset cum qua tu familiariter assensum pepigisti.

f. 46 Cicero post repudium Terencie uxorari noluit, dicens / se pariter uxori et philosophie operam dare non posse.[3] Amice, utinam hoc tibi tuus animus[h] respondeat, uel tua lingua[i] michi, et[j] saltem loquendo[k] eloquencie principem digneris[l] imitari, ut michi spem facias uel uanam.

Canius a Gadibus,[m] poeta facundie leuis et iocunde,[4] reprehensus est a Liuio Peno, graui et uxorato historico,[n] quod multarum gauderet amoribus, his uerbis: 'Nostram philosophiam participare non poteris, dum a tot participaris; non enim eo iecore Iunonem[o] amat Ticius quod multi uultures in multa diuellunt.'[5] Cui Canius: 'Si quando labor, resurgo caucior;[p] si paululum opprimor, alacrius resumo aerem. Vices noctium dies reddunt leciores, sed[q] tenebrarum perpetuitas instar inferni est.[r] Sic lilia primeua uerni solis deliciata[s] teporibus[t] uarietate tum Euronothi[u] tum Zephiri leticia effusiore lasciuiunt, quibus uno spiritu fulmineus Libs[v] occasum facit. Hinc Mars ruptis resticulis in mensa celesti recumbit conuiua superum, a qua uxorius Mulciber[6w]

[a] tu *om. MS B* [b] felicitatis *MS* [c] una tantum *ABW(?)* [d] gloriari uictoria *W* [e] qua] quod *W* [f] imperator *om. W* [g] fortiter ei *W* [h] tuus animus tibi *MS* [i] lingua *suppl. in marg. MS* [j] tua lingua michi et *om. W* [k] loquendo saltem *W* [l] digneris] uelis *AB* [m] Gadibus Herculis *W* [n] historico] historiographo *W* [o] Iunonem] Ciceronem *(marg.* al. Iunonem*) MS* [p] caucior] fortior *W* [q] sed] si *MS; sicut MS corr.* [r] inferni est instar *MS* [s] deliquata *MS* [t] temporibus *MS BW* [u] Euronothi] Euri tum Nothi *W* [v] Libs] Auster *(marg.* al. lips*) MS* [w] multifer *MS;* mulcifer *W*

[1] It is not clear whom Map intended. J.E.L.
[2] Cicero, *De Sen.* c. 47 (quoting Sophocles).
[3] Jerome, *Adu. Jouin.* i, 48 (*PL* 23. 278).

always lacked a wife.' Leontius asked: 'And how did a wife stand in your way?' 'All husbands know that' was his reply. Friend, may you once have been and not be a husband, so as to learn what prevents happiness.

The Emperor Valentius,[1] still chaste at the age of eighty, hearing on his death-day the praises of his triumphs brought to mind—and there had been many of them—said that there was but one victory in which he gloried, and when asked what that was, answered: 'That by which I conquered my flesh, the worst of all my enemies.'[2] Friend, this emperor would have left the world inglorious, had he not stoutly resisted that with which you have made a friendly covenant.

Cicero refused to marry again after divorcing Terentia, saying that he could not spare time at once for a wife and for philosophy.[3] Friend, would that your mind would make that same answer to you, or at least your tongue to me, and that, if only in words, you would deign to copy the prince of eloquence; so you would give me some hope, even were it vain.

Canius of Gades, a poet of light and witty utterance,[4] was blamed by Livy of Carthage, the sage historian and a married man, for the many passions he indulged, in these terms: 'You cannot share our philosophy while so many share you: Tityus cannot love Juno with a liver which many vultures tear in many pieces.'[5] To him Canius: 'If ever I fall, I rise with added caution: if for a moment I sink, I draw breath again with more zest. The change night brings makes the day pleasanter, but a continuance of darkness resembles hell. So the early lilies, bathed in the warmth of the sun of spring, luxuriate in gayer profusion under the changes of the south-east wind and the zephyr, but one breath of the thunderous south lays them low. So too Mars, the strings that held him broken, reclines a boon companion of the gods above at the heavenly table, whence Mulciber[6] the married

[4] The association of Livy and Canius is due to Martial, *Epig.* i, 61, 3, 9, where they come among a list of writers. 'Peno' (of Carthage) is a corruption of 'Aponi' (Bagni d'Albano near Padua). The conversation is doubtless Map's invention (cf. James (1914), p. 267).
[5] Tityus was sent to Tartarus, where vultures tore at his liver perpetually, as a punishment for attempting to rape Leto/Latona (not Juno).
[6] Vulcan (see above, pp. 286–7).

suo fune longe religatur. Sic leuius ligant multa fila quam una[a] cathena, suntque[b] michi a philosophia delicie, tibi solacia.' Amice, utriusque istorum uerba probo, uitam neutrius; minus tamen ledunt multi morbi salutis uicissitudine interpolati quam langor unicus qui doloribus irremediatis non cessat affligere.

Pacuuius flens ait Arrio uicino suo: 'Amice, arborem habeo in orto meo infelicem, de qua se prima uxor mea suspendit, et postmodum secunda, et iam nunc tercia.' Cui Arrius: 'Miror te in tantis successibus lacrimas inuenisse,' et iterum: 'Dii boni, quot dispendia tibi arbor illa suspendit!' et tercio: 'Amice, dede michi de arbore illa surculos quos seram.' Amice, et ego tibi dico, metuo[c] ne et te oporteat arboris illius surculos mendicare cum inueniri non poterunt.[1][d]

Senisit Sulpicius[e] ubi ipsum calceus suus premebat, qui ab uxore nobili et casta diuertit.[2] Amice, caue ne te premat calceus qui[f] auelli non potest.[g]

Ait Cato Vticensis: 'Si absque femina posset esse mundus, conuersacio nostra non esset absque diis.'[3] Amice, Cato non nisi sensa et cognita loquebatur, nec quisquam feminarum execratur ludibria nisi lusus, nisi expertus, nisi pene conscius. Hiis[h] fidem habere decet, quia[i] cum omni ueritate locuntur; hii sciunt ut placet dileccio[j] et pungit dilectum;[k] hii norunt quod flos Veneris rosa est, quia sub eius purpura multi latent aculei.

Metellus Mario respondit, cuius filiam dote diuitem, forma nobilem, genera claram, fama felicem ducere noluit: 'Malo meus esse quam suus.' Cui Marius: 'Immo ipsa tua erit.'[l] At ille: 'Immo uirum oportet uxoris esse; logicum enim est "Talia erunt predicata qualia subiecta permiserint."' Sic facecia uerbi Metelli diuertit ab oneribus dorsum eius.[4] Amice, si uxorari oportet,[m] non expedit quidem. Vtinam

[a] una *MS;* sola *ABW* [b] suntque *MS A;* sic *BW* [c] et . . . metuo] timeo *W (?)* [d] poterint *A* [e] Suplicius *MS* [f] que *MS* [g] possit *AW* [h] hiis igitur *W* [i] quia] qui *W* [j] dileccio] delectacio *BW* [k] delictum *ABW* [l] erit tua *MS* [m] oportet uxorari *MS*

[1] Cicero, *De orat.* ii, 69; the names are added from Aulus Gellius, xiii, 2 (ed. P. K. Marshall, Oxford, 1968, ii. 384), where Arrius is properly Accius.

[2] Jerome, *Adu. Jouin.*, i, 48, *PL*, 23. 279 (cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 141 a, and *Paullus*, 5. 2).

[3] (Pseudo-)Augustine, *Serm.* 194; in the collection of A. Mai, *Nova Patrum*

is far banished, bound by his own rope. Thus a number of threads form an easier bond than a single chain, and from philosophy I derive delight, and you, consolation.' Friend, I approve the speech of both these men, and the conduct of neither; still, many fits of sickness with intervals of health are less injurious than a single ailment which never ceases to vex with pain that cannot be cured.

Pacuvius, weeping, said to his neighbour Arrius: 'Friend, I have a disastrous tree in my garden: my first wife hung herself on it, so did my second later on, and now my third has done the same.' Said Arrius: 'I wonder that after so many strokes of luck you find it in you to weep.' And again: 'Good gods, what expenses has that tree suspended for you!' And a third time: 'Friend, give me some cuttings of that tree to plant.' Friend, I too say to you, I fear you may be driven to beg cuttings of that tree when they are no longer to be had.[1]

Sulpicius found out where his shoe pinched him: he left a wife who was both noble and chaste.[2] Friend, beware lest you be pinched by a shoe which cannot be pulled off.

Said Cato of Utica: 'If the world could be carried on without women, our daily life would not want the company of gods.'[3] Friend, Cato spoke but of what he felt and knew; and no one curses the tricks of women but he who has been tricked, and has tried them and knows the penalty. Such men are to be trusted, for they speak the pure truth: they know how love delights and how the loved one stings: they are aware that the flower of Venus is the rose, and why? because beneath its crimson lurk many thorns.

Metellus made answer to Marius (whose daughter, richly dowered, distinguished for beauty and birth, and unblemished in repute, he refused to marry): 'I would rather be mine than hers.' Quoth Marius: 'Nay, but she will be yours.' 'Nay,' said he, 'the husband is bound to be the wife's; it is a maxim of logic "Predicates will be what their subjects allow."' Thus the wit of Metellus' word shifted the burden from his back.[4] Friend, if it is lawful to marry, it is yet not expedient. Would

Bibliotheca, i (Rome, 1852), p. 454.

[4] The source of this is unknown. On Metellus Numidicus and marriage, see A. Gellius, i. 6 (ed. Marshall, i. 49–51) who confused Metellus Macedonicus with Metellus Numidicus, favoured by Gellius and his contemporaries owing to the praises of Sallust (cf. L. A. Holford-Strevens in *Latomus*, xxvi (1977), 94–5 n. 6).

sit amor non cecus[a] in causa, non census; ut[b] faciem uxoris eligas, non uestem, et animum, non aurum, et tibi nubat uxor, non dos. Sic si quo modo fieri potest, predicari poteris, ut liuorem non ducas a subiecto.

Lais[c] Corinthia, prerogatiua pulcritudinis insignis,[1] tantummodo regum et principum dignabatur amplexus; conata est tamen Demosteni philosopho participare thorum, ut note castitatis eius miraculo soluto uideretur ipsa specie sua[d] lapides mouisse, ut Amphion cythara, attractumque blandiciis attrectat suauiter. Cumque iam Demostenes emolliretur ad thalamos, peciit[e] ab eo Lais centum talenta pro consensu.[f] At ille in celum suspiciens ait: 'Non emo tanti penitere.' Amice, utinam et tu in celum mentis acumen erigas et id[g] effugias quod necesse est penitencia redimi.

f. 46v Liuia uirum suum interfecit quem nimis / odit; Lucilia suum quem nimis amauit.[2] Illa sponte miscuit aconiton, hec decepta furorem propinauit pro amoris poculo. Amice, contrariis contenderunt[h] uotis iste; neutra[i] tamen defraudata est fine[j] fraudis feminee proprio, id est malo. Variis et diuersis incedunt semitis femine; quibuscunque anfractibus errent, quantiscunque deuient inuiis,[k] unicus est exitus, unica[l] omnium uiarum suarum meta, unicum caput et conuentus omnium diuersitatum suarum, malicia. Exemplo[m] harum experimentum cape, quod audax est ad omnia quecunque amat uel odit[n] femina, et artificiosa nocere cum uult, quod semper est; et frequenter cum iuuare parat obest, unde fit ut noceat et nolens. In fornace positus es; si aurum es, exibis purior.[o]

Deianira Tirintium interula uestiuit, et monstrorum malleum monstri sanguine ulta est, sibique processit ad

[a] non cecus *om. BW (fort. recte)* [b] ut] et *W* [c] Lais] Thais *W*
[d] sua specie (specie *in marg.*) *MS* [e] peciit] petiuit *MS* [f] concessu *MS*
[g] et id] ut *W* [h] contendunt *MS* [i] neutra] nostra *(marg.* al. neutra*) MS*
[j] fine] sine *MS A* [k] inuiis] iniciis *(marg.* al. inuiis*)MS* [l] unica] una *W*
[m] Exemplum *MS* [n] odit uel amat *AB* [o] purior] aurum *MS*

[1] Cf. A. Gellius, i. 8 (ed. Marshall, i. 55); Hinton, *Notes*, pp. 455–6 gives other references; the story is told, after Gellius, by John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, vi. 23, ed. Webb, ii. 65), Ralph de Diceto (*Opera*, i. 46) and Giraldus (ii. 172–3, 185). In Giraldus Demosthenes' reply has the word-order of Map; Hinton conjectures that Giraldus may have heard Map tell it rather than that he knew it from the text of the *De nugis*.

that a love, not blind, might be at work, not an income; that you would choose a wife by face, not dress; by mind, not money; and wed the wife, not her dowry. So, if even so it be possible, will you be a predicate, and derive no jealousy from your subject.

Lais of Corinth, famous for pre-eminence in beauty,[1] condescended only to the embraces of kings and princes: yet she desired to share the couch of the philosopher Demosthenes, that by undoing the marvel of his well-known chastity she might by her mere beauty appear to have moved stones, as Amphion did with his harp. He was attracted by her flattery and she wooed him delightfully. And when he was softening to desire of union, Lais demanded of him a hundred talents for her favours. He, looking up to heaven, said: 'I do not pay so high for the privilege of repenting.' Friend, may you too lift your thoughts to heaven and escape that step which has to be expiated by repentance.

Livia murdered her husband whom she hated overmuch, Lucilia hers whom she loved overmuch.[2] The former mixed the aconite on purpose, the latter in error gave him the cup of madness instead of that of love. Friend, these two were actuated by opposite purposes: but neither missed the true end of all women's deceit, I mean harm. Women proceed by many diverse paths; but in whatever zigzags they wander, in whatever blind ways they go astray, the issue is one and the same, the goal of all their ways one, one the fount and common outcome of their diverse natures—and that is mischief. Take the experience of these two as an example; it shows that woman dares all for what she loves or hates, and is clever to do harm when she will—which is always: and often when she wishes to help, hinders; whence it happens that she does hurt even against her will. You are set in a furnace; if you are gold, fine gold you will emerge.

Deianira clad the hero of Tiryns in a shirt, and did vengeance on the hammer of monsters with a monster's

[2] Livia the younger, wife of Drusus, the son of the Emperor Tiberius, and accessory to her husband's poisoning; Lucilia is unknown. She may possibly stand for the wife of Lucretius; according to legend, Lucretius was driven mad by a love-philtre: *Lucretius*, ed. C. Bailey (Oxford, 1947), i. 8–12; E. J. Kenney, *Lucretius* (Greece and Rome, New Surveys in the Classics 11, Oxford, 1977), p. 6.

lacrimas quod ad leticiam machinata est.[1] Amice, traiectum telo Herculis sciuit et uidit Nessum Testias; nichilominus tamen Nesso credidit in Herculem, et quasi sponte, quem uestire debuit interula, uestiuit interitu. Insani capitis et precipitis animi femina illibrata semper uoluntate precipuum arbitratur quod uult, non quod expedit; et ut pre omnibus placere cupit, placitum suum omnibus preferre consulta[a] est. Duodecim inhumanos labores consummauit Hercules;[b] a terciodecimo, qui omnem inhumanitatem excessit, consumptus[c] est. Sic fortissimus hominum eque gemendus ut gemebundus occubuit,[d] qui celi arcem humeris sine gemitu sustinuerat.[e]

Tandem que unquam inter tot milia milium sedulum sollicitumque precatorem perpetua contristauit repulsa? uel que constanter precidit uerba petentis? Fauorem sapit eius responsio, et quantumcunque dura fuerit, semper in aliquo uerbi sui angulo habebit aliquem tue peticionis fomitem implicitum. Quelibet negat, nulla pernegat.[2]

Irrupit aurum in propugnacula turris Acrisii,[3] ualloque multiplici signatam Danes pudiciciam soluit. Amice,[f] sic uirgini que terram triumphauerat de celo pluit incestus; sic quam non[g] fallit humilis uincit sullimis;[h] sic arborem quam non mouit Fauonius euertit Aquilo.

Perictio,[i] uirgo uergens in senium et fama castitatis priuilegiata constanter,[j] tandem Apollinis oppressa fantasmate concepit peperitque Platonem.[4] Amice, ecce[k] quam illibatam seruauerunt uigilie, deflorauit illusio per sompnium, ut semper omne rosarium aliquo turbine sua purpura spolietur.[l] Sed bene (si quid[m] sic bene) quod patrissauit Plato in sapiencia, et quod simul[n] factus est heres numinis et nominis[5 o] patris sui[p] precipui.

[a] consulta *corr. from* consulata *MS* [b] Hercules] Alcides *W* [c] consumptus] exsuperatus *W* [d] eque gemeb. occub. et (ut?) gemendus *W* [e] sustinuit *W (?)* [f] amice *om. W* [g] non] numquam *W* [h] humilis . . . sullimis] mundus . . . sui linus *MS. corr.* [i] Perictio] Fictio *A;* Periccero *B;* Pennutia *(?) W om. MS, which also om. the rest of the paragraph, added in the margin* [j] constanter *om. MS* [k] ecce *om. MS* [l] spoliaretur *MS* [m] quid] quidem *MS* [n] simul] similis *W* [o] nominis *om. MS* [p] sui *om. ABW*

[1] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* ix. 99 ff. She was the daughter of Althaea Thestias, i.e. daughter of Thestius.
[2] Cf. Martial, *Epig.* iv. 81. 5.

blood, and what she had contrived to bring her joy ended in tears.[1] Friend, the daughter of Thestias saw and knew that Nessus was pierced with the arrow of Hercules, yet for all that she took Nessus' word against Hercules, and, as if purposely, clad with a pest him whom she meant to clothe with a vest. Woman, of frenzied brain and hasty soul, ever unbalanced in will, always deems that best which she desires, not that which is expedient; and, as before everything she is anxious to please, is determined to prefer her pleasure to all else. Twelve superhuman labours did Hercules accomplish; the thirteenth, too much even for superhumanity, put an end to him. So fell the strongest of men, alike lamented and lamenting, who without a murmur had borne the high heavens on his shoulders.

Finally, amongst so many millions, did ever one woman sadden a constant and earnest suitor by a permanent denial? Did she consistently silence the suppliant's words? No, her answer has some taste of favour in it, and however hard it is, it will always contain in some nook of its wording a concealed stimulus to your petition. Every one of them refuses, none goes on refusing.[2]

Gold made a breach in the defences of Acrisius' tower[3] and undid the honour of Danae, though sealed by many a fence. Friend, in this way unchastity rained down from heaven on a maid who had triumphed over earth, thus her whom the lowly deluded not the high one overcame; thus the tree which the west wind could not stir was uprooted by the north.

Perictione, a virgin verging on old age and constantly eminent in repute for chastity, at last by a vision of Apollo conceived and bore Plato.[4] Friend, see: she who waking had been chaste was so no more in sleep, as if to show that there is no rose-bed which some wind will not despoil of its crimson. Yet it was well, if any such thing can be well, that Plato took after his father in wisdom and inherited together the godhead and the goodness[5] (name) of his great parent.

[3] Acrisius was Danae's father, who shut her up in the tower, where Jupiter visited her in the form of a shower of gold (see above, pp. 262–3). Map may have in mind Horace, *Carm.* iii. 16. 1–8.
[4] Jerome, *Adu. Jouin.*, i. 42 (*PL* xxiii. 273).
[5] There is a play on *numen* and *nomen*. M.R.J.

[a]Amice, miraris an indignaris magis quod in parabolis tibi significem gentiles imitandos, Christiano ydolatras, agno lupos,[b] bono[c] malos? Volo sis argumentose api similis, que mel elicit ex urtica, ut[d] suggas mel de petra et oleum[e] de saxo durissimo.[1] Gentilium noui supersticionem; sed omnis creatura Dei aliquod habet exemplar honesti, unde Ipse[f] tum leo tum uermis tum aries[g] dicitur. Plurima peruerse agunt increduli, aliqua tamen que,[h] licet in ipsis intereant, in nobis habunde fructum facerent. Quod si illi zonas habuerunt pellicias, sine spe sine fide sine caritate sine predicante, profecto nos si fuerimus asini aut sues aut aliqua inhumanitate brutei,[i] quo fidei quo caritatis quo spei[j] merito digni reperiemur cum uideamus prophetas, apostolos, et precipue precipuum Illum, mundi cordis quem soli cernere possunt oculi?[2] Aut si illi studio suarum arcium se multis conatibus[k] afflixerunt, nullo future felicitatis intuitu, sed tantum ne animas haberent ignorantes, quid nobis erit pro neclecta diuina pagina, cuius finis ueritas est et illuminacio lucerna pedibus et lumen semitis[3] ad lucem[l] eternam? Vtinam hanc eligas, utinam hanc legas, utinam hanc introducas in cubiculum tuum, ut introducat te rex in suum![4] Hanc dudum floribus ueris tui subarrasti; hec in estate expectat tua[m] ut facias uuas; huius in iniuriam non[n] ducas aliam, ne in tempore uindemie facias labruscas.[5] Veneris te nolo fieri sponsum,[o] sed Palladis. Hec te ornabit monilibus preciosis; hec te[p] /
f. 47 induet ueste nupciali.[6] Hee nupcie gloriabuntur Apolline paranimpho; harum fescenninas docebit cedros[q] Libani Stilbon uxoratus.[7] Spem huius tam desiderate solempnitatis deuote concepi, sed in timore.[r] Causa huius tota hec leccio facta est; ad hunc finem tota hec licet lenta properabit oracio

[a] Amice . . . artam *(p. 310: see n. f) om. Digby 67, Bodley 728* [b] lupos] canes *ABW* [c] denique bono *BW* [d] ut et tu *BW* [e] et oleum *MS;* oleumque *AB;* oleum *W* [f] ipse Christus *W* [g] tum aries tum l. tum u. *AW* [h] que] agunt que *MS* [i] brutei] brutorum similes *AB* [j] quo spei quo car. *AB* [k] multis con. *om. MS* [l] lucem] uitam *BW* [m] tua expectat *ABW* [n] non] ne *BW* [o] nolo te sponsum fieri *AB* [p] *post* te *(?)add.* ornabit et *MS* [q] cedrus *MS* [r] sed in timore *om. AB*

[1] Cf. Deuteronomy 32: 13; Ogle, pp. 199–200.
[2] Cf. Clement, *Recog.*, ii. 22 (J. P. Migne, *Patrolog. Graec.*, i. 1260).
[3] Cf. Psalm 118 (119): 105.
[4] Cf. Song of Solomon 1: 3–4 and antiphon based on it: Ogle, pp. 209–10.
[5] Cf. Isaiah 5: 12 (followed by the contrast between Love and Learning or

Friend, are you more surprised or more angry that in my parables I intimate that heathen are to be imitated by you; idolaters by a Christian, wolves by a lamb, bad men by a good one? I would have you resemble the resourceful bee which can draw honey from the nettle; that you should suck honey out of the rock and oil out of the hard stone.[1] I well know the superstition of the heathen; but every creature of God offers us some comely thing to copy, nay, he himself is called at one time a lion, at another a worm, at another a ram. The unbelievers do much amiss, yet some things they do, which though in the doers they come to nought, might in us bear fruit abundantly. Now if they had girdles of skin, being without hope, faith or charity, and without a preacher, and if we have been asses or swine, or in any way of inhumanness, like to the brutes, what wage of faith, charity or hope shall we be found to deserve when we confront the prophets, the apostles and above all him who is above all, whom only the eyes of a pure heart can behold?[2] Or if they afflicted themselves with many efforts in the pursuit of their learning, with no perception of future happiness, but only that their souls might not remain ignorant, what shall be our penalty for neglecting Holy Scripture whose end is truth, and the lighting of a lantern to our feet and a light to our path[3] unto light eternal? This may you choose, this read, this bring into your chamber, that the king may bring you into his.[4] This bride you once betrothed with the flower of your springtime; now, in your summer, she looks that you should bring forth grapes: do not in her despite marry another, lest in the time of vintage you bring forth wild grapes.[5] I would not have you be the husband of Venus, but of Pallas. She will deck you with precious necklaces, will clothe you in a wedding garment.[6] Those espousals will be brilliant with Apollo for groomsman; this bridal song will Stilbon the married teach to the cedars of Lebanon.[7] Of this longed-for festival I have conceived a pious hope, but it is mingled with fear: on its behalf has all this lesson been written; to this end all this speech, slow as it is, is hastening,

Wisdom, Venus and Minerva (Pallas), which Map several times repeated, see pp. 116–17, 222–3, etc.).
[6] Cf. Isaiah 61: 10.
[7] Cf. Martianus Capella, lib i (Stilbon = Mercury); Song of Solomon 5: 15.

huc rigor huius[a] dissuasionis totus[b] armatur, cuius multo calibe preduratos sentis aculeos.

iv. *Conclusio epistole premisse*[c]

Dura est manus cirurgi,[d] sed sanans. Durus est et[e] hic sermo,[1] sed sanus, et tibi utinam tam utilis quam deuotus. Artam, ut ais,[f] infligo[g] tibi uiuendi regulam: esto. Arta enim est[h] uia que ducit ad uitam,[2] nec est semita plana qua itur ad gaudia plena; immo eciam ad mediocria per[i] salebras euadimus.[j] Audiuit Iason[k] quod per mare adhuc tunc nullis deuirginatum[l] ratibus aut remis, et per tauros sulfureos, et per toxicate serpentis uigilias sibi uiandum esset ad aureum uellus; et sano consilio licet non suaui usus abiit et rediit et optabilem thesaurum rettulit.[m] Sic absinthium ueritatis acceptat morose[n] mentis humilitas, fecundat officiosa sedulitas,[3] in fructum producit perseuerancie utilitas. Sic sementem asserit[o] pincerna pluuiarum Auster, consolidat scopa uiarum Aquilo, in ubertatem promouet florum creator Zephirus. Sic dura principia dulci fine munerantur; sic artus callis ad ampla ducit palacia; sic[p] angustus trames ad terram uiuencium.

Sed, ut maiorum testimonio michi fides habeatur,[q] lege Aureolum Theofrasti et Medeam Nasonis,[4r] et uix[s] pauca inuenies impossibilia mulieri.[t]

v. *Finis epistole premisse*

Amice, det tibi Deus omnipotens omnipotentis femine fallacia non falli, et illuminet cor tuum, ne prestigiatis oculis

[a] huc rigor huius] huius rigore *MS* [b] homo totus *MS* [c] *This heading is in MS only* [d] cyrurgici *MS as corrected* [e] et *om. AW* [f] amice artam tibi ut ais *W;* ut ais *om. AB* (artam *is end of lacuna in Digby 67 and Bodl. 728 noted above, p. 308 n. a)* [g] infigo *MS* [h] Est enim *AB;* enim *om. W* [i] per *om. MS* [j] nec est . . . euadimus] immo ad summa queque fastigia per salebras euadimus nec est uia plana que ducit ad gaudia plena *W* [k] Iason *om. MS, add. MS corr.* [l] tunc nullis deuirginatum] tutum intactumque *W* [m] ret⟨t⟩ulit *ABW;* attulit *MS* [n] morose] uiciose *MS. corr.* [o] sementem asserit] sem. exerit *uel* irrigat *W* [p] sic] et *AW* [q] Sed . . . habeatur] Sed ne te longo dispendio suspendam et ut maiore testimonio fides michi adhibeatur *W (fort. recte)* [r] Iasonis *MS W* [s] uix *om. W* [t] mulieri inposs. *MS*

[1] Cf. John 6: 61.
[2] Cf. Matthew 7: 14.

and all the rigours of this dissuasion are brought to bear, the dissuasion whose pricks you feel, pointed as they all are with iron.

4. *Conclusion of the Foregoing Epistle*

Hard is the hand of the surgeon, but healing. Hard too is this discourse,[1] but wholesome, and I wish it may be as profitable to you as it is well meant. You tell me that I am imposing a strait rule of life upon you. Granted. Strait is the way that leadeth to life,[2] and it is no smooth road which you must travel to reach the fullness of joy; nay, even to gain moderate advantages we have to pass through rough places. Jason was told that to reach the golden fleece he must journey by the sea, virgin as yet to any bark or oar, and by the sulphurous bulls, and by the wakeful venomous serpent, and he took advice that was wholesome though not pleasant, and went and returned and brought home the coveted treasure. So does the humility of a well-disposed mind accept the wormwood of truth, and dutiful diligence makes it fertile[3] and useful perseverance brings it to fruit. So again does the south wind, the cupbearer of the rain, make the crop sprout; the north, the besom of the streets, makes it hardy; the west, the creator of flowers, brings it to fruitfulness. So hard beginnings are recompensed by pleasant endings; a narrow track leads to a roomy palace; a strait path to the land of the living.

But, that the evidence of the ancients may lend me credit, do you read the *Aureolus* of Theophrastus and Naso's *Medea*,[4] and you will find that there are hardly even a few things impossible to woman.

5. *End of the Foregoing Epistle*

Friend, may God Almighty grant you not to be deluded by the deceits of almighty woman, and enlighten your heart that

[3] Cf. Horace, *Ep.* i. 7. 8.
[4] Advice not to be taken literally: Ovid's *Medea* was lost long before his time —Map may have known of it from Quintilian (x. 1. 98, ed. M. Winterbottom, ii, Oxford, 1970, p. 587)—and the *Aureolus* of Theophrastus never existed. Map had misread a passage in St Jerome's *Adu. Jouinianum*, i. 47 (*PL* xxiii. 276) where he speaks of 'aureolus Theophrasti liber'—Theophrastus's brilliant book (cf. Webb, p. 123).

tendas quo ego[a] timeo. Sed ne Horestem[1] scripsisse uidear, uale.[b]

Scimus hanc placuisse multis, auide rapitur, transcribitur intente, plena iocunditate legitur. Meam tamen esse quidam, sed de plebe, negant. Epistole enim inuident, decorem suum ei uiolenter auferunt et auctorem. Hoc solum deliqui, quod uiuo. Verumptamen hoc morte mea corrigere consilium non habeo. Nomina nostra nominibus mortuorum in titulo mutaui; sciebam enim hoc placere. Sin autem, abiecissent illam, ut me. Volens igitur huic insulse prouidere paginule, ne mittatur in cenum a sago,[2c] latere mecum eam iubebo. Scio quid fiet post me. Cum enim putuerim, tum primo sal accipiet, totusque sibi supplebitur decessu meo defectus, et in remotissima posteritate michi faciet auctoritatem antiquitas, quia tunc ut nunc uetustum cuprum preferetur auro nouello. Simiarum tempus erit, ut nunc, non hominum, quia presencia sibi deridebunt, non habentes ad bonos pacienciam. Omnibus seculis sua displicuit modernitas, et queuis etas a prima preteritam sibi pretulit; unde, quia non potuerunt epistolam meam, mea spreuerunt tempora. Nec moueor, quia mereor. Hoc solo glorior, quia ab inuidia tutus sum; nichil in me reperiet quod mordere dignetur. Non enim canis os rodit siccum, nec uene uacue adheret hirudo.[3] Karacter hic siccus et exsanguis sola fiet liber inepcia. Si mouerer, et mirarer magis, quod Gillebertus Foliot nunc Lundunensis episcopus, uir morum et sapiencie thesaurus, diues et clarus, stilo limpidissimo lucidus, quia scripsit delirus dictus est, cum nichil apcius suo opere possit inueniri, nisi quia legi mirabilem illum cocum dicentem

Ennius[d] est lectus saluo tibi, Roma, Marone.

[a] ego *om. W* [b] *ABW end here, with the end of the Epistola or Dissuasio*
[c] sago *altered to* fago *MS* [d] Ennius *James;* Eminus *MS*

[1] Map cannot have known at first hand either the *Orestes* of Euripides or the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus. He may be thinking of Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 6 (so James (1914)), which refers to a contemporary tragedy on Orestes too long for the scribe's roll. So, lest his great work be judged overlong, Map brings it to a swift end.

[2] Cf. Martial, i. 3. 8 (addressing his book): 'Ibis ab excusso missus in astra sago'.

[3] Cf. Horace, *Ars poet.* 476.

you go not with bedazzled eyes whither I fear you may. But—lest I be charged with writing a whole Orestes[1]—farewell.

This production I know has caught the fancy of many; it is greedily seized upon, eagerly copied, and read with vast amusement. Some, however—persons of no position—deny that it is by me. They are jealous of the Epistle and therefore strip it by force of its honour and its author. My only offence is, that I am alive; it is, however, one which I have no intention of correcting—by dying. I changed our names for those of dead men in the title, for I knew that would be popular: had I not done so, my book, like myself, would have been thrown aside. So, desiring to protect this foolish little tract from being dropped out of the blanket[2] into the mud, I shall bid it keep close, along with me. I know what will happen when I am gone. When I have begun to rot, the book will begin to gain savour, my decease will cover all its defects, and in the remotest generations my ancientness will gain me dignity: for then, as now, old copper will be of more account than new gold. It will be an age of apes (as it now is), not men; they will scoff at their present, and have no patience for men of worth. Every century has disliked its own modernity; every age, from the first onwards, has preferred the previous one to itself. The result is that as men could not despise my Epistle, they despise the times in which I live. I do not mind that, for I deserve it. My only satisfaction is that I am safe from envy: it can find nothing in me worth biting. No dog gnaws a dry bone; to the emptied vein no leech will stick.[3] My dry and bloodless style will escape by its mere ineptitude. Were I moved, I should be still more surprised that Gilbert Foliot, now Bishop of London, a man who is a treasure-house of goodness and wisdom, wealthy and distinguished, master of a most clear and lucid style, has been called a madman because he has written books, though nothing can be found more fit for its purpose than his work—I say I should be surprised at this, had I not read the words of the marvellous Cook (Martial):

Rome, you read Ennius and leave Maro on the shelf.

Deinde uero plangens Homerum ait:

Et sua riserunt tempora Meonidem.[1]

Quis in scriptis Homero maior? Quis Marone felicior? Quis conuiciatores horum attendens, non ferat suos pacienter? Quis offendatur a malicia sui temporis, cum omnia secula consimilem habuerunt? Scribas ergo, Gilleberte, f. 47v securus, ut / diuine legis inter occulta luceas, dulcesque nodos mellea soluas eloquencia; suaui serenitate salebras apperi salubres asperum planans iter, et reflexos dirige calles.[2] Iam senectus et librorum usus tibi cecitatem inducunt, et tuam faciunt ut dudum cecutientis Meonii suauiloquam senectutem. Iam non corporeis oculis,[3] sed quibus angeli Dominum uident, Ipsum et sua uideas et contempleris, ut per has tenebras te perducat in admirabile lumen suum, qui cum Deo Patre[a] et Spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Iam incipiunt torpere liuidi; meminerunt quidem quid scripserit, resipiscunt et penitent, digni certe penis Empediocis uel Eudonis penitencia. Quis Empediocles uel qua pena decesserit, liquet in auctoribus;[4] sed si placet, Eudonem audiamus.

vi. *De Eudone puero a demone decepto*

Miles quidam ex hiis qui dominici dicuntur in Francia, barones in Anglia,[5] filium unicum Eudonem heredem reliquit diuiciarum magnarum in castellis et uicis et redditibus copiosis, puerum procerum et pulcrum, sed ignauum et stolidum, magnique proditorem patrimonii. Cum ergo stultus et copia non consenescant, factus est in derisum Eudo uicinis, et hereditas eius illis in predam. Singulis igitur porcionibus suis

[a] *MS adds* et filio

[1] Martial v. 10. 7–8.

[2] Cf. Isaiah 40: 2; etc.

[3] Gilbert Foliot was an old man in 1181: he died in 1187. He himself tells us in his Commentary on the *Pater Noster* that he was going blind towards the end of his life (*GFL* no. 271, pp. 334–5); the book here described (if it was ever finished) seems not to have survived; his other known works belong to an earlier part of his life (*GF*, p. 70). The phrase 'in admirabile lumen suum' is an echo of 1 Peter 2: 9.

[4] i.e. that Empedocles (the Sicilian philosopher) threw himself into the crater of Etna, just as Eudo (according to c. 6) threw himself into a fire.

And then he condoles with Homer and says:

His own age laughed at Maeonides.[1]

Now who is greater in his writings than Homer? Who more happy than Maro? Who, when he marks their abusers, will not be content to bear with his own? Who can be offended by the spite of his own time, knowing that it has been the same in every age? Write on, then, Gilbert, and care not; light up the dark places of God's law, and soften their pleasant hardnesses with your honeyed eloquence; with sweet serenity open up the wholesome difficulties, making the rough way smooth, and straightening the winding paths.[2] Age and poring over books are now bringing blindness upon you, and are making your last years tuneful as of old were those of dim-eyed Homer. No longer with your bodily eyes,[3] but with such as angels use to see the Lord, may you view and contemplate him and his works, that through this darkness he may lead you into his marvellous light, who with God the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth God, world without end. Amen.

However the envious ones are now beginning to slacken off; they recollect what he has written, come to a better mind, and repent, though they surely deserve the pains of Empedocles or the penance of Eudo. Who Empedocles was, and in what pains he departed, history tells us plainly,[4] but, if you please, let us hear about Eudo.

6. *Of the Lad Eudo, who was Deceived by the Devil*

A certain knight, one of those who in France are called *dominici*, and in England barons,[5] left an only son Eudo heir to great wealth in the shape of castles, villages, and abundant revenues: the boy was tall and handsome, but indolent and dull, and a waster of his great patrimony. Now, since a fool and his wealth do not grow old together, Eudo became a contempt to his neighbours, and his inheritance a prey to them. One portion after another of his estate

[5] The meaning of this is not entirely clear; but in all probability Map is reproducing the old jibe that many of the English barons were upstarts, and saying that this knight would be called a baron in England, but the lowest kind of knight—a household knight, maintained on the demesne—in France. *Castella* can mean either 'castles' or 'towns'; we have kept James's 'castles', but the meaning here and on pp. 78–9, 330–1, 480–1, is not certain (see p. 266 n. 1).

areptis et direptis, expulsus est fatuus, et diuisus a propria regione, pre pudore transfuga, circuit exul alienas. Cui post diutinam contigit mendicitatem ut die quadam extra ciuitatem in qua mendicauerat cum fragmentis panum sui questus sub umbra proxime silue quiesceret, inspectaque uictus exilis et uiliter conquisiti feda tenuitate, sed et recordato quantum degeneret et quam inconueniens sit suo paupertas generi, prorumpit in lacrimas et in lamenta se proicit, micas pellit et crustulas, uestesque respiciens ad pannositatem nauseat, pallet ad pitaciam,[1] iam se uilem sciens omnibus, ipse sibi uilescit et sordet, et si se possit effugere, non expectet; sedet anceps et fluctuat, et ex incertitudine sui deportatur ab ipso flagiciosus animus; cum ecce subitus ei uir astat mire magnitudinis et multa feditate faciei terribilis, suaui tamen et blando[a] satis ipsum confidere iubet alloquio, mentisque sue sibi diuinat angustias, subsidium spondet, perditas ei promittit diuicias, et adicere desideriis alciora, dummodo se suo subiciat dominio consilioque fruatur. Suspicit ille, stupet et horret ad noui spectacula monstri. Suspectum habet ex 'dominio' demonem, ait tamen: 'Tu quis es? Nonne tu[b] nostrum Eue tuis persuasisti consiliis exilium? Qui armasti Caim in Abel, qui Cam patris fecisti derisorem, Pharaonem tyrannum in populum Israel, populum obstinatum in Moysen, Datan inuidum in Aaron, Architopel periurum in Dauid, Absalon animo patricidam, Jezabel facto detestabilem tuis adinuencionibus reddidisti? Quid autem tuarum conor agmina fallaciarum enumerare, cum innumera sint, et cum nec una sit uel fuerit quam tu non creaueris? Et finem earum quis ignorat? Quis tuorum nescit consiliorum exitus et promissionum retribuciones pessimas? Quis non omnis milicie tue dampnosa nouit stipendia? Scimus quod omnes occupant recia tua semitas, et omnis

[a] blando *James;* blande *MS* [b] *Perhaps* tu es qui *James; the passage is obscure and might be improved by emending* persuasisti *(possibly to* procurasti, *Brooke)*

[1] The MS reads *pitaciam*; James amended to *pitanciam*, pittance; but it seems more likely that Map was thinking of the rare word *pittacium*, used in Joshua 9: 5 of a patch on a shoe. The form in Joshua is *pittaciis*, and either Map thought it came from nom. sing. *pittacia*, or his scribe has added *-m* in error.

was seized and torn from him, and the poor fool was cast out, and leaving his own neighbourhood, banished by shame, he wandered an exile in districts unknown to him. After a long course of begging he happened one day, outside the town in which he had been begging, to be resting under the shade of a wood near by with the bits of bread he had gathered, and when he looked on the wretched scantiness of his mean diet meanly got, and remembered the depth of his degradation and how ill his poverty became his birth, he burst into tears and lamentations, threw down his crumbs and crusts; looking on his clothes he sickened at their raggedness and turned pale at their patches;[1] the knowledge that everyone held him cheap made him cheap and mean in his own sight, and could he have escaped from himself he would not have delayed an instant. In perplexity and vacillation he sat there, and in his self-doubt his miserable mind began to wander out of itself: when on a sudden there stood by him a man of wondrous stature and a visage terrible in ugliness, who yet bade him be confident with a sufficiently pleasant and friendly greeting, divined the anguish of his soul, offered help, promised him the wealth he had lost, and the addition of yet more than his heart's desire, provided he would submit himself to his lordship and follow his advice. Eudo looked up, was thunderstruck and horrified at the sight of this new portent. The word lordship made him suspect that it was a demon, but he said: 'Who are you? Was it not you whose advice and persuasion of Eve caused our exile? who armed Cain against Abel, made Ham the mocker of his father, who by your contrivances rendered Pharaoh a tyrant to the people of Israel, and that people stubborn to Moses, made Dathan jealous of Aaron, Ahithopel forsworn to David, Absalom a parricide in intent, Jezebel abominable in act? But why attempt to count the long line of your deceits, which are uncounted? there is not and never has been one which was not due to you. And the end of them, who knows it not? Who but knows the issue of your counsels, the terrible payment of your promises? Who is unacquainted with the disastrous wages of all who serve under you? Well we know that in all paths your nets are spread, and all

esca tua semper in hamis. Venit en ista blandicies in hamo, quam si deglutiero, preda sum.'

Hec ait et infremuit, totoque stupidus hesit horrore. Nec mirum; horrent enim, ut aiunt, quibus de nocte proximi sunt fures aut cerue. De cerua, nescio racionem, sed fures horripilacionem non faciunt, sed qui cum eis comitantur
f. 48 demones. Hic / igitur 'expauit merito cui proximus est Satan astans'[1] et aloquens in uera uisione secum. Sic miser diu disputat: 'Si quod iubet hic egero, deceptus sum, infernus domus mea est; sin autem, manus eius non effugiam.'[2]

Tum ille, qui solerter ex omnibus ab inicio collegit astuciam, coniectans quid esset in causa more, subintulit: 'Non te turbet timor inferni, quia longeuus es, et tibi longa satis penitencie tempora restant. Addo quod ante mortem tuam te tribus premuniam signis manifestis,[3] tempore competenti, uicibus interpolatis, ut inter singula spacium habeas penitudinis. Sed non credes; ais enim 'si blandiciem tuam deglutiero, preda sum.' Hec nobis inflixit a casu Luciferi Dominus nostre gentis odia dedecusque perpetuum, unde cum distinguendum sit, nocentes et innocentes pari persecucione dampnatis. In primeua namque superbia quam ex noui plenitudine decoris nostra contraxit ingrata Deo familia, choruscum illum principem multi secuti sunt ad aquilonem,[4] alii scismatis artifices, alii coadiutores, alii seductores aliorum, alii consencientes, alii dubii quid ageretur, omnes contra Deum superbi uel sapiencie necligentes. Deiecti sunt igitur a uindice dextera, tam librata, tam iustissima lance, quod non defuit ignorancie uenia nec inquitatis ulcio. Fit igitur inde quod qui plus cruciantur ex inmanitate meriti plus affectant ex innata nequicia ledere. Sunt autem ex his magnatibus hi quorum cupit et potest inmanitas ardua scandala, que uitanda censes, efficere. Sunt autem hii qui merito timentur, in quorum manus dati sunt reprobi,[a] quos completa dampnauit iniquitas. Isti sibi traditos docti sunt copia stabilire, promouere successu,

[a] reprobi, *obscure in MS, perhaps* improbi, *as Wright*

[1] *expauit . . . astans* appears to be a hexameter, but its source has not been identified.

[2] Cf. Job 17: 13, Daniel 13: 22.

[3] Cf. Hinton, *Notes*, p. 456.

[4] Cf. Isaiah 14: 12–13.

your bait is ever on the hook. And this smooth address of yours comes with a hook, and if I swallow it, I am your prey.'

Thus he spoke, and shuddered, and stiffened all over in horror. No wonder; for they say that if thieves or hinds come near one at night, one bristles with fear. As to the hinds, I know no reason for that; but it is not the thieves that cause the bristling, but the devils who are in their company. So this man naturally was horrified with Satan standing close to him[1] and speaking to him in a real vision. And long the wretched one debated thus: 'If I do as he bids, I am deluded, hell is my abode: if I do not, I shall not escape his hands.'[2]

Then the other, who from the beginning has gathered craft from every quarter, guessing what caused his hesitation, observed: 'Do not let the fear of hell trouble you, for you have a long life before you, and ample time for repentance is left you. More, before your death I will forearm you by three plain tokens,[3] at the proper time, and at intervals, so that after each you may have room to repent. But you will not believe me; you say: "If I swallow your smoothness I am your prey." That is the hatred, and the lasting disrepute of our race, which the Lord has inflicted on us ever since Lucifer's fall, and hence when you ought to make a difference, you condemn the harmful and the innocent with equal virulence. For in that first fit of pride which our tribe, unthankful to God, contracted from the fullness of our new beauty, many followed that shining prince to the North;[4] some were fosterers of the schism, some helpers, some seducers of others, some acquiescing, some uncertain of what was afoot, but all proud against God, or careless of prudence. So they were cast down by the avenging hand, and the balance was so poised, and so wholly even, that there was not wanting either forgiveness of ignorance or punishment of iniquity: thence it is then, that those who suffer worst because of their awful desert, try to do worst harm because of their inborn wickedness. Of these magnates there are some whose towering cruelty lusts after, and can perform, those intrigues which you wish to escape, and these are they whom it is right to fear; into their hands are the reprobates delivered who are damned by their fulfilled iniquity. Those are commissioned to strengthen with resources those who are given over to them, to push them on by success,

defensione tutos, prouidencia cautos reddere. Faciunt autem hec hiis quorum eis prosperitas utilis est, et salua dampnacio cum uoluerint. Hii blandiuntur ut perdant, eleuant ut allidant; hii merito detestabiles orbi predicantur. Et heu! nos illa fucamur innocentes infamia. Procul enim a nobis sunt rapine peculiorum, subuersiones urbium, sanguinum sitis et fames animarum, et plus mali uelle quam possumus. Sine morte nobis sufficiat nostram omnino complere licenciam. Ridiculis fateor et ludificacionibus apti, prestigia struimus, fingimus imaginaciones, fantasmata facimus, ut ueritate contecta uana ridiculaque simultas appareat. Omne quod ad risum est possumus, nichil quod ad lacrimas. Ex illis enim exulibus celi sum, qui sine coadiutorio uel consensu culpe Luciferi uagi post fautores scelerum fatue ferebamur. Quos si deicit indignos celo Dominus indignans, misericorditer tamen tum in uastitate solitudinis tum in locis habitacionis pro qualitate delicti puniri permittit. Nos antiquitus populi decepti dixere semideos aut semideas, pro forma corporis assumpti uel apparicionis nomina ponentes discretiua sexus. Ex locis autem incolatus uel permissis officiis distinccius appellamur Monticole, Siluani, Driades, Oreades, Fauni, Satiri, Nayades, quibus ex eorum inposicione presunt Ceres, Bacus, Pan, Priapus et Pales.[1] Verumptamen que uidimus ab inicio notauimus,[2] quia concessa nobis a Deo rerum cognitarum experiencia, docemur astuciam, et ex preteritis futura conicere; presencia quoque sicut spiritus, ubicunque moramur aut quocunque terrarum transferimur,[a] metiri certissime scimus, nostrisque deditis et susceptis palam facere curamus, ut proinde status omnium hominum manifestos habeant, possintque si uelint in incautos

[a] transferrimur *MS*

[1] Cf. Jupiter's words in Ovid, *Met.*, i. 192–5:

> sunt mihi Semidei, sunt rustica numina, Nymphae
> Faunique Satyrique et monticolae Siluani;
> quos, quoniam caeli nondum dignamur honore,
> quas dedimus, certe terras habitare sinamus.

(Cf. also Lucan, iii. 402–3.)

The punctuation of this passage is not clear: Map may intend *monticole* as an adjective for *Siluani*, as in Ovid—'Wood-men of the hills'. The list of rulers is not meant to coincide precisely with the list of nymphs etc.: Pales, like Pan, was a shepherd God, whereas the Naiads were water-nymphs; Fauns and Satyrs

to make them safe by defence, and wary by foresight, and this they do for those whose prosperity profits them, and whose damnation is sure when they want it. These flatter to destroy, raise up to dash down; rightly are they proclaimed to the world as detestable. And alas! we harmless ones are stained by their ill repute. For indeed far from us are the plundering of property, the overthrow of cities, the thirst for blood and the hunger for souls, and the wish to do more harm than we can achieve. It would content us to fulfil our whole desire without causing death. Skilled in comical tricks and delusions, we do, I confess, cast glamour, contrive hallucinations, cause apparitions so as to veil reality and produce a false and absurd appearance. We can do anything that makes for laughter, but nothing that makes for tears. Now I am one of those exiles from heaven who, without abetting or consenting to the crime of Lucifer, were foolishly and unthinkingly carried away in the train of his accomplices. And though the Lord in anger casts us out as unworthy of heaven, he yet mercifully allows us to suffer our penalty either in the solitude of the desert or in inhabited places, according to the degree of our transgression. In old times the deluded people called us demi-gods or demi-goddesses, giving us names distinctive of sex, agreeable to the shape of the body or the appearance we put on: and from the places we dwelt in or the functions allowed to us we are called Hill-men, Wood-men, Dryads, Oreads, Fauns, Satyrs, Naiads, and our rulers (thus christened by the people) Ceres, Bacchus, Pan, Priapus, and Pales.[1] However, all that we have seen from the beginning we have noted,[2] for since God has allowed us to learn the things that are known, we acquire cleverness, and the power of conjecturing the future from the past. We also as spirits know how to judge present happenings, wherever we dwell and to whatever quarter of the earth we move, and to those who submit to us and are received by us we take care to reveal them, so that to them the situations of all men are accordingly manifest, and they can at will make sudden attacks

(identified by the Romans) were attendants on Bacchus; statues of Priapus, a fertility-god, were put in gardens and vineyards by the Romans, and in the Vulgate, 3 Kings (1 Kings) 15: 13, he is identified with a Semitic deity. Map is simply trotting out a list of types and names of demigods. The phrase 'ex eorum inposicione' is curiously vague.

[2] Cf. 1 John 1: 1.

irrumpere subiti, paucisque surripere multitudinem, et totas tractare pro uoto prouincias, nec nobis interesse licet si prophana peregerint. Manifestare possumus eis, ipsi secundum quod sunt miserentur aut perdunt. At tu nos ex librorum times sentenciis, cum non simus ex his qui caueri docentur. Immo certe meo fratrumque meorum consilio tua sperabitur[a] a uenatoribus animarum condicio, fatalemque tibi prenunciabimus diem, ne, quod ipsi cupiunt, obdormias in mortem.[1] Preuidebimus enim tibi pro salute
f. 48v tua / diem tuum, ut possis illum penitencia preuenire. Nec fallemur, omnium enim rerum experienciam didicimus, tam celestis quam terrene periciam phisice, scilicet astrorum, specierum, herbarum, lapidum et lignorum noticiam, causasque rerum omnium; unde sicut tu solem a die media descensurum scis et ad occidua uergentem cognoscis, horamque sui notas occasus, sic nos fallere non potest finis euerse carnis uel ad ruinam preparate. Sumus autem ex hac sciencia nostraque mansuetudine boni consilii magnique, cum permittit Dominus, auxilii. Quid moraris aut hesitas? Vt scias quod non scelerose uel crudeliter agamus, unam audi, si placet, ulcionem, qua frater meus Morpheus in monachum animaduertit, quam nos crudelem dicimus.[2]

'Pictor erat monachus, et sui sacrista monasterii. Quociens autem contingebat monachum nocturnis ymaginacionibus uexari, quibus preesse Morpheum sciebat, in ipsum omnia congerebat maledicta, cumque dabatur oportunitas et quandocunque parietibus, cortinis, fenestris uitreis ipsum defiguratissime pingebat et fidissime.[b] Quem per sompnia frequenter hortabatur et exorabat Morpheus ne personam suam deuenustaret ad tantum populi derisum, et tandem eum amonuit desistere sub interminacione consimilis iacture. Monachus autem minas et preces et sompnia paruipendens non abstitit. Morpheus igitur nocturnis apparicionibus illius uicinie uiris optimis persuasit xenia monacho

[a] *perhaps for* spectabitur *Brooke* [b] *perhaps for* fedissime *Brooke*

[1] Cf. Psalm 12: 4.

[2] The story which follows seems to be based on two which appear in early collections of the 'Miracles of the Virgin': the monk-painter who offended the devil by giving him a hideous shape, and the sacrist who eloped. See A. Mussafia, *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Classe*, cxiii (1886), 984; Hinton, pp. 456–7; for the origin of the collections of 'Miracles',

on an unprepared enemy, surprise a great host with a small force, and handle whole provinces as they like: nor are we permitted to be with them if they commit profane acts. We can show them opportunities; they as their disposition leads them can spare or destroy. But you are afraid of us, on the authority of books, whereas we are not of those whom you are warned to beware of. Rather, under advice of me and my brothers, your being shall be preserved (?) from the hunters of souls, and we will forewarn you of the day of your death, that you may not, as they would have you, sleep into death.[1] For we will predict to you your last day for your soul's health, that you may prepare for it by penance: nor shall we make a mistake about it, for we have gained experience of all things, skill in physics both celestial and terrestrial, the knowledge, I mean of stars, spices, herbs, stones, and trees, and the causes of everything; and hence, just as you know that after noonday the sun will go downward, and recognize that it is verging towards the west, and note the hour of its setting, so we cannot err about the end of a body that is undermined or ready to fall, and this knowledge and our kindly disposition make us good counsellors and, when the Lord permits, powerful helpers. Why do you linger and hesitate? That you may know that our ways are not criminal or cruel, let me tell you, please, of one punishment which my brother Morpheus inflicted on a monk, and which we should call cruel.[2]

'The monk was a painter, and sacrist of his monastery, and every time that he chanced to be vexed by nightly phantasies, of which he knew Morpheus to be the presiding genius, he heaped on him all possible abuse, and on every opportunity that was given him, portrayed him upon walls, hangings, and glass windows in the ugliest form and with relentless accuracy. Morpheus repeatedly ordered and besought him in dreams not to uglify his figure and make him such an object of popular derision, and finally warned him to desist, threatening him with a similar loss of repute; but the monk took no notice of threats, dreams, or entreaties, and did not desist. Morpheus, therefore, by means of nocturnal visions, induced the noblemen of the neighbourhood to send the monk

R. W. Southern in *Med. and Renaissance Studies*, iv (1958), 176–216; for a story close to the second, taken from life, Giraldus, *Opera*, vi. 59.

mittere, uinum, escas, argentum, aurum, anulos, nebrides a sinibus uxorum raptas, homini scilicet in his que pertinent ad Domini famulatum laboranti, sepius occupato ne possit epulari cum fratribus, ornatum altarium, uestium, librorum procuranti, semper autem oranti pro fidelibus, quasi dicerent "ne uel in uictualibus deficiat homo tante religionis uel uir tantarum arcium in gerendarum materia rerum senciat inopiam". Impinguatus igitur in breui monachus, incrassatus, dilatatus recalcitrauit,[1] et ignorans quo duceretur a deliciis, a uino uenit in Venerem, uiduamque uici proximi pulcherrimam adamauit, et cum se sciret ad amorem ineptum tam facecie defectu quam feditate faciei, muneribus intendit armare fallaciam. Hec autem iacula post repulsam pulcritudinem et faciei facibus extinctis uerborumque fascino retroacto, post omnes Minerue triumfos penetrare dicuntur egidem.[2] Duram et rebellem prima repererunt donaria, sed inproba tandem instancia uicerunt. Votis igitur conuenientibus, non erat eis locus conueniens. Inpediebat apud ipsam hominum feminarumque frequencia, penes ipsum reuerencia monasterii. Cupiebatur hinc Veneris opus et illinc, et utrinque timebatur infamia. Voluptati tandem querentibus aptitudinem occurrit, surreptis ecclesie thesauris uidueque diuiciis opulenter effugere presenciam obtrectancium et populi tumultum, ut in absentes loquantur; liceat omnibus quecunque uoluerunt; dum simul lateant, non erubescent in loco silencii. Noctu fugiunt, ut preparauerant.

'Euigilant in hora sinaxis ex more monachi, queruntur horam transisse pulsandi, causam querunt, altare philateriis nudatum uident, scrutantur arcius et non inuentis thesauris sciscitantur ubi sacrista, secuntur eum et consequuntur. Illa dimittitur, de qua nichil ad eos; at ille miser ferreis inicitur uinculis, et in carcere linquitur altissimo solus, aqua uinum, fame cibum, exili uictu crapulam plectens, nuditate pellicias, harene redimens asperitate stratorum mollicies,

[1] Cf. Deuteronomy 32: 15.

[2] The shield of Minerva as goddess of war; the defence, that is, of the embattled female.

presents, wine, edibles, silver, gold, rings, deerskins taken from the bosoms of their wives, for a man, said they, who busies himself about the things that belong to God's service, and is often so engaged that he cannot feast with his brethren, who sees to the decking of altars, vestments, and books, and is ever praying for the faithful: saying in effect, "We will not have a man of such devotion want even for food, or so great an artist feel stinted in the material for the work he carries on." In no long time the monk waxed fat, waxed gross, swelled, and kicked,[1] and, little knowing whither luxury was leading him, passed from wine to Venus, and fell in love with a comely widow of the neighbouring town, and, as he knew himself unapt for love, because he both lacked polish and was ugly in face, aimed at reinforcing his designs by gifts. Darts of this kind, it is said, will pierce the aegis,[2] even after all the victories of Minerva, when beauty has been repulsed, and the fires of the face quenched, and the glamour of speech driven back. The first presents found her hard and repellent, but they overcame her by their obstinate persistence. But when their desires were agreed, there was no place convenient for them. At her house the number of men and women was an obstacle, at his the respect due to a monastery. Both wished for love's embrace, but both dreaded ill fame. In their quest for satisfaction it at last occurred to them to make off with the treasures of the church, and the widow's wealth, and, so enriched, to escape the presence of accusers and the popular clamour: let them speak their will against the absent: let all be free to do as they pleased; so long as they two were safe in hiding together, they would not blush in the silence of their hiding place. So they fled as they had planned, by night.

'The monks awoke as usual at the hour of service, and complained that it was past the time of the bell-ringing. They inquired the reason, found the altar bare of its shrines, searched more narrowly, found no treasures, asked where was the sacrist, followed him and overtook him. The lady they let go, as being no concern of theirs, but the other, poor wretch, was put into iron bolts, and left alone in the deepest dungeon to mortify his wine with water, his food with hunger, his excesses with a meagre diet, and to pay for his fine raiment with nakedness, for the softness of his bed with the roughness of the sand,

sobrietate coacta crapulam, cruce carceris thalamorum delicias, lucem obscuritate, merore leticiam. Cui post
f. 49 multam affliccionem Morpheus / astat insultans. "Hec sunt" inquit "picture tue digna stipendia; pingebas, et ego de retribucione studebam. Hec arte mea, non uirtute sed permissione Dei, perpetrata scias et sencias. Licet eciam si uelim in te seuire durius, quia tollens membra Christi fecisti membra meretricis.[1] Nichil habes defensionis contra meos impetus, sed nec tibi licet pro cathenis manus erigere ut signo crucis armeris. Sed iam certe, quia uictor sum et tu uictus et uinctus miserabiliter, miseret me tui, teque iam ab his eripiam uinculis, et quasi non fueris is qui probra fecerit, delicti tui delebo fidem, fameque restituam pristine, dummodo iures ut nulla me de cetero pictura deformes." Iurauit monachus. Morpheus eum appositis herbis et uiolencia carminis absoluit, seque monacho similem factum cathenis eisdem alligat. Monachus igitur instructus ab ipso quid ageret, lecto solito decumbit, orat, gemit, tussit ut audiatur, horamque nactus consuetudinalem surgit, pulsat; conuocantur et conueniunt monachi. Ille substitutus ei post fugam in officio suo primus aduertit quod redierit a uinculis; abbatem hoc edocet et monachos. Mirantur, accurrunt, querunt quis eum soluerit. Ille querit a quibus uinculis. Dompnus abbas ei fugam obicit et uidue raptum furtumque thesauri, cathenas et carcerem. Hic omnia constantissime negat. Non uidit uiduam nec sensit uincula; manum eleuat et magna cruce coram se facta uesanos eos dicit. Rapitur ergo uiolenter ad carcerem, ut iterum iniciatur uinculis. Reperitur ibi ligatus consimilis, frater meus, contorquens os nasum et oculos, et pingens eis multimodas ciconias.[2a] Respectant hinc inde monachi, similitudinem

[a] pingens . . . ciconias, *Bradley (cf. n. 2);* fingens . . . yconias *MS. It is just possible that the latter is a deliberate malapropism* (yconias = icones)

[1] Cf. 1 Corinthians 6: 15.
[2] Cf. Persius, i. 58 (and above, p. 16 n. 2).

for his satiety with enforced sobriety, for the pleasures of love with the torment of a prison, for light with darkness, for mirth with mourning. After a long period of such affliction Morpheus appeared to him, taunting him. "This", said he, "is a proper payment for your painting; you painted away, and I thought out my recompense. I would have you know and realize that this has been wrought by my desire, by the permission, not the power, of God, and I might if I pleased exercise greater severities upon you, inasmuch as you have taken the members of Christ and made them the members of a harlot.[1] You have no protection against my attacks, your manacles prevent you from even raising your hands to arm yourself with the sign of the Cross. But of a truth, now that I have the best of it and you the worst, and are miserably fettered, I am sorry for you and will now set you free from these bonds, and destroy all belief in your crime, making men think that you were not he who did the shameful act, and will restore you your former good name, provided you swear that hereafter you will not make me hideous in any representation." The monk took the oath. Morpheus released him by applying a plant to his fetters and by a potent charm, and then making himself exactly like the monk, bound himself with the same chains. The monk, instructed by him what he was to do, went and lay down on his usual bed, said prayers, grunted and coughed in order to be heard, and when the regular time came, rang the bell, the monks were summoned, and assembled. The one who had been put into our friend's office after his flight was the first to notice that he had come back from prison. He informed the abbot and the brethren. In astonishment they ran to the spot and asked who had released him. "Released?—from what chains?" he inquired. The lord abbot charged him with his flight, the abduction of the widow, the theft of the treasure, the fetters and the dungeon. He persistently denied the whole: had never seen the widow or felt the fetters; with raised hand, he made a great sign of the Cross before him, and declared they were mad. He was roughly hurried to the dungeon to be ironed afresh. There they found one in bonds exactly like him, my brother to wit, writhing his lips, nose, and eyes, and making a thousand grimaces at them.[2] The monks glanced from one to the other,

liberi stupent et ligati, miranturque quod utrumque uident in altero, preter quod monachus flet, ille ridet et deridet eos; et ut monachus discredi non possit, cathenis exilit abruptis in aera cum magno foramine tecti. Stupet abbas et conuentus, pedibusque flentis et irati fratris aduoluti ueniam errori suo petunt; fantastica se dicunt illusione deceptos. Viduam eciam solari satagunt, et eos deinceps omni suspicione semota famaque firmius restituta reuerencius habuerunt.

'Hec Morpheum fecisse scias, et me fratrem eius, qui talibus et tam urbanis frequenter usi lusibus, non trahimus ad gehennam, non in inferno torquemus, non cogimus ad peccata quempiam, nisi uenialia tantum. Inter uiuos ludicris exercitamur, aut serio iocundo. Nichil ad nos de mortuis, uel perdendis animabus. Crede michi solum in hoc, ut iunctis manibus tuis inter meas michi fidelis existas, et omnium inimicorum tuorum dominaberis.'[1]

Hiis et huiusmodi seductus fabulis, Eudo libens adquiescit in pactis, sibi iurato promissoque firmiter quod ei tribus signis mortem cum fuerit proxima prenunciabit. Recedunt simul, et per quascunque transeunt prouincias collegas sibi colligunt sine lege uispiliones. Die dormiunt; nocte uero, scelerum amica, furtorum fautrice, per inuia furtim errant, nec ignoranter deuiant. Dux enim eorum Olga, quem nulla latet semita, quem eciam, postquam uentum est ubi delinquendum erat in prouincia Beluaci, consiliarium, exploratorem, stimulum, instigatorem crudelitatis habent, et omnis iniquitatis quam exercere solent exercitus qui se tali domino committunt ut committantur. Fallit autem auctor fallacie phalanges plurimas suis associari
f. 49v domesticis. Coniurant in patres filii, iu/uenes in senes, in amicos amici, totaque libertate de plano ruit in innocenciam malicia. Plene penitusque cedit eis in predam prouincia.

[1] Cf. Psalm 9: 26 (10: 5). For the act of homage, cf. above, ii. 23 (cf. Tupper and Ogle for the popularity of homage to the devil in later medieval art).

and were confounded at the likeness between the bound man and the free, and marvelled at seeing each reflected in either, save that the monk was in tears and the other laughing and mocking at them. Then, that the monk might by no possibility be discredited, he snapped the fetters and leapt forth into the air, leaving a large hole in the roof. The Abbot and convent were dumbfounded; falling at the feet of their weeping and angry brother they besought him to forgive their mistake: they had been deluded by a phantasm, they said; they did their best also to console the widow, and ever after, banishing all suspicion, they held both in great respect, and their reputation stood higher than before.

'This, I tell you, Morpheus did, and I am his brother, and we often indulge in such amusing jests. We do not drag men to hell nor torment them there, we do not drive anyone to sin, except venial sin. Among the living we practise laughable tricks or make earnest jest: with the dead or with the destruction of souls we have no concern. On that point at least believe me, and so put your hands together and lay them between mine and become my liege man, and you shall have the mastery over all your enemies.'[1]

Deceived by these and similar stories Eudo cheerfully assented to the pact, when it had been sworn and firmly promised that his death, when it drew near, should be heralded to him by three tokens. They went off together, and in all the districts they traversed they gathered lawless brigands to their company. By day they slumbered, but when night came, the friend of crime and patroness of theft, they roamed stealthily through pathless tracts, yet did not stray at random; for their chief was Olga, to whom no track was unknown, and whom, when they reached the scene of their plotted crimes, the district of Beauvais, they had as adviser, scout, encourager and egger-on to cruelty, and to all the wickedness that a troop would practise which committed itself (to be in the end committed indeed) to such a master. Insensibly the fount of guile contrived that many squadrons should be added to his servants. Sons conspired against fathers, youths against old men, friends against friends, and with complete licence malice attacked innocence on level terms (?). Wholly and utterly the province passed into their hands, a prey.

Supra modum timentur, quia sine modo seuiunt. Omnem omnium eos edocet statum Olga, magister Eudonis et dominus (hoc ei nomen suum confessus est doctor eius), qui cum mendacii sit amator et auctor, ea suis ueritate fidelis est, qua magis quam mendacio nocere potest. Hinc omnes cauere sciunt insidias et inprouisos ubique surripere. Quocunque raptum prosiliunt, more formicino reuertuntur honusti. Vacuantur igitur a facie furentum castella cum uillis, et ab ipsis occupantur.

Iam sua plene possidet et potenter inuadit aliena, quique fuerat ignauus et iners, frequenti successu fit astutus et audax, et in omni sperans discrimine similia perpetratis. Cum autem sit uictoriosus ad uotum, nulla placet ei sine strage uictoria; diem perdidit qua numerum sciuit perditorum. Super omne quod expedit delicie sibi sunt prede clericorum et rapine de patrimonio Christi. Animaduertunt igitur districcius in ipsum Beluacensis episcopus, metropolitanus, et summus pontifex, plenaque populi malediccio. Sed ceco ponunt offendiculum et maledicunt surdo; dissimulanter enim et indignando pertransit, oculos habens et non uidens, aures habens et non audiens.[1] Placet igitur impio domino seruus nequam, quem sanguine replet, cadauere ditat, seuicia iugi letificat, indomita complacat rabie, et ad scelerum suorum saciandam esuriem castra suis implet complicibus. Malis ubique pessimos preficit, uires illis adicit et potestatem auget qui nequius in innocentes insurgunt, et qui misereri nesciunt super omnes constituit. Nulli suorum parcit qui parcere uelit, nullum ei bonum impunitum, nullum malum irremuneratum;[2] et cum nec parem in terra nec rebellem reperit, instar Capanei a celo prouocat inimicos. Cimiteria spoliat, uiolat ecclesias, nec timore uiuorum nec pietate mortuorum absistit; et ualde

[1] Cf. Leviticus 19: 14; Psalm 113, 2 (115): 5, 6; 'seruus nequam' below is an echo of Matthew 18: 32.

[2] Cf. Lotharius (Pope Innocent III), *De contemptu mundi*, iii, 15 (*PL* 217. 745): 'Ipse est iudex iustus . . . qui . . . nullum malum praeterit impunitum, nullum bonum irremuneratum relinquit' (written *c.* 1191; Bradley, who noted this (p. 397), suggested that Map's passage was probably later than 1191, but he also noted the possibility that Lotharius was quoting an earlier writer. This seems probable, since the coincidence is slight ground on which to redate this part of the

They were above measure feared, for their ferocity was without measure. Olga, the master and lord of Eudo (that Olga was his name the teacher had confessed), kept them informed of all the circumstances of everyone; for though he is the lover and fount of lies, he is honest with his servants about those truths which can do more hurt than a lie. Thus the band were able to escape all ambushes and to fall on the enemy unprepared at any time. To whatever quarter they darted on a raid, they returned from it loaded like ants: and thus before their fury castles and villages were cleared of their inmates and occupied by the robbers.

Eudo now possessed his own estates in full and made mighty inroads upon those of others; and he who had once been slack and lazy was made clever and bold by his frequent successes, and in every encounter expected a result like that of the last. But when sated with victories no victory satisfied him without carnage: the day was lost on which he could count the slain. He delighted beyond all decent limits in spoil won from the clergy and in the rapine of the patrimony of Christ. He was in consequence severely denounced by the Bishop of Beauvais, the archbishop, and the supreme pontiff, and the general curse of the people. But they set a stumbling-block for the blind, and cursed the deaf; for he passed by it all unnoticing and disdainful, having eyes and seeing not, having ears and hearing not.[1] The impious master therefore delighted in that wicked servant, whom he gorged with blood, enriched with corpses, made merry with continual savagery, and appeased with untamed frenzy, and to sate his hunger for crime filled his camp with his own helpers. He put the worst of men to command the bad, he gave additional authority and power to those who were wickedest in their attacks on the innocent, and promoted over all others those to whom pity was unknown. He spared none of his band who inclined to spare any, left no good deed unpunished, no bad one unrewarded;[2] and when he could find no rival and no rebel on earth, like Capaneus, he challenged opposition from heaven. He spoiled churchyards, violated churches, and desisted not either for fear of the living or respect for the dead; and it is

De nugis. Capaneus, one of the 'Seven against Thebes', challenged Jupiter, and was killed by a thunderbolt: Statius, *Theb.* x. 897 ff.).

iustum est ut qui de Deo non habet reuerenciam, nichil timeat ante ruinam, sed exaltetur semper ad precipicium cor, ut longeua nequicia subita securi precidatur. Percellitur anathemate, nec timet; uitatur ab omnibus, nec horret; famam fugit et querit infamiam. Omnia cassauit omnium consilia; iam ipsum nemo reprehendit, nemo castigat, sed desperantibus amicis et silentibus, ut lapis a uertice abruptus totum lapsus ad ima decurrit irreuocabilis, ita liber et expeditus et dimissus ab omnibus, magnis saltibus ad tartara tendit, et ut mare uentis, ita maledictis attollitur et intumescit, affliccioni tempestuosius uniuersorum imminens, et licet petita suscipiat rapiatque negata, nulla potest affluencia sedari, nec totam terre depasta preciositatem saciatur ambicio.

Iam satis Olga securus, seruique tenens sui animam certissimis astrictam uinculis, se die quadam ipsi soliuago sub umbra nemoris obuiam facit. Considerent et confabulantur, recordatisque nouis iniquitatum et scelerum propriis inuentis, laudatur Eudo, ridet Olga; uictos fratrem suum et se discipulosque fatetur eorum tante cladis et immanitatibus artibus. Serio tandem Olga suspirans, et post longam meditacionem in angelum se transformans lucis,[1] ait: 'Karissime mi, quocunque tendant hec ludicra, consilium anime tue ne differas; displicet michi quod maiorem exerces nequiciam quam meam deceat fatalitatem, et licet tibi rideam, non libet quod te derideant qui tibi struunt ad perdicionem insidias. Hec enim sunt opera Sathane, Berith et Leuiatan.[2] Scias quod a nobis et eciam ab angelis Domini sunt abscondita iudicia dominici
f. 50 pectoris; sed que fato decurrunt, / uel secundum elementorum federa prenotata sunt, que per astrorum ortum, occasum et motum significata, que secundum celestem aut terrenam phisim ab eterno preordinata, quod certa rerum series tenet et quod eterne glutino racionis coheret immobiliter, que

[1] Cf. 2 Corinthians 11: 14.

[2] The name Berith for a demon is possibly taken from the *Passio Bartholomaei*, in which Berith figures as an Indian deity (cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, ii. 68, 71). Leviathan, which occurs elsewhere in the text, is of course from Job. M.R.J.

indeed very just that he who has no reverence for God should fear nothing before his fall, but that his heart should ever be raised higher in order to be dashed down, that long years of evil should be cut off by a sudden blow of the axe. Anathemas were levelled against him, but he feared not: he was shunned by all, but shuddered not: he fled from good repute and sought for infamy. He made nought of the advice of anyone; and now no one even reproved him, no one chastened him, but amid the despair and silence of his friends, as a boulder broken from a hilltop falls the whole way and rushes to the bottom and no one can stay it, so he, free and uncontrolled and let alone by all, travelled with huge bounds on to hell, and as the sea is raised by winds, so was lifted and swelled by curses, and with added violence bent himself to vex the whole world: though he accepted what he could get by asking, and seized what was refused him, he could not be mollified by any accession of wealth, nor was his ambition sated by feeding on the precious things of all the earth.

Olga, now sure of his servant, and holding his soul bound in the securest of chains, went one day to meet him as he wandered alone in the shade of a wood. They sat down and conversed, and as he told of his own freshest designs of iniquity and crime, Eudo was praised and Olga laughed and confessed that he and his brother and their pupils were surpassed in the contrivances of such havoc and cruelty. At last Olga heaved a sigh in earnest, and after long thought transforming himself into an angel of light,[1] said: 'My dear friend, to whatever end these tricks tend, you must not put off taking counsel for your soul. I do not like your practising a wickedness that exceeds what is suitable to my fairy nature, and though I laugh, I do not wish them to laugh at you who are laying snares for you unto perdition. For these are the works of Satan, Berith, and Leviathan.[2] You must know that the judgements of the Lord's heart are hidden from us and even from the angels of the Lord, but such things as run their course by fate or are foreknown by the laws of the elements, things signified by the rising, setting, and movement of the stars, things foreordained in accord with the physics of earth and heaven, all that is held by a fixed chain of events, that coheres immovably by the cement of eternal reason, that

secundum diuine disposicionis ordinem instant, et que iuxta creacionis condicionem perseuerant, aliquatenus nouimus, et eorum et preteritis et presentibus habemus prescienciam. Sed que Deus auertere nocitura per misericordiam uel profutura per iram pie iusteue decreuerit, occultata sunt hec a filiis terrenis et celestibus. Hec sunt que preiudicant astris, elementis imperant, et in thesauris delitescunt Altissimi. Spiritus solus Domini preuidere potuit luctum et gaudium ex dissimilibus Helye precibus, Niniuitarum timorem et erepcionem ex prophecia Ione, rubri maris diuisiones duodecim.[1] Hinc tibi, karissime mi, timeo, ne te, dum omnipotenciam prouocas, repentinus ultor anticipet, et michi, quod inde prouidenciam non habeo, redundet in obprobrium et pactorum infamiam. Ergo, quod solum superest, ab anathemate fac absoluaris, et quocienscunque peccaueris, ueniam pete; nec diffidas, quia nulla scelerum immanitas superare potest uel equari misericordie Dei, dummodo non desperes.' Miratur Eudo, et ait: 'Iam te non demonem sed angelum Domini dico, non modo dominum meum sed et patrem.'

Recedunt abinuicem; properat Eudo, pontificem petit et absolucionem obtinet, pausat aliquamdiu, nec bene resipiscit. Iterum incipit, iterumque ligatur et meretur absolui multociens. Tandem has episcopus ludificaciones expertus horret, et ipsum hac uarietate deteriorem dicit quam obstinacione continua certoque furore priori. Clamat igitur ad Dominum cum lacrimis, exorcisatum habet populum ut maledicat ei terra, prouocat ultricem a celo dexteram. Excitatus est igitur ad tantos eiulatus tanquam dormiens Dominus,[2] hostemque suum ab equo currente deicit, uisitatque superbiam eius in fraccione cruris. At ille signorum Sathane primum intelligens, ab episcopo uix obtinet ut audiatur, delicta fatetur, Olge tamen celato dominio; sed incolumitati restitutus, omnia despicienter et superbe negat, et in ipsum ulcisci satagit episcopum, quod delicta non

[1] According to a Jewish tradition, reported in the *Historia Scholastica* (*PL* 198. 1157-8), the Red Sea was thus divided to afford a several passage for each tribe. M.R.J.

[2] Cf. Psalm 77 (78): 65.

comes on in the order laid down by divine ordinance, and continues to exist according to the conditions of its creation —all such things we do know in part, and have a foreknowledge of them gained from the past and the present. But those which God has in pity or justice decreed to avert, if hurtful, by his mercy, or if beneficial, in his wrath—these things are hidden from the sons of earth and of heaven. These are they that outjudge the stars, command the elements, and lie hid in the treasures of the Most High. Only the spirit of the Lord could foresee the sorrow and joy that came from the dissimilar prayers of Elijah, the fear and rescue of the Ninevites caused by Jonah's prophecy, the twelve divisions of the Red Sea.[1] Hence, my dear friend, I fear lest while you are challenging Omnipotence, a sudden avenger should take you beforehand, and the fact that I had no prescience of it should recoil on me as a reproach, to the disrepute of our covenant. Therefore—it is your one resource—obtain absolution from your ban, and whenever you sin, seek pardon; and have no misgivings, for no enormity of crime can surpass or equal the mercy of God, provided you do not despair.' Eudo was astonished, and said: 'Henceforth I call you not a demon, but an angel of the Lord, not merely my master but my father too.'

They parted. Eudo hastened to seek the bishop and obtained absolution, then was quiet for a time, yet did not thoroughly repent. Again he began, again was bound by a curse, earned absolution, and this repeatedly. At length the bishop, after experiencing these triflings, was shocked, and declared him worse in this fickleness than in lasting obstinacy or his former consistent madness. He cried therefore unto the Lord with tears, adjured the people that the whole land should curse him, and challenged the avenging Hand from heaven. The Lord awaked at these cries as one out of sleep,[2] and cast down his enemy off his horse when at full speed, and visited his pride with the breaking of his leg. He, recognizing Satan's first warning, with difficulty procured a hearing from the bishop and confessed his faults, yet keeping back the fact of Olga's lordship over him: but when restored to health denied everything proudly and contemptuously, and even took pains to avenge himself on the bishop for daring to demand satisfaction for injuries which Eudo had sworn

metuit et iurata reposcere. Periurus igitur et se priore peior, in Christum et in electos eius insurgit. Attamen aliquando signi memor et uite breuis deuotissime supplicat, et exauditur, et peierat. Tum enim se morti proximum timet, tum sibi uite satis superesse mentitur contemplacione signorum sequencium, donec ille cuius est custodie deputatus ei sagitta quam puer inanem casu emiserat oculum eruit. Verius igitur terrore signi secundi, licet in modico, penitens, festinus ad episcopum conuolat, et miseria uulneris inflicti post tot periuria meretur admitti. Sed statim decrescente dolore uulneris crescit amor iniquitatis, unde tam sepe sese deterior tocius ecclesie nausea fit et populi contemptus.

Adicit ergo terciam suam Olga cui traditus est et ultimam Egipti plagam,[1] primogeniti sui tam unice sibi karissimi mortem, ut sua post ipsum sibi uere uita uilescat. Funereis igitur indutus in lecto cineris et cilicii decumbit, tam uerissime penitens, tam fideli contricione miserrimam affligens animam, ut infra modicum temporis firmiter hereat ossibus attenuata cutis, et uix in corpore spiritus teneatur. Iam ei serio licet sero penitencia placet, ad omnes properat quoscunque molestauerat, et ut erat persuasor efficacissimus omnes ad misericordiam sui flectit tam eloquencia singulari quam manifesta miseria. Quibus omnibus comitatus cum manu maxima Beluacum petit.

Episcopum extra muros inuenit ad rogum maximum quem incenderant iudices ciuitatis ut phitonissam inicerent. Agnoscit eum a longe pontifex, et horripilacione frigida totus obrigescit. Claudit ab eo uiscera ne misereatur eius, firmatque sibi cor ne medeatur infirmo; statuit obnixe ne deludatur amplius, et totus obdurescit in calibem. Adest ille solito
f. 50v micior et sperato / multum humilior, non minus miserabilis per lacrimas oculi retenti quam per iacturam eruti; pedibus

[1] Cf. Exodus 11: 4–8.

to make good. Thus perjured and worse than his former self, he rose up against Christ and against his elect. Still after a time he remembered the warning and the shortness of life, made most earnest entreaties, was heard and again forsworn. For at one time he feared that death was close upon him, at another, in view of the warnings yet to come, deceived himself into thinking he had enough life left; until he to whose keeping he was delivered deprived him of an eye by means of a random arrow which a boy had chanced to shoot. More truly penitent—yet only for the time—through terror at the second warning, he flew with all speed to the bishop, and pity for the wound he had suffered procured him absolution even after his many perjuries. Yet as the pain of the wound decreased the love of wickedness forthwith increased, and he who had so often been worse than himself, became the loathing of the church and the contempt of the people.

Olga, to whom he was delivered, now added his third plague—which was also the last plague of Egypt[1]—in the death of his firstborn son, whom he so singly loved that his own life grew veritably vile in his eyes after his death. In mourning garb he laid himself on a bed of ashes and haircloth, so repentant in very deed, afflicting his poor soul with such true contrition, that within a short time the emaciated skin clung close to his bones, and the breath hardly remained in his body. Truly, if tardily, repentance now became pleasing to him. He hastened to all whom he had harassed, and—for he was most effective in persuasion—he bent them all to pity as well by his peculiar eloquence as by his obvious misery. Accompanied by them all, he set out for Beauvais with a large following.

He found the bishop outside the city walls, by a huge pyre which the judges of the place had kindled, that a sorceress might be cast into it. The prelate recognized him afar off and stiffened all over, with a cold bristling of the skin. He shut up his bowels of mercy against him and hardened his heart, not to heal the sick; firmly resolved not to be tricked again, he hardened himself wholly into iron. Eudo approached, milder than his wont, humbler far than was expected, as much to be pitied for the tears his remaining eye shed as for the loss of the other. He threw himself at the

episcopi prouoluitur ante rogum, pro quo cum uera merito debeant perorare lamenta, principum preces et luctus populi non proficiunt, non mouent eum nec sollicitant. Solitas habet in memoria fallacias. Instat ille totum eructans ab imo uirus, quodque clausum semper tenuerat proditoris Olge dominium et secreta pessima reuelare non cessat. Instat absolui semel et dari sibi penitenciam, spondetque tenere quantumcunque difficilis aut dura fuerit. Hoc episcopus cum iuramento negat; ille uera contricione multoque rugitu lacrimosus asserit. Negat episcopus et pernegat, et totus in contradiccione persistit. Ille uero tam uero corde, tam ueris lacrimis instat, ut iam obtineat ab omnibus inimicis suis ueniam, et per se ueniant interueniantque fletus illorum oculorum, quos contra se coegerat frequenter emittere lacrimas ad Dominum. Iam extorsit ab inimicis amiciciam, terram placauit, celum aperuit, iusticiam Dei flexit, et a misericordia confessio miseri suscipitur. Cor autem episcopi longe factum est ab eo; Deus exaudit, iram temperat et humiliatur, homo contempnit et superbire uidetur, et ad inportunam principum et plebis instanciam se respondet securum quod Eudo nec uota nec promissa tenebit, et non esse miserandum obstinatissimo tyranno. Tum ille tota priori uita sua miser, et nunc primo certissime miserabilis, a pedibus inmisericordis exsurgit episcopi, qui nondum septuagies sepcies impleuerat,[1] et qui quo maiori cunctorum exoratur angustia tanto seuiori crudescit obstinacia. Tum ille tantis inundans fletibus, tam dolorosis irrugiens gemitibus, ut nemo circumstancium preter episcopum posset cordis aut oculorum lacrimas continere, subintulit: 'In illas manus Sathane tradat animam meam Dominus, in quas me confiteor dedisse corpus, ut nulla possit unquam miseracione redimi, si non deuotus impleuero quicquid inflixeris ad penitenciam'. Pontifex igitur iratus, incredulus et induratus, quasi temptans et irridens,

[1] Cf. Matthew 18: 22.

bishop's feet in front of the pyre, but though his genuine laments ought by right to have pleaded in his behalf, neither the nobles' entreaties nor the people's moans accomplished anything, or moved or affected the bishop. The familiar tricks were fixed in his memory. Eudo pressed hard, vomiting up the whole of the poison to the dregs, and did not shrink from disclosing what he had always kept back, that Olga the deceiver was his lord, and all the worst of his secrets. He pressed to be absolved yet once, and to be assigned a penance, and undertook to perform it, however hard and painful it might be. The bishop refused with an oath: he, in true contrition and with howling and tears persisted. The bishop refused and went on refusing and continued in complete denial. Eudo, however, insisted with such sincerity of heart, such genuine tears, as now to gain pardon from all his enemies, and there came of themselves, and interceded for him, the tears of those eyes which he had often compelled against their will to shed forth tears unto the Lord. Now had he wrung friendship from his foes, had appeased earth and opened heaven, had bent the justice of God, and the confession of the poor wretch was accepted by Mercy. Yet the heart of the bishop was far off from him. God hearkened and calmed his wrath and condescended, man only was contemptuous and proud, it seemed; and to the importunities of nobles and people he replied that he was sure that Eudo would keep neither vow nor promise, and that this stubbornest of oppressors deserved no pity. Then he, who through all his former life had been ill-starred and was now first most assuredly pitiable, rose from the feet of that unmerciful bishop, who had not yet fulfilled the seventy times seven of the commandment,[1] and who as the anguish of those who besought him increased, waxed crueller in his fierce obstinacy. Then Eudo with such floods of weeping, such lamentable roarings and groans that none of the bystanders save the bishop could restrain the tears of heart or eyes, said: 'May the Lord deliver my soul into the hands of Satan, into which I confess that I have delivered my body, so that by no exercise of mercy it can be redeemed, if I do not devotedly fulfil whatever penance you shall inflict on me.' The bishop then, angry, disbelieving and hardened, as if to test him and in derision,

stultis precipitauit sentenciam labiis, dicens: 'Infligo tibi pro peccatis, ut hunc rogum insilias.' At ille, quasi uita cum precepto suscepta se letus intulit, tam ultro, tam cito, tam in intima rogi, ut nemo sequi posset ad extrahendum, donec totus consumeretur in cinerem.

Lector et auditor disputent si miles rectum habuit zelum et secundum scienciam, qui precipitatam indiscreti pontificis et iracundi secutus est sentenciam. Qui pastor ouile negat oui uenienti de deserto, non aperit antequam balatum audiat, non suam dicit, cognoscit eam et non ignoscit, immo repulsam eam anticipat? Prodigo pater occurrit filio, clementer amplectitur et acceptat, stola prima uestit et uitulo saginato saciat.[1] Durus hic pater uenientem reppulit, petenti panem obicit lapidem, ouum roganti dat scorpionem;[2] non patris uerbera, non matris ubera, uictrici gladium, nouerce uenenum baiulat.

vii. *De quodam monacho Cluniacensi contra uotum suum in castris militanti*[3]

Queri eciam potest de salute monachi Cluniacensis, qui cum se ibi relictis multis castellis et opibus infinitis reddidisset, post paucos annos a filiis et omnibus terre sue optimatibus ad regimen relicte dicionis repetitur, quatinus scilicet habitu retento ad expedicionem eorum et consilium in castris militet, et multis lacrimarum instanciis optinetur, et ab abbate dimittitur. Exire iubetur sub armorum interdicto, rebusque reformatis ad pacem ad penitenciam reuerti. Receptus igitur in castris formidabilem hostibus rumorem intulit; erat enim uir magni consilii et acerrime probitatis. Conuocatis ergo suis et alienis quoscunque potuit, in latentes
f. 51 et prestolantes quid fiat, insurgit / rapidisque furit in hostes irrupcionibus, frequenter assilit et in instancia perdurat fortiter, unde fit ut sepe conficiat quos impares inuenit

[1] Cf. Luke 15: 20–4.
[2] Cf. Luke 15: 22, 23; 11: 11, 12.
[3] This story repeats Dist. i. 14.

uttered a hasty sentence with foolish lips, and said: 'I lay upon you for your sins that you leap into that fire.' He, as if he had received new life at the bidding, joyfully leapt in, so willingly, so quickly, so deep into the very midst of the pyre, that none could follow to pull him out before he was wholly consumed to ashes.

The reader and hearer may debate whether the knight had a right zeal, and according to knowledge, who obeyed the hasty sentence of the unwise and angry prelate. What shepherd shuts the fold against the sheep that is returning from the wilderness, does not open to it before he hears its bleating, does not call it his own, recognizes it, and yet does not pardon it, nay, is not beforehand with it when it is driven away? The father goes to meet the prodigal son, embraces him kindly and receives him, clothes him with the best robe and feasts him with the fatted calf.[1] This harsh father drove back him that came, when he sought for bread offered him a stone, when he asked for an egg gave a scorpion;[2] bore in his hands, not the father's rod, or the mother's breast, but the stepfather's sword, the stepmother's poison-cup.

7. *Of a Certain Monk of Cluny who against his Vow Took Service in Camp*[3]

There may be also a question of the salvation of a monk of Cluny, who left his many castles and immense wealth and betook himself thither, and after a few years was asked by his sons and all the foremost men of his country to return to the control of the domain he had left, that, keeping his habit, he might serve in the camp as their helper over difficulties and their adviser; their tearful entreaties secured him and he was released by the abbot. He had orders to go forth, but might not bear arms, and when affairs were in order and peace secured he was to return and do penance. His arrival in the camp caused a sensation of dismay among the enemy, for he was a man of great experience and of most formidable prowess. So he gathered his own men and as many others as he could, and attacked the foe who lay quiet awaiting the event, raged against them with rapid incursions, assaulted them repeatedly and kept up a strong pressure upon them, the result being that he often found them no match for him

astucie uel fortitudinis. In dies conualescunt ex affliccione quos ipse tuetur, ut illam pro beatitudine successuum pacem et concordiam timeant hostium quam in eius optauerunt aduentu. Confectis tandem omnibus et ad iugum fere coactis inimicis, in dolo petunt inducias. Annuit ille, iuratasque donat et suscipit. Verumptamen illi diem preuenerunt induciarum; collecto clam quantocunque possunt exercitu, furtim et inprouisi ueniunt, et securis imminent formidabiles. Excitatur ad clamores hominum et clangores lituorum monachus, seque cum suis obuiam facit hostibus. Conseruntur et fit improba congressio, licet impar; nam multos ex suis ad propria remiserat induciarum spe monachus, qui stans in medio suorum inermis iam uacillancium fereque cedencium exclamat, exortatur, imperat, inproperat, arguit, obsecrat,[1] se fugientibus obicit, omnibusque peractis quibus armati possunt ab inermi retineri nec prosperatis, que secum deferri preceperat ad subsidium casumque fortuitum arma subitus ab armigero rapit, et ad horam inobediens sub spe correccionis induit, militesque suos non iam dubios sed in certissimam adactos fugam ad bellum retinet, multasque manus hostium una retundit dextera, timorem cordibus incutit, bellique preuaricat euentum, mutata sibi hostium in predam uictoria. Direptis igitur spoliis et ad uotum diuisis, dum ad propria cum exultacione reuertitur, solis ardore monachus et sua pinguedine armorumque grauitate dissuetorum pene suffocatur, uineam extra seriem itinerancium puero comitatus ingreditur, armisque depositis auram captare satagit; et ecce ex hostibus insidiator balista ingreditur a tergo, monachique notata nuditate clam et repente lethali spiculo perforat inprouisum, clamque recedit. Sentit monachus mortem in ianuis, confiteri cupit, nec adest preter puerum cui possit.

[1] Cf. 2 Timothy 4: 2.

in craft or force, and tired them out. Daily those under his protection recovered from their depression, and grew, through the prosperity of their successes, to fear the very peace and agreement with the enemy which they had hoped would attend his coming. At length the enemy, exhausted and almost driven to surrender, fraudulently begged for a truce. He granted it, and it was sworn to on both sides. They (the enemy), however, anticipated the term of the truce: secretly gathering as large a force as they could, they approached stealthily and without warning, and appeared in formidable force to the unprepared enemy. The monk was roused by the shouts of men and the clangour of trumpets; and he and his rushed to meet the foe. They joined battle, and a relentless though unequal contest took place, for the monk had sent away many of his men to their homes, confiding in the truce. He now stood unarmed in the midst of his force, which already began to give ground and was almost retreating; he shouted, exhorted, gave orders, abused, rebuked, besought them,[1] set himself before those who were flying, and when he had used all the means open to an unarmed man of staying his armed host, without success, he suddenly seized from his armourbearer the weapons which he had ordered to be brought with him to protect him in a chance emergency, and, disobedient for the moment, but hoping to correct the fault, put them on, held up his soldiers to the fight, who were now no longer doubtfully but certainly driven to flee; with his single hand he repulsed many hands of the enemy, shook their hearts with fear and falsified the issue of the battle, changing the enemy's triumph into spoliation. The booty then seized and divided at his pleasure, the monk, as he returned home in triumph, felt almost overcome by the sun's heat, his own corpulence, and the weight of the armour, long disused; accompanied by a lad, he entered a vineyard that lay off the route of their march, put off his armour, and sought a breath of fresh air, when lo! a crossbowman in ambush of the enemy approached from behind, marked the exposure of the monk, secretly and suddenly pierced him off his guard with a mortal dart, and stole away. The monk felt that death was at the door, and longed to confess, yet there was none there but the lad to receive his confession.

Ineptum eum ad hoc intelligit, attamen quia non potest alias, ipsi confitetur, et coram eo totam effundit animam, oratque penitenciam secundum peccata dari. Puer se nichil tale uidisse uel audisse cum iuramento dicit. Monachus instat orando, pedibusque pueri prouoluitur, et alicuiusmodi pro peccatis infliccionem fieri omnimodis exorat, cumque non proficit ut ab ipso extorqueat quod nescit, urgente mortis articulo docet eum dicens: 'Karissime fili, iniunge michi ut sit anima mea in tormentis et in locis cruciata penalibus sine intermissione usque ad diem iudicii, dummodo per misericordiam Christi tunc salua fiat.' Annuit hoc puer, et id ei eisdem uerbis inflixit. Decessit autem monachus in fide Christi, et bona spe feruentique penitencie zelo.

viii. *Item de fantasticis aparicionibus*[1]

Quia de mortibus quarum iudicia dubia sunt incidit oracio, miles quidam Britannie minoris uxorem suam amissam diuque ploratam a morte sua in magno feminarum cetu de nocte reperit in conualle solitudinis amplissime. Miratur et metuit, et cum rediuiuam uideat quam sepelierat, non credit oculis, dubius quid a fatis agatur. Certo proponit animo rapere, ut de rapta uere gaudeat, si uere uidet, uel a fantasmate fallatur, ne possit a desistendo timiditatis argui. Rapit eam igitur, et gauisus est eius per multos annos coniugio, tam iocunde, tam celebriter ut priori,[a] et ex ipsa suscepit liberos, quorum hodie progenies magna est, et 'Filii mortue' dicuntur. Incredibilis quidem et prodigialis iniuria nature, si non extarent certa uestigia ueritatis.

ix. *Item de apparicionibus*

f. 51v Henno cum dentibus,[2] sic a dencium magnitudine dictus,

[a] priori *Winterbottom;* prioribus *MS*

[1] This is apparently the story referred to in Dist. ii. 13. 'Lesser Britain' means Brittany: cf. iv. 15.

[2] Probably the Norman baron Hamo 'Dentatus' (aux Dents), who was a leader of the rebellion against Duke William (the Conqueror) in 1047, and was killed at Val-ès-dunes (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS, ii. 286–7; *Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iv. 82–5). Hamo's son became *dapifer* to William I and II and sheriff of Kent, and his grandson, Robert FitzHamon, was one of the leading barons of the Welsh march, and first Norman lord of Glamorgan. He died in 1107, but his inheritance passed, with his daughter's hand, to Henry I's illegitimate son, Robert, earl of Gloucester (Annals of Tewkesbury, *Ann. Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS, i. 44; *Monasticon*, ii. 60; D. C. Douglas, *Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury*, London, 1944, pp. 55–6; *CP* v. 682–6).

He knew him unapt for such a purpose; but because he could not confess elsewhere, he did so to him, and poured out all his soul before him, and prayed a penance suited to his sin. The lad declared with an oath that he had never seen nor heard the like. The monk pressed his entreaties, prostrate at the lad's feet, and besought him by all means to inflict something upon him for his sins, and when he could not prevail to wring from him that which was wholly unknown to him, prompted him under the very article of death, saying: 'Dear son, enjoin upon me that my soul be in torment and be tortured in the place of punishment without respite until the day of judgement, provided only that then by the mercy of Christ it be saved.' The lad consented, and inflicted that penance upon him in the same words, and the monk departed in the faith of Christ and in good hope and in fervent zeal of repentance.

8. *Again of Fantastic Apparitions*[1]

As we have fallen to talk of deaths of dubious issues—a knight of Lesser Britain lost his wife and long after her death went on mourning for her. He found her at night in a great company of women in a valley in a wide tract of desert. He marvelled and was afraid, and when he saw her whom he had buried, alive again, he could not trust his eyes, and doubted what the fairies (fates) could be doing. He resolved to seize her, that, if he saw aright, he might have the real joy of the capture, or else might be eluded by the phantom, and at least be taxed by none with cowardice for giving up the attempt. He accordingly seized her, and enjoyed a union with her for many years, as pleasant and as open to the day as the first had been, and had children by her, whose descendants are numerous at this day, and are called the sons of the dead mother. This would be an incredible and portentous breach of nature's laws, did not trustworthy evidence of its truth exist.

9. *Again of Apparitions*

Henno with-the-teeth,[2] so called from the bigness of his teeth,

The 'numerous progeny, yet living' would include Earl William of Gloucester (Robert's son, Hamo's great-great-grandson), who died in 1183, whose daughter and heiress Isabel became King John's first wife.

This story has elements closely similar to two told by Gervase of Tilbury about other ladies (*Otia imperialia*, i. 15, iii. 57, ed. Leibnitz, pp. 895–6, 978–9).

speciosissimam in umbroso nemore puellam inuenit hora meridiana secus oram Normanni litoris. Sedebat sola regalibus ornata sericis, flebatque sine uoce suppliciter pulcherrima rerum et quam eciam lacrime decerent.[1] Incalescit igne concepto iuuenis. Miratur tam preciosum sine custode thesaurum, et tanquam illapsum de celo sidus de uicinia terre conqueri. Circumspicit, nam a latibulis timet insidias; non inuentis, ei suppliciter in genibus astat et reuerenter alloquitur: 'Dulcissimum tocius orbis et clarissimum decus, seu nostre sortis est hec tam desiderabilis faciei serenitas, seu se diuinitas, his redimitam flosculis, hoc lumine uestitam, suis in terra uoluit ostendi cultoribus, gaudeo, et gaudere te decet, quod in mea te contigit potestate considere; hei michi! quod ad tua sum preelectus obsequia; tibi gloria, quod ad idem locorum quo desiderabilius es recepta presaga declinasti sentencia.' Illa tam innocenter et columbine respondit, ut credas angelam locutam que possit angelum quemuis ad uota fallere: 'Flos iuuenum amabilis, et desiderabile lumen hominum, non me huc attulit spontanea prouidencia, sed casus. Inuitam aduexit me cum patre meo, nuptui tradendam regi Francorum, ad hec litora ratis ui tempestatis inpulsa; quam cum egressa essem, hac sola que uobis astat (et ecce astabat puella) comitante, aura turbini succedente prospera, pleno cum patre recedunt naute uelo. Scio autem quod cum me scierint abesse, cum lacrimis huc reuertentur. Attamen ne me lupi hominesue maligni deuorent uel attemptent, si michi innocencie fidem dederis pro te tuisque, tecum pro tempore remanebo; nam tucius est et salubrius ut me tibi comendem usque in nauis reditum.' Henno, qui desideria non deses auditor intelligit, omnia dat impiger quecunque petuntur, et thesaurum inuentum cum maximo secum animi iubilo reportat, utrique quantam potest adibens leticiam. Introducit, et sibi matrimonio nobilem illam pestilenciam iungit, custodieque matris sue deputat, et ex illa pulcherrimam prolem suscitat.

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 534—'. . . rerum . . . pulcherrima Roma'; Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 757 'lacrimae decuere pudicae'; cf. also *Ars am.* i. 533–4.

found a most lovely girl in a shady wood at noonday near the brink of the shore of Normandy. She was seated alone, clad in royal silks, and was weeping silently in suppliant attitude—the fairest of things was she, and even the fairer for her tears.[1] The young man grew hot with the fire that kindled in him. He marvelled that so precious a treasure was unguarded, and like a star fallen from heaven was mourning over the nearness of the earth. He looked about him, fearing a hidden snare, but finding none, knelt before her humbly and addressed her with respect: 'You sweetest and brightest ornament of all the world, whether this desirable radiance of your face belongs to our race, or whether deity has willed to show itself to its worshippers on earth thus fair in bloom, thus clad in light, I rejoice, and you too may rejoice that it has befallen you to rest here in my power. What shall I do who have been chosen out to do you service? To you be honour, in that with prophetic instinct you have settled on that spot of all others where you would be received with the best welcome.' She made answer in such innocent and dove-like voice that you might think a lady angel was speaking—one who could deceive at will any angel: 'Kind flower of youths, desirable light of men, it was no voluntary foresight that brought me hither, but chance. A ship driven by the violence of a storm bore me, unwilling, to these shores with my father, to be delivered in marriage to the king of the French. When I had disembarked, with only this maid whom you see here (and lo! a maid stood by her), a fair wind succeeded the gale, and the sailors made off under full sail with my father. I know that when they discover my absence they will return in distress. Still, lest wolves or evil men should devour or attack me, I will for the time stay with you, if you will give me pledges for yourself and your men to do me no hurt, for it will be safer and wholesomer for me to trust myself to you till the ship returns.' Henno, no inattentive listener, saw his desires fulfilled, eagerly granted all that was asked, and brought home with the greatest joy of heart his treasure trove, showing to both women all possible kindness. He brought into his home and took to himself in marriage that brilliant pestilence, he committed her to the care of his mother, and she bore him beautiful children.

Frequens erat in ecclesia mater, illa frequencior; orphanorum et uiduarum et omnium panis egencium ⟨mater adiutrix⟩,[a] illa magis. Vt fine concludat optato maliciam, omnem in conspectu hominum complet leticiam, excepto quod aspersionem aque benedicte uitabat, horamque corporis dominici et sanguinis conficiendi cauta preueniebat fuga, simulata multitudine uel negocio. Mater hoc Hennonis aduertit, iustaque suspicione sollicita cuncta metuens, instat artissima sedulitate scrutari quid hoc. Scit eam diebus dominicis post aquam datam ecclesiam ingredi et consecracionem fugere, cuius ut sciat causam, modico secretoque foramine facto in thalamum eius ocultas tendit insidias. Videt eam igitur summo mane die dominica, egresso ad ecclesiam Hennone, balneum ingressam, et de pulcherrima muliere draconem fieri, et in modico exilientem a balneo in pallium nouum quod ei puella strauerat et in minutissima frusta dentibus illud concidentem, et inde in propriam reuerti formam, que postmodum per omnia simili argumento famule[b] famulatur. Mater filio uisa reuelat. Ergo sibi presbitero ascito, inopinas ocupant, aqua benedicta conspergunt, que subito saltu tectum penetrant et ululatu magno diu culta relinqunt hospicia. Ne miremini
f. 52 si Dominus as/cendit corporaliter, cum hoc pessimis permiserit creaturis, quas eciam necesse sit deorsum inuitas trahi. Huius adhuc extat multa progenies.

x. *Item de eisdem aparicionibus* [1]

Scimus quod tempore Willelmi Bastardi preclare uir indolis, cuius possessio fuit Ledebiria borealis, de cetu nocturno feminarum choreancium pulcherrimam rapuit, de qua contractis sponsalibus filium suscepit, cuius tam forme quam rapine audito prodigio miratur rex, et eam in concilio Lundoniensi deduci fecit in medium, confessamque

[a] *Suggested by James* [b] famile *MS*

[1] This repeats Dist. ii. 12.

His mother was assiduous in attending the church, his wife yet more so; the one bountiful to orphans and widows and all who needed bread, the other surpassed her. In order to bring her evil desire to the wished-for end, she fulfilled every comely duty in the sight of men, except that she shunned the sprinkling of holy water, and by a wary retirement (making the crowd or some business the excuse) anticipated the moment of the consecration of the Lord's body and blood. Henno's mother noticed this; her proper suspicion made her anxious and, fearing the worst, she set herself to spy out with the closest watchfulness what it meant. She knew that the lady entered the church on Sundays after the Asperges and left it before the consecration, and in order to learn the reason she made a little hidden hole looking into the chamber and kept secret watch there. She then saw her at early morning on a Sunday, when Henno had gone out to church, enter a bath and become, instead of a most beautiful woman, a dragon: after a short time she saw her leap out of the bath onto a new cloak which her maid had spread for her, tear it into tiny shreds with her teeth, then return to her proper form and thereafter minister in the same way in every point to her maid. The mother told her son what she had seen. He sent for a priest: they came on the two unawares, and sprinkled them with holy water. With a sudden leap they dashed through the roof, and with loud shrieks left the shelter they had haunted so long. Marvel not that the Lord ascended to heaven with his body, since he has permitted such abominable creatures to do so, creatures which must in the end be dragged downwards against their will. This lady had a numerous progeny, yet living.

10. *Again of Like Apparitions*[1]

We know that in the time of William the Bastard, a man of distinguished quality who owned Lydbury North, carried off the most beautiful lady from among a company of women who were dancing by night, wedded her and begot a son by her. The king hearing of the wonder of her beauty and of her abduction, was amazed, and had her brought before him at his council in London, and when she had acknowledged the

remisit. Huius filius Alnodus, uir christianissimus et tandem particulariter paraliticus, uictis medicis et impotenciam professis, se iussit Herefordiam deferri, et in ecclesia beati Ædelberti regis et martiris eius meruit absolui meritis; unde pristine redditus incolumitati suam ibi Ledebiriam Deo matrique Domini et regi et martiri Adelberto perpetuo dedit possidendam, quam adhuc eiusdem loci pontifex tenet in pace, sextus[1] ut dicitur ab eo qui eam de manu Alnodi suscepit, uiri cuius mater in auras euanuit manifesta uisione multorum, indignanter inproperium uiri sui ferens, quod eam a mortuis rapuisset.

xi. *De fantastica decepcione Gerberti*[2]

Quis fantasticam famosi nescit illusionem Gerberti? Gerbertus a Burgundia puer genere, moribus et fama nobilis, Remis id agebat intentus, ut tam indigenas quam aduenticios pectore uinceret et ore scolares, et obtinuit. Erat autem ea tempestate filia prepositi Remensis quasi speculum et admiracio ciuitatis, in quam omnium intendebant suspiria, uotis hominum et desiderio diues. Audiuit Gerebertus, nec distulit. Egreditur, uidet, admiratur, cupit, et alloquitur; audit, et allicitur; haurit ab apotheca Scille furorem, et a matre Morphoseos[3a] edoctus obliuisci morem suo non abnegat ueneno, cuius uirtute degenerat in asinum, ad onera fortis, ad uerbera durus, ad opera deses, ad operas ineptus, in omni semper miseria petulcus. Non ei sentitur inflicta calamitas,

[a] *See note 3*

[1] If this was written in the episcopate of Robert Foliot (1174–86), this should date the gift to the time of Bishop Reinhelm (sixth before Robert: 1107–15) or possibly his successor Geoffrey de Clive (1115–29); but the story is apparently fictitious (see ii. 12 above).

[2] On this version of the legend of Gerbert (Pope Silvester II, 999–1003), see above, p. xxxix. On the legends of Gerbert, see R. Allen, in *EHR*, vii (1892), 663 ff.; Stubbs in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, RS, ii (1889), pp. lxvi–lxxiv and i. 193 ff.; Liebrecht, pp. 47–8. Map gives a quite different version of the compact with the devil: this was first mentioned by Cardinal Benno in the 11th century and is echoed in William of Malmesbury (early 12th century), who himself tells the story of the prophecy of Gerbert's death in Jerusalem. For the legend that he refused to celebrate cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, ii. 34; and for the sweating tomb Map's contemporary William Godel, who also tells the story of the compact with the devil and 'Jerusalem' (M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, x. 260–1).

[3] On Scylla, see above, p. 295 n. 3. The Latin text reads 'a matre Morphoseos',

truth of the story, sent her home again. Her son Alnoth, a most Christian man, late in life became partially paralysed, and when all the physicians were defeated and professed themselves powerless had himself carried to Hereford, and in the church of the blessed Ethelbert king and martyr earned release by his merits; wherefore, when restored to his former health, he there gave his estate of Lydbury to God and the Mother of the Lord and Ethelbert king and martyr in perpetual possession, and the bishop of that place still enjoys it peaceably, being, it is said, the sixth[1] from him who received it at the hand of Alnoth—the very man whose mother vanished into air in the open sight of many, because she took ill her husband's taunt that he had caught her from among the dead.

11. *Of the Fantastic Illusion of Gerbert*[2]

Who has not heard of the fantastic illusion of the notorious Gerbert? Gerbert of Burgundy, a youth distinguished by birth, character and repute, was busily engaged at Reims in the effort to surpass in intellect and utterance all the students of the school, whether native or foreign, and was successful. At that time the daughter of the provost of Reims was as it were the mirror and marvel of the city. The sighs of all were aimed at her, and she was rich in the vows and aspirations of men. Gerbert heard of her and delayed not. He went forth, saw, wondered, desired, and addressed her: listened and was entranced: he imbibed madness from the laboratory of Scylla, and taught by Morpheus' mother[3] to forget, did not refuse obedience to her poison, and by its power sank to be an ass, strong to bear burdens, impervious to blows, sluggish to toil, stupid in skilled labour, ever prone to kick at any hardship. He did not feel the calamity that fell on him,

perhaps for *Morpheos*, of Morpheus. Now Morpheus was the son of Sleep (Ovid, *Met.* xi. 634, 647), but Sleep was his father, not mother; none the less there seems a reference here to Morpheus as god of dreams, for he would naturally teach us to forget. On the other hand the passage which follows seems clearly to refer to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the story of the man turned into an ass by taking the potion of a sorceress. Webb, p. 123, proposed 'metamorphoseos' for 'matre morphoseos'; this was accepted by James in his translation (1923), but seems improbable. The text may be a piece of elaborate word-play by Map—the sorceress being treated as author, and so mother, of the translation into an ass.

non eum castigacionum flagella mouent, torpens ad strenuitates, inpromptus ad argucias, incircumspecte iugiter inhiat impetigini, suppliciter petit, acriter instat, obstinate perdurat, et obtuso per improbitatem mentis acumine certa desperacione torquetur, et ab animi tranquillitate decidens conturbato se et extra modum posito rem moderari uel statui suo prouidere non potest. Depereunt igitur res, oneratur debitis, subicitur usuris, derelinquitur a seruis, uitatur ab amicis, et substancia denique penitus direpta, domi solus residet, sui negligens, hirtus et squalidus, horridus et incultus, una tamen felix miseria, ultima scilicet egestate, que ipsum a principe miseriarum absoluit amore, que sui memoria non sinit eius reminisci. Hec tua sunt, Dyone,[1a] tam dolorosa quam dolosa dispendia, que pro tue milicie stipendiis tuis inpendis equitibus, ut a te circa finem ridiculi reddantur palamque confusi, siue tuis doloribus cuntis habeantur ostentui. Miser hic de quo nobis sermo, paupertate magistra solutus ab hamo Veneris, ingratus est ei que soluit, quia que preterierunt angustie faciles uidentur comparate presentibus, dignamque dicit inediam mercede leonis qui damulam lupis aufert ut eam deuoret.[2]

Exit una dierum Gerbertus ciuitatem hora meridiana, quasi spaciatum, et fame torquebatur ad luctum, et totus extra se pedetentim longe defertur in nemus, et in saltum deueniens feminam ibi reperit inaudite pulcritudinis, maximo insidentem panno serico, habentem coram positum maximum denari-
f. 52v orum / aceruum. Subtrahit ergo pedem furtim ut effugiat, fantasma siue prestigium timens. At illa ipsum ex nomine uocans, confidere iubet, et quasi miserta eius, pecuniam ei presentem et quantam desiderare potest diuiciarum copiam spondet, dummodo filiam prepositi que ipsum tam insolenter spreuerat dedignetur, et sibi non tanquam domine uel maiori sed tanquam pari et amice uelit adherere, adiciens: 'Meridiana[b] uocor,[3]

[a] Dyone *James;* Dyane *MS* infra *(?)*

[b] Meridiana *MS; marg.* al. Marianna ut *(?)*

[1] i.e. Venus.

[2] A fable, which we have not identified.

[3] M. Boutemy points out the similarity of this scene in the forest with episodes in the lays *Lanval* and *Graelent*, and suggests that the lady's name is connected with the time of her appearance (noon), and is perhaps an echo of Psalm 90 (91): 6, 'a daemonio meridiano'. The marginalia may suggest that Map

the blows of chastisement moved him not; torpid when called to exertion, unready in the face of subtleties, he ever pursued his desire open-mouthed without any caution, humbly besought, passionately pressed his suit, stubbornly endured, and with his mind's sharpness blunted by his importunity, was weary with settled despair; he fell from his peace of mind, and, disordered and put out of his track, he could no longer manage his property or regulate his affairs. His property therefore dwindled, he was burdened with debts, became a victim to usury, was forsaken by his servants, and avoided by his friends, and at last, when his substance was wholly dispersed, lived alone at home, neglectful of his person, unshaven and shabby, rough and untidy, yet fortunate in one point of his misery, I mean that extreme poverty which freed him from love, the chief of miseries, all memory of which is banished by the recollection of the other. These are the costs, Dione,[1] as lamentable as they are fraudful, which you impose on your soldiers by way of wages for their warfare for you, and which at the last make them objects of ridicule and open shame, or have them made a show to all men after suffering your torments. The poor wretch of whom I am telling, loosed from Venus's hook under the governance of Poverty, was ungrateful to her who had freed him, inasmuch as past anguish seems easy when compared with present woe; and he declared that starvation deserved the recompense of the lion who took the fawn away from the wolves in order to eat it himself.[2]

One day Gerbert went out of the town at noon, by way of taking a walk, and was forced by hunger to shed tears; and, quite beside himself, fared on step by step deep into a wood and entering a glade found there a woman of unheard-of beauty seated on a large silken carpet, and having before her a huge heap of money. He was quietly withdrawing with intent to flee, fearing a phantom or delusion. But she called him by name, bade him be confident, and, as in pity, promised him the money he saw there and a further supply of wealth, as much as he desired, on condition that he would disdain the provost's daughter who had so insolently spurned him, and would cleave to her, not as his lady or ruler, but as an equal and friend; and she went on: 'I am called Meridiana (*or* Marianna):[3]

never made up his mind whether her name was to be Marianna or Meridiana.

et generosissimo producta stemate, id semper summopere curaui, ut michi parem omnimodis inuenirem, qui mee uirginitatis primos decerpere flores dignus haberetur, nec quemquam repperi qui non in aliquo michi dissideret usque ad te; unde quia michi per omnia places, ne differas omnem suscipere felicitatem quam tibi de celo pluit Altissimus, cuius ego creatura sum ut tu. Quoniam nisi iustas extorseris iras a me, beatus es omni rerum et status opulencia; tantum, cum mea reflorueris ad plenum diligencia, eadem ipsam superbia repellas qua te ipsa miserabilem fecit. Scio enim quod penitebit eam, et reuertetur ad spreta, si liceat. Si tuos odisset instinctu castitatis amores, in tua meruisset graciam uictoria. Sed id solum in causa fuit, ut te qui omnium iudicio super omnes eras amabilis insolenter abiecto sine suspicione faueret aliis, falsoque Minerue peplo[1] uelauit Affroditem, et sub tue pretextu repulse in suam alii diuaricacionem appulerunt. Proh dolor! expulsa Pallade tegitur sub egide Gorgon, et tua manifesta confusio dedit umbraculum lupe spurciciis, quam si digne semper dixeris tuis indignam amplexibus, precelsum te faciam in omnibus excelsis terre. Times forsitan illudi, et sucubi demonis[2] in me uitare tendis argucias. Frustra. Nam illi quos metuis cauent similiter hominum fallacias, et non nisi data fide uel alia securitate se credunt alicui, et nichil preter peccatum[a] eis referunt qui falluntur. Nam si quando, quod raro fit, uel successus uel opes afferunt, aut tam inutiliter et tam uane transeunt, ut nichil sint, aut in cruciatum cedunt et perniciem deceptorum. Ego autem nullam a te expeto securitatem, mores tue sinceritatis edocta plenissime. Nec secura contendo fieri, sed te securum facere. Ego tibi cunta libens expono, et uolo tecum hec deferas antequam coeamus, et sepe reuertaris ad plura tollenda, donec uniuerso debito soluto probaueris fantasticam non esse pecuniam, et non timeas ueri amoris

[a] *MS adds* ab; *om. Winterbottom*

[1] The *peplum* was the robe of state of Minerva (Pallas Athene) at Athens; her aegis (or shield, above, p. 324 n.) had on it the image of the Gorgon's head.

[2] Cf. Dist. ii. 12.

born of a most noble stock, I have always made it my chief aim to find one in all points equal to me, one worthy to cull the first flower of my prime, and have found none till you who did not fail in some respect to suit me; so, since in every point you are pleasing to me, do not delay to accept all the prosperity which the Most High is raining upon you from heaven—his creature am I as much as you. For unless you compel me to righteous anger, you are now blessed with all possible affluence in property and rank: only, when you have blossomed out once more to the full by my care, you must reject her with that same pride with which she made you miserable; for I know that she will repent and return to what she spurned, if she can. Had she indeed hated your suit for love of chastity, she would have deserved favour by triumphing over you, but her only reason was that by rejecting you who in the judgement of all were most lovable, she might, unsuspected, be kind to others; under her pretended robe of Minerva[1] she sheltered Aphrodite, and under pretext of rejecting you she has been made by others a partner in their iniquities. Alas, Alas! Pallas was driven out and a Gorgon was covered by her aegis, and the public shaming of you gave shelter to the foulness of a wanton; if, as she deserves, you declare her for ever unworthy of your embrace, I will make you pre-eminent among all the high ones (*or* places) of the earth. You fear, perhaps, an illusion, and are meaning to evade the subtlety of a Succubus in my person.[2] You are mistaken. Those whom you fear are equally shy of the deceits of men, and do not trust themselves to any without a pledge of faith or other security, and only bring sin to those whom they beguile. If ever—and it is rare—they do bring them success or riches, these pass away with so little profit, and so vainly, that they are nothing; or else they end in the torment and damage of the dupes. I, however, who am thoroughly acquainted with the honesty of your character, ask for no security from you. Nor do I even desire to be secured, but only to make you secure. I gladly present all to you, and I would have you take away with you what is here, before our union, and come back often to take more, till, when all your debts are paid, you have proved that this is no phantom money, and do not fear to pay the just dues of

inpendiis iustas rependere uices. Amari cupio, non dominari, nec eciam tibi parificari, sed ancilla fieri; nichil in me reperies quod non sencias amorem sapere; nullum aduersitatis in me signum deprendere poterunt uera iudicia.'

Hec et similia multa Meridiana,[a] cum non oporteret: auidus enim oblatorum Gerbertus fere mediis eam rapit sermonibus ad annuendum, anxius paupertatis euadere copiosus captiuitatem, et uelox uenustissimum Veneris periculum inire. Suplex igitur omnia spondet, fidem offert et, quod non petitur, iuramentis[b] oscula iungit, saluo pudoris reliquo tactu.

Redit honustus Gerbertus, nuncios aduenisse creditoribus fingit, et lente ne thesauros inuenisse uideatur se debitis[c] exhonerat. Porro iam liber et Meridiane[d] muneribus habundus, supellectile ditatur, familia crescit, uestium mutatoriis et ere cumulatur, cibariis et potu stabilitur, ut sit eius in Remis copia similis glorie Salomonis in Ierusalem, et lecti secura leticia non minor, licet ille fuit multarum, hic unius amator. Singulis ab ipsa que preteritorum habebat
f. 53 scienciam docetur noctibus, quid in die sit agendum. / He sunt noctes admiratissime Nume, quibus Romani fingebant sacrificia fieri, colloquia deorum asscisci,[e] cum unicam coleret, cui nocturno studio sudabat occulte, sapienciam.[1] Duplici proficit doctrina Gerbertus, thori et scole, et ad summa fame propugnacula triumphat in gloria; nec minus eum promouet leccio lectoris in studio quam lectricis in lecto, huius in rebus agendis ad summam gloriam, illius adinuentis[f] ex artibus ad illuminacionem. In modico fit impar omnibus, uniuersos excedit, fit panis esuriencium, uestis egencium, et omnis oppressionis promta redempcio; et non est ciuitas cui non sit inuidiosa Remis.

Audiens hec et uidens filia Babilonis misera,[2] que per

[a] Marianna *MS;* al. Meridiana *marg.* [b] iuramentis *James;* iuramentum *MS* [c] debitus *MS* [d] Marianne *MS;* al. Meridiane *marg.* [e] asscissi *MS* [f] *Perhaps* adiumentis *James*

[1] Numa, the second king of Rome, according to legend used to visit the nymph Egeria (his wife) by night for instruction; Map associates Numa's instructress with Solomon's Wisdom.

[2] Cf. Psalm 136 (137): 8.

what a true love has spent on you. To be loved is my desire, not to be your sovereign, or even your equal, but your handmaid; you will find nothing in me that you do not perceive to savour of love; a true judgement will not be able to detect any trace of frowardness in me.'

These and many more like these were the words of Meridiana; but there was no need of them, for Gerbert in his greed for what was offered interrupted her with his consent almost in the midst of her speech, anxious as he was to be wealthy and escape the duress of poverty, and swift to enter upon the beautiful but perilous course of love. Humbly therefore did he promise everything, pledge his faith, and beyond what was asked join kisses with oaths, but went no farther.

Gerbert went back laden, and pretended to his creditors that messengers had arrived with supplies, and then, slowly, lest he should be suspected of having found a treasure, disburdened himself of his debts. Thereafter, free and affluent in Meridiana's gifts, he enriched himself with household goods, and a crowd of servants, gathered to him changes of raiment and money, and grew strong with food and drink: so that his wealth in Reims was like the glory of Solomon in Jerusalem, and his settled joy in love not inferior, though Solomon was the lover of many and he of one. Every night she, who possessed full knowledge of the past, instructed him in what he was to do by day. Such were those most wonderful nights of Numa, wherein the Romans feigned that sacrifices were offered, and the gods summoned to conference, whereas he then waited upon wisdom alone, for which in nocturnal study he secretly toiled.[1] Gerbert made progress in two branches of learning, of the chamber and school, and triumphed gloriously on the topmost battlements of fame; as much advanced by the lesson of the lecturer in the study as by that of the lectures on the couch; the latter led him to the pitch of glory in his conduct of affairs, the former to the illumination of the mind by researches into the arts. Within a short time no one was his equal, he surpassed all and became the bread of the hungry and the raiment of the needy and the ready saviour from all oppression; nor was there a city to which Reims was not an object of envy.

When she heard and saw all this, the daughter of Babylon,[2]

superbiam ipsum in uallem redegerat, consuetos expectat auribus arrectis nuncios, moramque miratur et arguit, et se tandem spretam intelligens, quos fastidiosa repulerat tum primo concipit ignes.[1] Iam uiuit laucius et culcius incedit et ipsi uerecundius obuiat et reuerencius loquitur et, se per omnia delapsam in uituperium senciens et abieccionem, eo bibit cifo rancorem animi, quo propinauerat amatori suo furorem. Frenum igitur arripit amens, et quo lora flectant aut retrahant non curat, sed quibus impetitur calcaribus toto facit obedienciam cursu, et quibuscunque modis ipsam ille temptauerat, id est omnibus, ipsum aduncare conatur. Sed frustra fiunt insidie, tenduntur recia, iaciuntur hami. Nam odii ueteris ultor et noui adulator amoris ei quicquid dare solet dileccio negat, quicquid odium infligere iaculatur. Exinanitis ergo conatibus, augmentatur in amenciam amor, sensumque doloris excedit acerbitas, et sicut medicinam membrorum stupor non admittit, sic animus exhauste spei solacia non sentit. Excitat eam tandem quasi mortuam suscitet anus uicina Gerberti, et ipsum a tugurio suo per foramen ostendit deambulantem in medio modico pomerio in feruore diei post cenam solum, quem eciam post pusillum decumbere sub umbra uident esculi tortulose, sopitumque quiescere. At illa non quiescit, sed pallio reiecto sola camisia uestita sub ipsius se clamide totam toti coniungit, capiteque uelato ipsum osculis et amplexibus excitat. A uinolento et saturo leuiter optinet quod quesierat; in unum enim Veneris estum conuenerant iuuentutis et temporis, ciborum et uini feruor. Sic nimirum semper assurgunt Veneri Phebus et Pan, Ceres et Bacus, a quorum ubique conuentu celebri Pallas excluditur.[2] Instat illa complexibus et osculis et tacita uerborum adulari blandicie, donec ille Meridiane[a] memor pudore confusus et non modico timore trepidus, eam tamen uerecunde uitare uolens, sub redeundi promisso recedit,

[a] Marianne *MS;* al. Meridiane *marg.*

[1] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* vii. 9, etc.

[2] Phoebus Apollo and Pan were well known for philandering, while Pallas Athene, or Minerva, was chaste. Ceres and Bacchus represented food (bread) and wine, and inspired the proverb 'sine Cerere et Libero (i.e. Baccho) friget Venus' (Terence, *Eun.* 732, etc.).

wasted with misery, who had brought him down into the depths (valley) by her pride, with ears attent expected the usual messages, wondered at and blamed their delay, and realizing at last that she was thrown over, now first conceived the fires[1] which she had disdainfully rejected. She now lived more daintily and went in finer attire, met him with more reverence, addressed him with greater respect, and when she felt that she was altogether fallen into disrepute and contempt, imbibed from that same cup in which she had given madness to her lover to drink, a very rancour of soul. In her frenzy therefore she seized the bit, and caring not whither the rein turned or pulled her back, obeyed full tilt the spurs that were plunged into her flank. By whatever means he had assailed her, in other words, by all means she attempted to hook him. But in vain were the snares laid, the nets spread, the hooks cast. The avenger of the old hate, the courtier of the fresh love, refused her all that affection is wont to give and shot at her every dart that hate can aim. When all efforts were exhausted, her passion grew to madness, and the sharpness of her pain exceeded her power of feeling, and as the numbness of the limbs gives no scope to medicine, so in her exhausted state her mind was dead to the consolations of lost hope. At length an old woman who lived near Gerbert aroused her as one raised from the dead, and from her hovel pointed him out through a hole as he sauntered alone in the midst of a small orchard after dinner in the heat of the day; and after a little they saw him lay himself down under the shade of a gnarled oak, and lie quietly sleeping. But she was not at quiet: casting off her mantle and clad only in her shift, with covered head, she crept beneath his cloak and roused him with kisses and embraces. From the sated man, heavy with wine, she easily obtained the boon she sought: the heats of youth and of the hour, of food, and of wine all conspired to induce love. It is ever thus, we know, that Phœbus and Pan, Ceres and Bacchus, defer to Venus, and from their meetings Pallas is always shut out.[2] She pressed on him with embraces and kisses, with whispered flattery of honeyed words, until, calling Meridiana to mind, he, overwhelmed with shame and in a state of no little alarm—yet willing to evade her respectfully—withdrew, promising to return,

et in nemore solito a pedibus Meridiane[a] ueniam petit erratui. Illa diu despicit insolenter, et tandem eius hominium[1] ad securitatem quia deliquerat poscit, et optinet, et in eius perseuerat tutus obsequio.

Contigit interea archiepiscopum Remensem in fata cedere, et Gerbertum fame sue meritis incathedrari. Deinceps eciam suscepti negocium honoris exequens, dum Rome moram faceret, fit a domino papa cardinalis et archiepiscopus Rauennas, et post pauca defuncto papa sedis illius eleccione publica gradum ascendit, et toto sacerdocii sui tempore confecto sacramento corporis et sanguinis Dominici non gustabat, ob timorem uel ob reuerenciam, et cautissimo[b] furto quod non agebatur simulabat. Apparuit autem ei Meridiana[c] anno sui papatus ultimo, designans ei uite securitatem donec Ierosolimis missam celebrasset, quod Rome commorans pro uoto suo cauere putabat. Contigit autem ipsum ibi celebrare ubi asserem illum aiunt depositum quem Pilatus summitati crucis Dominice titulo sue passionis inscriptum affixerat, que quidem ecclesia usque in hodiernum diem Ierusalem dicitur;[2] et ecce sibi ex opposito applaudebat
f. 53v Meridiana[c] quasi de aduentu suo proximo / ad ipsam gauisura. Qua uisa et intellecta, nomenque loci edoctus, cardinales omnes, clerum et populum conuocat, publice confitetur, nec aliquem totius uite sue neuum irreuelatum obseruat. Statuit eciam ut deinceps contra clerum et populum in facie omnium fieret consecracio. Vnde multi altari celebrant interposito, dominus autem papa percipit facie ad faciem omnium sedens.[3]

Gerbertus modicum uite sue residuum assidua et acerrima penitencia sincere beauit, et in bona confessione decessit. Sepultus est autem in ecclesia beati Iohannis Laterani in

[a] Meridiane *MS;* al Marianne *marg.* [b] cautissimo *Wright;* castissimo cautissimo *MS* [c] Meridiana *MS;* Marianna *marg.*

[1] Cf. Dist. iv. 6.

[2] The Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome, so called because it was built to house relics, especially a relic of the True Cross, from Jerusalem.

[3] Map must have meant 'with the priest between altar and people'. The practice normal in northern Europe in Map's time and almost universal from the late Middle Ages until the mid 20th century was for the priest to stand between the congregation and the altar, facing east away from them. In the papal basilicas the more ancient tradition survived by which the celebrant faced the people across

and in the accustomed wood sought at Meridiana's feet forgiveness for his lapse. Long did she look down on him with disdain, but finally demanded his homage[1] as security in view of his transgression: she obtained it, and he continued safe in her service.

Meanwhile it came about that the archbishop of Reims deceased, and Gerbert, thanks to his reputation, was enthroned there. Thereupon, too, when carrying out the affairs of his honourable charge, while he was staying at Rome, he was created by the lord pope a cardinal, and archbishop of Ravenna, and shortly after, on the pope's death, by public choice mounted to the rank of that see. During the whole course of his priesthood, when the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood was celebrated he never tasted it, either in fear or respect, but by the most wary concealment feigned the act which he did not perform. Now Meridiana appeared to him in the last year of his papacy, and intimated to him that his life was safe until he celebrated mass in Jerusalem; and as he lived at Rome, he thought he could avoid doing this at his pleasure. But it befell him to celebrate in that place where, they say, the board is laid up which Pilate affixed to the top of the Lord's cross, inscribed with the title of his passion, and that church is to this day called Jerusalem.[2] And lo! there, over against him was Meridiana exulting (applauding) as if for joy at his speedy coming to her. When he saw and recognized her, and learned the name of the place, he called together all the cardinals, the clergy and the people, made a public confession, and kept no blemish of all his career unrevealed. He further ordained that thenceforth the consecration of the elements should be performed over against the clergy and people, to their face. Hence many celebrate with the altar between themselves and the people, but the lord pope receives (communicates) seated face to face with all.[3]

Gerbert sincerely hallowed the short remainder of his life with assiduous and severe penance, and died in a good confession. He is buried in the Church of St. John Lateran in

the altar, and the bishop, in Rome the pope, presided from a throne in the east of the apse. The arrangement is clearly represented in several of the Roman basilicas; San Clemente, rebuilt in the early 12th century, is a particularly good example.

mausoleo marmoreo, quod iugiter sudat, sed non adunantur in riuum gutte, nisi mortem alicuius diuitis Romani prophetantes. Aiunt enim quod cum iminet domino pape migracio riuus in terram defluit; cum alicui magnatum, usque ad terciam uel quartam uel quintam partem emanat, quasi cuiusque dignitatem arto designans uel ampliori fluento.

Licet autem Gerbertus auaricie causa glutino diaboli diutissime detentus fuerit, magnifice tamen in manu forti Romanam rexit ecclesiam, a cuius ut dicitur possessionibus omnium successorum suorum temporibus aliquit defluxit. Audiuimus quod Leo papa dedit inicium cause qua castellum Crescentii[a] adhuc, quasi exheredato beato Petro, Petri Leonis heredes detinent.[1] Petrus ille Leonis Iudeus ad fidem nostram opera Leonis pape conuersus est, et ab ipso Leonis agnomen habuit, studuitque Leo papa ipsum redditibus et prediis ampliare, castellique predicti ei custodiam contulit, ad eius magnificenciam et honorem, et nobilissimi ciuis ei filiam uxorem dedit, ex qua Petrus duodecim suscepit filios, quos ipse prudencia sua singulis stabiliuit honoribus et summos in ciuitate constituit. Reliquit autem eis castelli custodiam, dicens hoc modo: duodecim eis uirgas forti ligatas uinculo dedit, ut qui eas sine solucione uinculi manu posset inermi confringere primus in hereditate deinceps haberetur. Singulorum igitur conatibus elusis, solui iussit uirgulas et unumquemque suam frangere, quod in momento factum est. Ait ergo: 'Sic, filii mei karissimi, dum unitos amoris uinculo uos inueniet hostilitas, uicta resiliet, quos quecunque uis forcior separatos inuaserit triumphabit.' Sic Petri suorumque sapiencia et astucia sequacium mansit apud eos quasi hereditas patrimonium Christi. Nostris eciam temporibus perdidit Alexander papa tercius consuetudinem porte beati Petri, quam pedagium dicunt, et altare dominicum

[a] Crescentii *James;* crescens *MS*

[1] The 'castle of Crescentius' refers to the mausoleum of Hadrian in Rome, later fortified as the Castel Sant'Angelo, one of the principal papal fortresses of the Middle Ages. Benedict, a converted Jew, named his son Leo after Pope Leo IX (1049–54); Leo's son Peter was an ardent supporter of Gregory VII (1073–85) and was granted the castle by Urban II (1088–99). Peter's family became known as the Pierleoni; one of them became anti-Pope as Anacletus II in 1130. Map attributes an ancient and well-known fable to Peter Leoni (cf. Hinton, *Notes*, p. 458).

a marble tomb which continually sweats; but the drops do not join into a stream, except to predict the death of some wealthy Roman. They say that when the departure of the lord pope is imminent, the stream runs down to the ground: when that of some noble, it oozes out to a third, a quarter, or a fifth part of the height, as if to indicate the quality of each by the scantiness or volume of its flow.

Although through covetousness Gerbert was held captive a long time by the birdlime of the devil, he ruled the Roman Church greatly and with a strong hand; in the times of each and all of his successors something has dropped away from her possessions, so it is said. I have heard that Pope Leo was first responsible for the fact that the castle of Crescentius is still withheld by the heirs of Peter Leonis, St. Peter being thus disinherited of it.[1] This Peter Leonis was a Jew converted to our faith by the means of Pope Leo, and from him had his surname Leonis; and Pope Leo took pains to enrich him with revenues and lands, and conferred on him the wardenship of that castle to add to his magnificence and honour, and gave him the daughter of a most noble citizen to wife, by whom Peter had twelve sons, and by his wisdom he established every one in honourable offices and made them the first men in the city. And he bequeathed the wardenship of the castle to them in this fashion: he handed them twelve sticks strongly tied together, and the one who without loosing the band could break them with his bare hand was thenceforth to be held first in the inheritance. So when the efforts of them all proved vain, he ordered the sticks to be untied, and each son to break his own, which was done in an instant. He said therefore: 'Thus, my dear sons, as long as hostility finds you united with the bond of affection, it will fall back defeated; but any violence that attacks you singly will triumph.' In this way, by the wisdom and craft of Peter and his posterity the patrimony of Christ has remained in their hands as of hereditary possession. Again, in our days Pope Alexander III lost that custom of the gate of St. Peter which is called the *pedagium*, and the Lord's altar

ecclesie ipsius in manum laicam, prefecti scilicet Romani;[1] et nunc hodie a Romanis electus est Lucius papa successor Alexandri tercii, qui fuerat anno preterito Hubaldus Hostiensis episcopus et sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalis.[a]

xii. *De sutore Constantinopolitano fantastico*[2]

Circiter idem tempus quo Gerbertus fantastica felicitate floruerat, iuuenis a Constantinopoli de plebe sutor, et illius artis omnes excedens magistros nouis et precipuis inuencionibus, plus operabatur una die quam aliquis alius duobus, et in singulis erat sua festinacio laucior quam studia magistrorum. Viso enim quouis pede nudo, gibboso uel recto, aptissimum ei statim induebat calceum, nec alicui operabatur uiso nisi pede, unde nobilibus acceptus nulli pauperum uacare potuit. In omnibus eciam arene spectaculis, ut in iactibus et palestra similique uirium experiencia, palmas adipisci solitus, admirabilis longe lateque predicabatur. Vna igitur dierum, uirgo pulcherrima cum maximo comitatu ad fenestram ueniens, pedem ostendit nudum, ut ab ipso calciaretur. Ille miser uisam intuetur argucius, et factis /
f. 54 uenundatisque calceis incipit a pede, totamque recipit in cor, ebibitque pestilentem maliciam qua totus deperit. Regales appetit seruus delicias, nec attingit unde quid speret. Suppellectile tamen abiecta, patrimonio uendito, fit miles, ut licet sero uilitate condicionis mutata cum statu nobilium, saltem leuius repelli mereatur. Priusquam dilectam appellare presumat, quam sibi usurpauerat miliciam acerbe sequitur, et exercitacione frequenti successu comite fit comparacione militum, qualis fuerat sutoribus aptatus.

[a] *MS adds* et Hostiensis episcopus; *om. James*

[1] The prefect of Rome was the emperor's representative in the government of the city. For *pedagium* see *Councils and Synods*, i. 826: it meant a tax or toll on travellers. It occurs as 'exactio pedaticorum' in a decree of the First Lateran Council of 1123 (c. 14) and from 1151 in English sources. Alexander III died on 30 August 1181, and Lucius was elected on 1 September.

[2] 'Gouffre de Satalie' (see the end of this story) was the name by which the Crusaders referred to the Gulf of Antalya; it was apparently from Greek εἰς Ἀττάλειαν. Different forms of this story were told by Roger of Howden (*Gesta Henrici II*, ii. 195–7; Hoveden, iii. 158–9) and Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia imperialia*, ii. 12, ed. Leibnitz, i. 920): Gervase makes Perseus himself throw the Gorgon's head into the gulf. M. Boutemy argues that this story was brought back from the Third Crusade (as it appears in Howden), and that the chapter was written in

of that same church, to a lay hand, that, namely, of the prefect of Rome.[1] And now, to-day, Lucius has been elected pope by the Romans in succession to Alexander III: last year he was Hubaldus, Bishop of Ostia, and Cardinal of the holy Roman Church.

12. *Of the Haunted Shoemaker of Constantinople*[2]

About the time when Gerbert flourished in his supernatural prosperity there was a young man of the lower class of Constantinople, a shoemaker, who surpassed all the masters of that craft in his new and excellent inventions; he could do more in one day than anyone else in two, and, in every piece of work, what he made in a hurry was smarter than the results of the long labour of the masters. For if he but saw any bare foot, were it crooked or straight, he could at once clothe it with a most admirably fitted shoe; nor would he work for anyone save on sight of the foot, whence he found favour with the gentry and had no time for any poor customer. Moreover at all the public shows in the arena, as in throwing and wrestling and other such manly exercises, he would always win the prize, so that far and wide he was talked of as a wonder. Now one day a most beautiful maiden with a great train of followers came to his window and showed her bare foot, to have it shod by him. The ill-starred man saw it, studied it intently, and after making and selling the shoes, began at the foot and drew into his heart the whole woman, drinking to the dregs the poisonous plague, which made the whole man pine away. A slave hungering for royal dainties, he could not attain a ground for any hope. Yet he cast away his implements, sold his patrimony, and became a soldier, that even late in the day by exchanging the meanness of his work for the career of a gentleman, he might at least suffer a gentler repulse. Before he dared to address his love, he keenly prosecuted the course of soldiery he had taken up, and by practice, attended with frequent successes, became among soldiers what he had been compared with other shoemakers.

the 1190s. It is true, as he says, that Richard I's fleet sailed in the gulf in 1191, but so must any fleet passing along the south coast of Asia Minor, and the legend could have been circulated in the west by earlier crusaders or pilgrims. (On the legends and name of the gulf, see Hinton, *Notes*, pp. 458–60).

Attemptat igitur, et se dignum iudicans a patre puelle petitam non optinet; excandescit in iras nimias, et quam sibi generis abieccio prediorumque defectus negant extorquere desiderans, iuncto sibi magno piratarum agmine, marino prelio parat ulcisci repulsam terre, unde factum est ut terra marique timeatur, quem nusquam successus deserunt. Dum ergo proficiscitur instanter, et semper proficit, ueros audit mortis amice sue rumores;[a] qui, licet lacrimosus, acceptis induciis ad exequia properat, et uisa tumulacione locoque notato nocte proxima solus effodit tumulum, et ad mortuam quasi ad uiuam ingreditur. Quo scelere peracto, ex mortua resurgens audit ut tempore partus illuc reuertatur, delaturus inde quod genuerat. Paret auditui, nacta competencia reuertitur, et effosso tumulo caput humanum recipit a mortua, sub interdicto ne uideatur nisi ab hostibus interimendis. In scrinio illud artissime uinctum deponit, cuius confidencia mari relicto terram inuadit, et quibuscunque ciuitatibus aut uicis iminet, Gorgoneum pretendit ostentum. Obrigescunt miseri, uident instar Meduse maliciam. Supra modum timetur, et ab omnibus in dominum accipitur, ne pereant. Nemo causam intelligit pestis inuise subiteque mortis. Simul enim uident et pereunt, sine uoce, sine gemitu; in propugnaculis eciam sine uulnere moriuntur armati; cedunt castra, ciuitates, prouincie; nichil obstat, et se dolet omnis milicia uiliter et absque negocio spoliari. Mathematicum quidam, alii dicunt deum; quicquid pecierit, nichil ei negacionis afferunt.

Inter eius enumerant unum successus, quod imperatore Constantinopolitano defuncto filia eius heres ei derelinquitur. Accipit oblatam; quis enim neget? Aliquamdiu cum ea conuersatus, de scrinio ad racionem ab ipsa ponitur, que non nisi cognita ueritate quiescit; quam edocta, ipsi a sompnis excitato in uultum porrigit ⟨caput⟩.[b] Quo suis insidiis capto,

[a] runores *MS*

[b] porrigit caput *Winterbottom;* porrigitur *MS*

He made trial therefore, and though reckoning himself worthy could not gain from the maiden's father her whom he sought; he therefore kindled into violent wrath, and determining to gain by force her whom his low birth and lack of estates denied, collected a great band of pirates and made ready to avenge his defeat on land by fighting at sea; and, never forsaken by good fortune, came to be feared both on sea and land. Now while he pressed on, ever prospering, a true report reached him that his mistress was dead; in the midst of his grief he agreed to a truce, hastened to the funeral, saw the interment and marked the spot, and on the following night broke into the grave and lay with the dead woman as though she were still alive. His horrid deed completed, as he left the corpse, he heard a voice telling him to return, when the time of her delivery should be at hand, to carry away what he had engendered. He obeyed the precept, returned when the time came, and opening the tomb received from the dead a human head, which he was forbidden to show except to an enemy who was to be slain. He laid it up, very strongly fastened in a box, and trusting in its power forsook the sea and invaded the land. Whatever cities or villages he attacked, he held up before them that Gorgon-portent. The wretched inhabitants stiffened at beholding a terror like Medusa. He was feared above measure, and received by all as their lord, lest they should perish. No man understood the cause of the unseen pestilence, the sudden death. At one instant they saw and perished, without word or groan; the armed men on the battlements died unwounded; castles, cities, provinces yielded, there was no bar to his progress, and all chivalry agonized at being laid waste at no cost and with no exertion. Some called him an astrologer, some a god; whatever his demands, he met with no refusal.

Among his triumphs they tell of one, that on the death of the emperor of Constantinople his daughter and heir was left to our hero. He accepted the offer, for who would not? After he had lived with her some time, he was questioned by her about the box, and she would not rest till she learned the truth; when she did, she roused him from sleep, and thrust the head in his face. Thus was he caught in his own snare,

deportari iubet Meduseum prodigium, et in medio maris Grecorum proici tantorum ultrix scelerum, auctoremque delicti socium esse perdicionis precipit. Properant in galea nuncii, mediumque maris ⟨nacti⟩[a] duas orbis immanitates in profundum abiciunt. Facta[b] est autem ab eorum recessu cum arenis ebullicio pelagi, tanquam auulsus a fundo designet estus fugam saltu subito resiliencium aquarum et abhorrencium in illis iram Altissimi, et quasi mare nauseans reicere conetur quod in ipsum[c] suo tellus egra puerperio conualescens euomuit. Exalabant in sidera fluctus, et ignis instar altissima petebant. Sed post dies paucos monstrorum mutata sentencia, que sidera petebant aque deorsum tendunt
f. 54v faciuntque uoraginem circuitu sempiterne / uertiginis. Cumulus fuerat quod nunc fossa est. Limus enim profundi, non sustinens abhominacionem et maris horrorem, exinanitus est et stupore defecit, hyatuque dehiscens infinito permeabilis eis usque in abissi nouissima facta est,[1] unde semper absorbere sufficit quicquid infundere potest maris immanitas, Caribdi sub Messana persimilis. Quicquid incidit casu uel ab auido rictu attrahitur, irremediabiliter periclitatur; et, quia nomen erat uirgini Satalia, uorago Satilie nominatur, et euitatur ab omnibus, quod uulgo dicitur Gouufre de Satilie.

xiii. *De Nicholao Pipe homine equoreo*[2]

Multi uiuunt qui nobis magnum et omni admiracione maius enarrant se uidisse circa pontum illud prodigium Nicholaum Pipe, hominem equoreum, qui sine spiraculo diu per mensem uel annum intima ponti cum piscibus frequentabat indempnis, et tempestate deprensa[d] nauibus in portu uetabat exitum presagio, uel egressis reditum indicebat. Verus homo, nichil inhumanum in membris, nichil in aliquo quinque sensuum defectus habens, trans hominem acceperat aptitudinem piscium. Cum autem in mare descendebat moram ibi

[a] nacti *James; om. MS* [b] Facta *Wright;* Factus *MS* [c] ipsum *Wright;* ipsam *MS* [d] deprensa *Mynors;* depressa *MS*

[1] Job 38: 16.

[2] This story, like the previous one, is told by Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia*, ii. 12; ed. Leibnitz, i. 921: 'Nicholas Papa'; cf. Liebrecht, pp. 49–51). For its history, see Hinton, *Notes*, pp. 460–1.

and she, the avenger of such great crimes, commanded that the Medusaean portent should be taken away and cast into the midst of the Grecian sea, and that the author of the sin should share its destruction. The envoys hastened off in a galley, and when they had reached mid-sea, cast the two enormities of the world into the deep. As they retired there took place a boiling up of the sea with its sands; the tide torn from its depths seemed to show the flight of the waters that recoiled with a sudden leap and abhorred that token of the wrath of the Most High that was in them; and the nauseated sea seemed to be trying to throw up that which the land, sick with its birth, had vomited into it as it recovered. The waves boiled up to the stars, and like flames rose up to the heights. But after a few days the purpose of the prodigies changed, and the waters that had attacked the stars turned downwards and made a whirlpool, going about in perpetual rotation. What had been a heap is now a pit. For the slime of the deep, not able to bear the abomination, and the shuddering of the sea, was exhausted, and failed in stupefaction, and yawning with an infinite gape afforded them a path into the lowest parts of the abyss,[1] and henceforward is able to absorb all that the sea in its cruelty can cast into it—like Charybdis that is by Messina. Everything that falls into it by accident or is drawn in by its greedy jaws is imperilled without hope of remedy; and because the maiden's name was Satalia, it is called the whirlpool of Satalie and is shunned by all. In common speech it is named *Gouffre de Satalie.*

13. *Of Nicholas Pipe, the Man of the Sea*[2]

Many are alive who tell us that they have seen at sea that prodigy, great, nay, surpassing all wonderment, I mean Nicholas Pipe, the Man of the Sea. For long periods, a month or a year, he would frequent the depths of the sea with the fishes, without breathing the air, yet unharmed; and when he was ware of a storm by foresight, he would forbid ships in harbour to go out, or bid them return if they had gone out. A real man, he had nothing non-human in his form, nor any defect in his five senses, but was gifted, over and above his humanity, with the aptitudes of fish. When he was going down into the sea to make some stay

facturus, fragmenta ueteris ferri de biga uel pedibus equorum uel antiquate suppellectilis auulsi[a] secum deferebat, cuius nondum racionem audiui. Hoc uno erat inminutus ab hominibus et piscibus unitus, quod sine maris odore uel aqua uiuere non potuit; cum abducebatur longius tanquam hanelitu deficiente recurrebat. Cupiuit eum rex Siculus Willelmus[1] auditis his uidere, iussitque ipsum sibi presentari, quem dum inuitum traherent inter manus eorum absencia maris extinctus est. Licet non minus admiranda legerim uel audierim, nihil huic portento simile scio.

Supra Cenomannum in aere comparuit multis hominum centenis grex caprarum maximus. In Britania minori[2] uise sunt prede nocturne militesque ducentes eas cum silencio semper transeuntes, ex quibus Britones frequenter excusserunt equos et animalia, et eis usi sunt, quidam sibi ad mortem, quidam indempniter.

Cetus eciam et phalanges noctiuage quas Herlethingi[3] dicebant famose satis in Anglia usque ad Henrici secundi, domini scilicet nostri, tempora regis comparuerunt, exercitus erroris infiniti, insani circuitus et attoniti silencii, in quo uiui multi apparuerunt quos decessisse nouerant. Hec huius Herlethingi uisa est ultimo familia in marchia Walliarum et Herefordie anno primo regni Henrici secundi, circa meridiem, eo modo quo nos erramus cum bigis et summariis, cum clitellis et panariolis, auibus et canibus, concurrentibus uiris et mulieribus. Qui tunc primi uiderunt tibiis et clamoribus totam in eos uiciniam concitauerunt, et ut illius est mos uigilantissime gentis[4] statim omnibus armis instructa multa manus aduenit, et quia uerbum ab eis extorquere non potuerunt uerbis, telis adigere responsa parabant. Illi autem eleuati sursum in aera subito disparuerunt.

Ab illa die nusquam uisa est illa milicia, tanquam nobis insipientibus illi suos tradiderint errores, quibus uestes

[a] fragmenta . . . auulsi *is probably corrupt, and* auulsi *should go with* ferri. *Perhaps Map wrote* fragmenta antiquate suppellectilis uel ueteris ferri de biga uel pedibus equorum auulsi *(Winterbottom)*

[1] Either William I (1154–66) or William II (1166–89); more probably the latter, who was Henry II's son-in-law; there was frequent communication between Norman England and Norman Sicily. Cf. R. H. Pinder-Wilson and C. N. L. Brooke in *Archaeologia*, ciii (1973), 298–301.

[2] Brittany, see below, iv. 15.

[3] See above, i. 11.

[4] The Welsh.

there, he took with him pieces of old iron torn from carts or horses' feet, or worn-out utensils: I have never yet heard the reason of this. In one respect only was he inferior to mankind and like the fish, that he could not live away from the smell or water of the sea; when he was taken some distance away from it he would run back to it as if his breath failed him. William, king of Sicily,[1] heard of all this and was anxious to see him, and bade him be brought to him, and while the men dragged him by force he died in their hands, owing to his separation from the sea. Though I have read or heard of things not less marvellous, I know of nothing that resembles this prodigy.

Over Le Mans, in the air, there appeared to many hundreds of people a great herd of goats. In Lesser Britain[2] there have been seen droves of spoil by night and soldiers driving them who always pass in silence, and the Bretons have often 'cut out' horses and beasts from among them, and made use of them—some with fatal results, others without harm to themselves.

The nocturnal companies and squadrons, too, which were called of Herlethingus,[3] were sufficiently well-known appearances in England down to the time of King Henry II, our present lord. They were troops engaged in endless wandering, in an aimless round, keeping an awestruck silence, and in them many persons were seen alive who were known to have died. This household of Herlethingus was last seen in the march of Wales and Hereford in the first year of the reign of Henry II, about noonday: they travelled as we do, with carts and sumpter horses, pack-saddles and panniers, hawks and hounds, and a concourse of men and women. Those who saw them first raised the whole country against them with horns and shouts, and as is the wont of that most alert race,[4] a large force came equipped with every weapon, and, because they were unable to wring a word from them by addressing them, made ready to extort an answer with their arms. They, however, rose up into the air and vanished on a sudden.

From that day that troop has nowhere been seen; they seem to have handed over their wanderings to us poor fools, those

atterimus, regna uastamus, corpora nostra et iumentorum frangimus, egris animabus querere medelam non uacamus; nulla nobis utilitas accedit inempta, nichil emolumenti prouenit, si dampna pensentur, nichil dispensanter agimus, nichil uacant⟨er⟩; uana nobis infructuosa⟨que⟩ adeo properacione deferimur insani; et cum semper in abscondito secrecius nostri colloquantur principes, seratis et obseruatis aditibus, nichil in nobis consilio fit. Furia inuehimur et impetu; presencia necligenter et insulse curamus, futura casui committimus; et quia scienter et prudenter in nostrum semper tendimus interitum, uagi et palantes, pauidi pre ceteris hominum exterminati sumus et tristes. Inter alios
f. 55 queri / solet que causa doloris, quia raro dolent; inter nos causa leticie, quia raro gaudemus. Doloris aliquando leuamen habemus, leticiam nescimus; subleuamur solacio, gaudio non beamur. Ascendit autem in nobis cum diuiciis meror, quia quanto quis maior est, tanto maiori quassatur sue uoluntatis assultu, et in predam aliorum diripitur.

In hac ego miserabili et curiosa languesco curia, meis abrenuncians uoluntatibus, ut placeam aliis. Cum enim paucissimi iuuare possint, quiuis nocere potest; nisi placatam habuero solus uniuersitatem, nichil sum; si uirtuosum precessero ut fiam inuidiosus, clam detrahent, et defensores meos deceptos apparencia dicunt. Simplicem[a] fatuum iudicant, pacificum desidem, tacitum nequam, bene loquentem mimum,[b] benignum adulatorem, †nichilum†[c] sollicitum cupidum, . . . pestilentem, pium remissum, diuitem auarum, orantem hipocritam, non orantem publicanum. Necesse habent ad hos succincti tumultus, ut uirtutibus supressis armentur uiciis; utriusque locum caute distinguant,[d] ut bonis iusti uideantur, malis pessimi. Consilium autem salubre nemo ambigit, ut semper in occulto colatur Trinitas, et in cordis archana puritate sincera deuocio celebretur,

[a] Simplicem *James;* Si placem *MS* [b] mimum *James;* nimium *MS*
[c] nihilum *Wright; James read* nich'um *or* inthu'm, *but MS is indecipherable. After* cupidum *an adjective expressive of a good quality is missing, James* [d] distinguant *MS perhaps for* distinguunt, *James*

wanderings in which we wear out our clothes, waste whole kingdoms, break down our own bodies and those of our beasts, and have no time to seek medicine for our sick souls. No advantage comes to us unbought, no profit accrues if the losses be reckoned, we do nothing considered, nothing at leisure; with haste that is vain and wholly unfruitful to us we are borne on in mad course, and since our rulers always confer secretly in hidden places with the approaches locked and guarded, nothing is done by us in council. We rush on at a furious pace; the present we treat with negligence and folly, the future we entrust to chance, and since we are knowingly and with open eyes always wending to our destruction, wandering timid waifs, we are more than any man lost and depressed. In other societies it is the common question, 'Why are you sad?' for sadness is rare; in ours it is, 'Why are you cheerful?' for we are seldom happy. Relief from sorrow we sometimes experience, gladness we do not know; we are lightened by solace, not blessed with happiness. But along with wealth, sorrow climbs up into our hearts; for the higher anyone rises, the fiercer are the assaults on his will which shake him, and he becomes the prey and spoil of others.

In this pitiable and care-ridden court I languish, renouncing my own pleasure to please others. While there are very few who can help one, it is in the power of anyone to injure; unless I singly have appeased the whole body, I am nowhere. If I take place of a worthy man so as to become enviable, they will backbite me, and say that my supporters are taken in by appearances. Is any simple? he is called a fool; peaceable? he is a sluggard; silent? a villain; well-spoken? an actor; good-natured? a flatterer; over-anxious? covetous; [something omitted]? a pestilent fellow; compassionate? slack; rich? a miser; says his prayers? a hypocrite; does not say them? a publican. Men who have to gird themselves against these onsets must of necessity suppress their virtues and arm themselves with faults. They must keep each carefully in its place, so as to appear righteous to the good, and very evil to the wicked. Nobody, however, doubts it to be a wholesome course, that the Trinity be always reverenced in secret, and a sincere devotion kept in the hidden purity of the heart,

quatinus interius solempnitate seruata decenter et caste defensa, quocunque modo saccum concidi permittat Dominus, non permutent extrinseci casus interiorem hominem, nec transeuncium perturbent accidencia residenciam anime substantialem in Domino.

Hoc de nostra uelim manifestari curia, quia nondum audita est ei similis preterita uel timetur futura. Cupio eciam ut postera recordetur huius malicie milicia, sciantque tollerabilia perpeti, a nobis intoleranciam passis edocti. Surgite igitur, eamus hinc, quia inter eius operas cui abrenunciauimus in baptismo Deum placare uel ei placere non uacamus; hic enim omnis homo uel uxorem ducit uel iuga boum probat.[1]

Quas excusaciones quomodo Salius uitauerit, audite,[a]

xiiii. *De Salio filio admirandi maioris*

Salius, nacione rituque gentilis, filius admirandi maioris, quem admirabantur pater eius et mater et tota nacio pre sciencia in puero matura. Hic cum esset sollicitus de salute anime sue, non inuenit in lege gentilium unde spem conciperet. Scrutatis igitur patrum tradicionibus, ad Christianam se contulit ueritatem, Templaribus babtismo, fide, societate coniunctus. Cui cum acceptis induciis pater eius et mater et sue magnates parentele secrecius loquerentur, ut ipsum quasi ab errore facerent resipisci, respondit: 'Carissime pater, qui sapiencia premines aliis, tu michi solus omissis lacrimis dic quam expectes a diis anime tue retribucionem pro impensis obsequiis.' Tum ille: 'Karissime fili, paradisum nobis preparauerunt dii nostri, lacte et melle duobus magnis fluminibus manantem, eritque nobis in melle sapor omnium desiderabilium ciborum, et in lacte cuiuslibet delectacio liquoris.' Ait ergo Salius: 'Si non appecieritis, non erunt delicie; appecieritis quo plus,[b] ⟨post⟩ multam saturitatem ad requisita diuertetis nature. Corporalis enim cibus aut potus euanescere non potest; necessaria ut habeatis necesse

[a] audite,] *Either punctuate thus or insert erat in the first sentence of c. xiiii, James*
[b] *The lacuna after* plus *should hold a corresponding comparative (Winterbottom). James suggested reading 'perhaps* quo plus appecieritis post'

[1] Cf. John, 14: 31; Luke, 14: 19, 20.

in order that while the sobriety of life is daily preserved within and carefully protected, howsoever the Lord may permit the bag to be slashed about, outward changes may not change the inner man, nor the accidents of passing things disturb the stable rest of the soul upon the Lord.

I would have this publicly known about our court, for never yet has there been one like it heard of in the past, nor is such another to be feared in the future. I am anxious, too, that the chivalry of posterity should remember its malice, and learn that what they suffer is tolerable, from us who have undergone intolerable things. Arise, therefore, let us go hence, for among the servants of him whom we renounced in baptism we have no leisure to placate God or to please him, for here every man is either marrying a wife or proving a yoke of oxen.[1]

How Salius avoided these excuses you shall now hear.

14. *Of Salius the Son of the Chief Emir*

Salius, by birth and creed a heathen, was the son of a chief emir, whom his father and mother and all his tribe marvelled at for the ripeness of his knowledge in his boyhood. He, anxious about the salvation of his soul, found not in the heathen law any ground for hope: so after thorough examination of the traditions of his fathers, he had recourse to the Christian verity, and by baptism, belief and comradeship, joined himself to the Templars. His father and mother and the nobles of his kindred procured leave, and had a private interview with him, to induce him to repent of what they held to be his errors, and he answered them: 'Dearest father, you who excel others in wisdom, leave your weeping and tell me, you alone, what recompense to your soul you expect from the gods for the service you have paid them.' He replied: 'Dearest son, our gods have prepared for us a paradise flowing with milk and honey in two great streams, and in the honey we shall find the taste of all desirable foods, and in the milk the delight of every kind of liquor.' Salius then said: 'Unless you have appetite there can be no pleasure, and the more appetite you have the more surely when you are sated you will turn aside to relieve nature. For bodily food and drink cannot vanish away: you will of necessity have necessary-houses,

est, et pereat paradisus qui tali eget tugurio.' Videntes igitur sui legem patrum suorum ab ipso delusam, et contra constanciam eius eorum uanam instanciam, recesserunt cum lacrimis maledicentes ei. Ipse autem nec uxorem duxit nec boues probauit.

xv. *De Alano rege Britonum*

At Alanus Rebrit,[1] id est rex Britonum, uxorem sinistro
f. 55v duxit / auspicio sororem regis Francorum, comes ipse Redonensis et tocius Britannie minoris dominus, et quasi rex. Erat tunc temporis comes Leoniensium Remelinus, qui licet Alani iuratus esset et eius homo, insolenter tamen se habebat et uitanter ad ipsum; quod uxor Alani aduertens, nocturno ipsum conficiebat tediosa susurro quasi desidem et timidum, qui quocunque modo non adegisset uel uitam eius uel plena seruicia. Cui tandem Alanus: 'Facile satis est ipsum de medio delere, sed duos habet filios, Wiganum et Clodoanum, facie similes, moribus longe impares; Clodoanus enim bene litteratus est et prudens, sed degenerauit in mimum, ut totus in rithmis et ridiculis occupetur et in eis ultra solitum uigeat; Wiganus autem procerus est, et super omnes quos ego uiderim homines formosus et sapiens, scienciam eciam armorum et probitatem habens tam elegantem, ut magis[a] Achille maior uel Hectore iudicetur quam par alterutri. Huius autem sapiencia nunquam simul exeunt terram suam pater et ipse, ne simul possint intercipi.' Tum illa: 'Quandoquidem ita se habet status eorum,

[a] magis *Wright;* maius *MS*

[1] This is an exceedingly confused version of the events of 9th-century Brittany, with very little save some of the names in common with known events. The central figures were Salomon and Alan the Great, both remarkable men; Salomon in particular featured in the tradition of *chansons de geste* surrounding the figure of Charlemagne. This is discussed by A. le Moyne de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, ii (Rennes–Paris, 1898), pp. 117–22; and for the history of Brittany in this period, ibid. pp. 72–346. For recent views on Salomon, see W. Davies in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. M. Gibson and J. Nelson with D. Ganz (Oxford, 1981), pp. 87–107; Julia Smith in *Studies in Church History*, xviii (1982), 59–70, esp. 65–70.

Ilispon is based on Erispoë, son of Nominoë, who was killed by his cousin Salomon in 857 in a church. Map's portrait of Salomon distantly reflects the quality of one of the outstanding figures in Breton history, who may have been the first Breton *dux* or *princeps* to have been known as *rex*: but it is possible that

and I have no use for a paradise that needs such erections.' So when they saw that he mocked at the law of his fathers and that their instancy could prevail nothing against his constancy, they went away weeping with curses upon him. He was one who neither married a wife nor proved a yoke of oxen.

15. *Of Alan, King of the Bretons*

Alan Rebrit,[1] however (that is king of the Bretons), did marry a wife, and that in an evil day. She was the sister of the king of the French, he the count of Rennes and lord—one might say, king—of all Lesser Britain. The Count of Léon at that time was Remelin, who though he had sworn allegiance to Alan, behaved himself proudly towards him and shunned his company. This the wife of Alan noticed, and she wore out her husband with her tedious curtain lectures, calling him sluggish and cowardly for not contriving somehow to exact from Remelin either his life or his full service due. Finally Alan said to her: 'It were easy enough to put him out of the way; but he has two sons, Wigon and Clodoan, who are alike in features, but most unlike in character. Clodoan is lettered and clever, but has degenerated into a buffoon, is absorbed in rhyming and jesting, and uncommonly expert therein. Wigon on the other hand is tall and more handsome, and wiser than any man I have ever seen; with such skill in arms and such elegant prowess, that he should be pronounced not so much a match for Achilles or Hector as superior to either. By his wise advice, he and his father are never absent from their land at the same time, lest they should both be cut off.' She replied: 'If matters stand so with them,

Erispoë claimed the title, and the evidence as to its early use is difficult to interpret. Salomon and his son Wigon (or Wigan) were killed in 874 by a conspiracy arranged by Salomon's son-in-law Pascwethen and Erispoë's son-in-law Gurhanat. In 888 Alan the Great, Pascwethen's brother, became duke or 'king' of all Brittany; he died in 907. Alan was known as Rebras or Rebres, which Map interprets, in his opening sentence, as 're brit', Breton king. Remelin may be based on Riwallon, Wigon's brother, or on an older Riwallon, a count of Cornouaille contemporary with Salomon. Hoel, count of Nantes, was son of Alan Barbetorte, duke of Brittany 937–52, and so himself belonged to the mid and late 10th century; cf. *Chronique de Nantes*, ed. R. Merlet (Paris, 1896), pp. 112–13 n., 113–18.

Erispoë was called Ylispodius in an early 13th-century inscription, which is not far from Map's peculiar version of the name, Ilispon (La Borderie, ii. 74; a reference we owe, with much other help, to Dr Wendy Davies).

ne nobis extincto patre durior sit infestacio filii, studeamus ipsum auferre de medio, si non utrumque; fac pater ueniat.'

Ille annuit, et ecce Remelinus, quem ipsa ueri simulatrix amoris ueris ornat et omnes suos honoribus sine simulacione munifica. Honusti repatriant donis aureis et argenteis et uestium mutatoriis, quos ut uident perspicuos et redimitos consiliarii Wigani, conuersi sunt in sinistram, et se similia perdidisse quod non affuerint queruntur. Quos dum auaricia contorquet et decoquit, ecce nuncius Alani, uir magnus et ad fraudem instructus egregie, cum omni petit instancia quatinus ad Alanum ueniant pater et filius, et si non uterque, filius, qui non affuerat quando pater. Primo dubitant et consiliantur, et ab utriusque loquitur auaricia consilio. Vt simul domino suo fideliter assint nichil hesitandum aiunt, ubi plane manifestum uident amorem in omnibus exibitum, et nullam subesse doli machinam. Horret tamen Wiganus et heret, domique residet, contra suorum sentenciam, cum eorum non modico murmure. Casse timiditatis arguitur ab eis clam, et menciuntur, quia contra ueram mencium scienciam obiurgant; uilem et ignauum derident, quem digne carum et irreprehensibilem sciunt. At in reditu Remelini, cum quo uestes et aurum, equi et falere, Alani preconia, laudes regine ueniunt, excandescit ignis auaricie, cupidique similium Wigano insultantes aiunt: 'Honor Alani est uisitacio suorum, et ex suis ei humilitas et amor exhibetur; in hoc quod uocatus tociens supersedisti, quid aliud est quam ipsum prodicionis arguere, uel tuum propalare contemptum ad uim et superbiam? Eia! Primis obtempora mandatis, fame labenti consule, terge preterite rubiginem infamie.' Annuit Wiganus; persuasum est ei uite periculum, et ecce regis et regine nuncii; simul euntibus Clodoanus obuiat, miratur, dissuadet, Wiganum detinet.

we may fear that when the father is dead the son will vex us more sorely: let us make it our business to put him out of the way, if not both of them. Make the father come here.'

Alan agreed, and see! here comes Remelin, whom the Queen, feigning a true attachment, loaded with genuine honours, as she did all his followers, showing herself in very truth munificent. They returned home laden with gifts of gold and silver and changes of raiment, and when the counsellors of Wigon beheld them brilliantly decked out, they took a sinister turn, and complained that by their absence they had lost these advantages. While covetousness was still racking and sweating them, lo! an envoy arrived from Alan, a distinguished man and one well versed in intrigue, who earnestly pressed that both father and son should visit Alan, or, if not both, at least the son, who had not been there with his father. At first they hesitated and debated, and covetousness was speaker in the counsels of each. 'We need not', they said, 'hesitate to visit our sovereign, as our faith to him demands, when we see that in every point he shows a clear affection for us; and no fraudful contrivance lurks beneath.' Yet Wigon was afraid, and held back and remained at home, against the opinion of his men, and with no small murmuring on their part. In private they charged him with vain cowardice, and that falsely, for their abuse was contrary to what they knew in their hearts: they mocked him as mean and lazy, though they knew him worthy to be loved and irreproachable. But when Remelin returned and with him came garments and gold, horses and trappings, extollings of Alan and praises of the Queen; then the flame of avarice burst forth; eager for like gifts, they insulted Wigon and said: 'The honour of Alan is in the visits of his vassals, and by them humility and love are ministered to him. Your neglect of this after so many invitations must mean either that you charge him with treachery or that you publish your own contempt of him which amounts to violence and pride. Up then! Obey the first summons, think of your tottering reputation, wipe off the rust of past disgrace.' Wigon consented, he resolved to risk his life, and upon this came the messengers of the king and queen. But as father and son were on their way together, Clodoan met them, was astonished, dissuaded the step, and kept Wigon at home.

Remelinus a rege suo et regina solita suscipitur aut digniori reuerencia. Regina precipue, que frequencius prodicionem studet, se ipsi tota familiaritate commendabilem facit, educit, reducit, immiscet[a] seria ludis,[1] et tota palliat comitate nequiciam. Considentibus eis et comorantibus ad propugnacula, forte duo uidentur albi uultures insidentes cadaueri, magni quidem et secundum informitatem fame sue pulcherrimi, auis enim incomposita est; et ecce tercius uultur
f. 56 modicus et niger deiecit / albos impetu subito et effugauit, obtinuitque cadauer. Ridet Remelinus, et ⟨ab⟩[b] ipsa sollicitatur quid hoc. Penitet ipsum; celare cupiens, quo magis silet, ad racionem instancius ponitur. Femina enim, sicut uentus in obstacula furit, sic irruit in negata consilia, et donec euicerit non est finis instancie. Vincitur ergo Remelinus, et inquit: 'Mons magnus in terra mea nigros educat uultures; mons alter ex opposito extra multo plures habet et albos; in omni uero eorum conflictu prestat unus niger duobus albis, ut modo uidisti. Et quia similiter unus meorum militum duobus preualet ex uestris in omni congressu, risi.' Ad hec illa: 'Hoc si uerum est, uestro satis dignum est risu, nostroque ploratu.' Et ad alios mox translata sermones, iocundis eum uerbis usque ad dimissionem detinuit. Et his Alano crudelius quam concepta fuerant a Remelino relatis, amplius inter eos filiam cordis sui sedicionem accendit; instat et optinet ut ipse cum ipsa proditor innocencie fiat. Centum equites Francos, armis et prodicione furtim instructos, intra portam exteriorem in cripta condunt, Remelinum et Wiganum inclusuros. Solempnius igitur solito perque digniores mandantur nuncios et optinentur. Vnde flens Clodoanus et eis mala presagiens a fratre suo multis adigit lacrimis, quatinus ipsum cum patre suo premittat, cum sit ei simillimus, et deceptis hostibus possit ipse Clodoanus pro fratre leuiore iactura perire. Sequens autem a longe Wiganus,

[a] immisset *MS* [b] ab *add. Winterbottom*

[1] The end of a hexameter, unidentified.

Remelin was received by his king and the queen with the wonted and even with higher respect. The queen in particular, who was more bent on treachery, made herself agreeable to him by every sort of familiarity, took him out and home, mingled grave and gay employments,[1] and masked her evil purpose with all possible courtesy. As they sat together and lingered on the ramparts, there chanced to come in sight two white vultures perched on a carcass; they were large and as comely as their well-known ugliness allows—for the bird is an uncouth creature. And lo! a third vulture, a small black one, dislodged the white ones with a sudden dash and secured the carcass. Remelin laughed, and the queen asked why. He felt his mistake, but when he tried to hide the reason, the more he kept it back the more he was pressed. For as the wind rages at an obstacle, woman rushes upon a secret that is denied her, and until she has extracted it, there is no end to her importunity. Remelin then was at length overcome and said: 'There is a great hill in my land which breeds black vultures; another over against it has many more which are white; but whenever they meet in fight, one black one can overmaster two white ones, as you have just seen. And I laughed, because in any engagement one of my soldiers can likewise beat two of yours.' Her answer was: 'If that is true, it is a matter that deserves your laughter and our tears.' And shifting the talk shortly after to other subjects, she entertained him with pleasant speeches until his departure. The queen reported the words to Alan in a harsher form than that intended by Remelin, and strife, the daughter of her heart, was kindled yet more between them: she insisted and prevailed that he should become with her the betrayer of the innocent. They placed a hundred French knights, secretly armed and instructed in the treachery, in a vaulted building inside the outer gate, to intercept Remelin and Wigon, who were then invited in yet more formal fashion and by envoys of higher rank, and their assent secured. Clodoan on this, with tears and predictions of evil to befall them, induced his brother, by dint of much weeping, to send him on with his father, since he, Clodoan, was very like Wigon, that so the enemy might be deceived and he perish instead of his brother, with lighter loss to the country. Wigon was to follow at a distance,

si prosperitatem uiderit intret; si fraudem, paratis sibi equis singulis in singulis milibus usque ad propria recurrat.

Ingressis igitur Remelino et Clodoano, porte clauduntur subito, rapiuntur, orbatus est Remelinus geminis et lumine. Clodoanus nomen suum confessus euadit. Videns igitur regina Wiganum exclusum a morte, hortatur et emittit milites, coram eis prostrata precatur ut properent, omnia dicit, omnia spondet; eruunt se, properant, ut interficiant innocuum. At ille, quinque iam mutatis equis, sexto non inuento (necligens enim et deses seruus qui equum ibi tenuerat, domino suo nichil sinistri prophetans ad uicum proximum ut comederet abscesserat), timens Wiganus illi quinto calcaria subdit, cui ⟨non⟩[a] pepercerat spe sexti; quo lassescente[b] circa cuiusdam nemoris confinia, ad feminam quam ante domum suam filare uidit festinus diuertit. Casum ei et se ipsum reuelat, et promittit quidlibet. Illa igitur filium suum ei cunis in domo inuoluendum tradit, et aliquo leuandum ne fleat solacio, dum illa uenientes eludat. Obtemporat ille; perueniunt ad eam equites, et ipsa cicius audita non discredentes ulterius properant, et sepe reuertentes circa domunculam illam euertunt omnia scrutinio limpidissimo. Wiganus interim ut puero flenti solacium faciat, cnipulum cum eburneo manubrio ei dat in manibus, et ipso relicto dum silet, domum intro circuit, latibulum querit, per foramina sollicitus excubat, tandem ad uagitum pueri repedans ipsum cnipulo incumbentem mortuum reperit. Quid igitur spei relinquitur? Iam qui morte proxima timuerat, quasi obtentus, siccis expectat securus lacrimis, quia spe defecta recessit et timor. Adhuc illis circiter illas partes uenantibus qui Wiganum querebant, inuento mater filio mortuo immoritur ei et
f. 56v prosilit amens, ut Wiganum / accuset. Ille pedibus apprehensam tenet spondetque se ipsum ei filium fore pro mortuo, persuadens ei nichil utilitatis ex ulcione prouenire posse, et de uenia ⟨spem⟩[c] multarum diuiciarum dat ipse.

[a] non *Mynors; om. MS* [b] lacessente *MS* [c] spem *Wright; om. MS*

enter if he saw all was well, if he espied treachery was to return home, having a horse ready for him at each mile.

This arranged, Remelin and Clodoan entered the castle; the gates were shut on a sudden; they were seized and Remelin emasculated and blinded. Clodoan, avowing his name, was spared. The queen, seeing that Wigon was shut out from death, called on her knights and sent them out; throwing herself down before them, she begged them to make speed—told everything, promised everything. They tore off with all haste to slay the innocent. But he after five times changing horse failed to find the sixth (for the negligent lazy slave who held the horse there, forecasting nothing sinister to befall his master, had gone off to the nearest village to eat), and so in his fear spurred on his fifth horse, which he had not been sparing in expectation of the sixth: but when he began to fail, near the border of a forest, he quickly turned aside to a woman whom he had espied spinning in front of her house. He disclosed himself and his plight to her, and made unstinted promises. She, then, gave him her child to wrap in the cradle inside the house, and he was to amuse and comfort it somehow to keep it from crying, while she got rid of those who were approaching. He obeyed. The horsemen came up, heard her tale hastily and did not disbelieve it, hurried on farther, and time after time came back and ransacked everything about the little cottage with the exactest scrutiny. Meanwhile, Wigon to comfort the crying child put a knife with an ivory haft into its hands, then left it when it was quiet, and went round the house inside, seeking a hiding-place and kept anxious watch through the openings: at last, at the wailing of the child, went back and found it dead; it had fallen on the knife. What hope was left him? He who had just been in fear at the nearness of death, now seemed caught, and waited calmly with dry eyes, for hope was gone and with it fear. While those who were searching for Wigon were still hunting out the neighbourhood, the mother found her child dead, well-nigh died herself on its corpse, and rushed forth in frenzy to denounce Wigon. He caught her by the feet and held her, and vowed he would be a son to her in place of the dead, assuring her that no profit could come to her from revenge, while if she forgave he held out hopes of great wealth.

Heret illa tandem, et in occursum uiri sui properat, omnibusque reuelatis promissorum illecti spe, militibus adhuc excutantibus, per secreta obscure semite Wiganum in tuto collocant. Colligit ergo uires Wiganus, et enarratis exercitui suo prodicione et timorum erepcione, in omnium oculis cingulo milicie liberatorem suum honorat, et multis preficit opibus et uicis, cuius usque hodie nepotes terram illam possident, et Filii nudi appellantur, quia ille primus quasi a nuditate uestitus de paupere factus est diues.

At Wiganus, ut iniurias patris et suas uindicet, in Alanum Rebrit, quod interpretatur Rex Britonum, tanta insurgit potencia, ut hostibus suis de tantis urbibus et uillis non relinquatur ubi caput suum reclinent,[1] et ut illius crudelissime uastacionis adhuc ostendantur monimenta, urbium euersio, ruine ecclesiarum attestantur. Confugiens igitur Alanus ad socerum suum regem Francorum, ipsius interuentu data filia sua scilicet herede suo[a] Wigano, ad pacem suscipitur restitutus. Quieuit autem diu et siluit hac confederacione tota illa regio.

Contigit Wiganum cum uxore sua in scaccis ludentem ad maiores operas a suis uocari, liquitque loco suo fidelem sibi militem ut cum domina ludum illum finiret, et abscessit. Cum ergo domina uicisset, ait militi secum ludenti: 'Non tibi, sed orbi filio *mat.*' Quod improperium Wiganus cum equanimiter ferre non posset, ad Alanum Rebrit properans inopinum inuasit; qui confectus ad ecclesiam beati Lewi[2] confugit solus, et clauso hostio suplex orauit beatum Lewium quatinus alterum custodiret meritis suis, dum ipse armis in altero restitisset hostibus; erant enim[b] ecclesie due porte. Cum igitur non possent hostes per portam sancti, per suam licet uix ingressi abstrahunt uirum, et coram ecclesia genitalibus priuant et oculis; unde factum est ut in illius sancti Lewi

[a] suo *MS; perhaps* sua *James*

[b] erant enim *James;* enim erant *MS*

[1] Cf. Matthew 8: 20; Luke 9: 58.

[2] The church of St. Lewi cannot be identified: the nearest in name in Brittany was the church and priory of S. Leau or Lau (Leuiaui), but this was in the west, in the see of Saint-Brieuc, not in the south-east, near Nantes (F. Duine, 'Mémento des sources hagiographiques de l'histoire de Bretagne (V^e–XIIe siècles)', *Bulletin et mémoires de la Soc. arch. du Département d'Ille et Vilaine*, xlvi (1918), 391–2).

At length she wavered, and then hastened to meet her husband, and told him all; and the two, won over by the hope of what was promised, put Wigon in a place of safety, leading him by a secret and obscure path, while the soldiers were still on the watch. Wigon then gathered his forces, and related the treachery and his own escape ⟨from danger⟩ to them, and before them all awarded to his rescuer the belt of knighthood, and made him master of much wealth and lands. His descendants still own the estates, and are called the sons of the bare one, because he first, like a naked man clothed, became from being a beggar a rich man.

Wigon, however, to avenge the hurts of his father and himself, now rose with such might against Alan Rebrit (i.e., king of the Bretons) that out of so many towns and villages his enemies had not left them where to lay their heads,[1] and so that the traces of that savage harrying are still pointed out, overthrown cities and ruined churches attest it. Alan, therefore, fled to his father-in-law, the king of the French, by whose intervention Alan's daughter and heir was given in marriage to Wigon, and himself received again to peace. Through this alliance that whole district was long in rest and quiet.

Now it happened that Wigon when playing chess with his wife was called away by his courtiers to more important business, left in his place a loyal knight of his to finish the game with his lady, and withdrew. When then the lady had won, she said to the knight who was playing with her: 'Mate, not to you, but to the blind man's son.' This taunt Wigon was unable to put up with; he hastened off to Alan Rebrit and fell on him unprepared: Alan, defeated, fled alone to the Church of St. Lewi,[2] shut the door, and prayed to blessed Lewi to guard one entrance by his merits, till he should have kept off the enemy with his weapons at the other—for the church had two doors. They, unable to get in by the Saint's door, entered, though with difficulty, by Alan's, dragged him out, and in front of the church emasculated and blinded him. It is owing to this that in that parish of St. Lewi to this day

An alternative is S. Léri, near Mauron, NW of Redon (La Borderie, ii. 248 ff.). We are much indebted to Mr Richard Sharpe and Dr Wendy Davies for advice on this.

parochia nullum animal parere possit adhuc, sed maturo partu egrediuntur ut pariant. Wiganus ut plena glorietur ulcione, ablatis secum in manica sinistra oculis et genitalibus Alani, celato et facto et proposito facie iocosa et hylari, domum reuersus cum uxore considet ad scaccos, et obtento ludo super scaccarium genitalia et oculos proicit, dicens quod ab ipsa didicerat: 'Filie orbi dico *mat.*' His uisis edocta uirago quid contigerit, licet ei percellatur[a] ad mortem animus, serenissimo risu leticiam dicens simulat dominum suum facetissimam fecisse iusticiam, et licet mens eius totis nisibus ad uindictam armetur, nichil interne machinacionis foris apparere permittit.

Erat autem hisdem temporibus comes Namniti Hoelus, et iuuenis et formosus et strenuus,[1] qui cum ei absque negocio placere posset, eo solo perplacet quo inde Wigano nocere potest, missisque nunciis in unum coeunt iniquitatis animum, illa ulcionis, ille auaricie, cupiditatis uterque. Se inuicem et alterutrum sua cupiunt, mortemque Wigani. Fallitur ergo miser et ab ipsa mittitur in dolo, quasi rebus suis que ad fines Namneti uergunt dispositurus, et interficitur. Ocupat Hoelus omnia, et suam faciens[b] ducit alienam, filiamque susceptam ab ipsa nobili uiro nomine Ilispon nuptui tradit, et post annos aliquot filium ex ea genuit quem dixit Salomonem, et mortuus est.

Successit ei Ilispon, et uiolenta inuasione toti dominatur
f. 57 Britannie, qui ne ulla maneat hereditatis / calumpnia, Salomonem occidere querit. Cuius misertus uir nobilis et illarum parcium fidelissimus Henno raptum abscondit infantulum inter popine sue seruos, ut inter humiles educati condicione seruili statusque uilitate sanguinis altitudo ueletur. Nutricius hunc solus cum sola[c] sua cognoscit.

Cum autem esset annorum quindecim, et fugisset aper a uenatoribus Ilispon, misit se forte in lucum[d] iuxta popinam in qua comorabatur Salomon. Exiliunt ad canum iubila Henno et familia sua, cumque circumstarent cum uenatoribus, et nemo

[a] *Perhaps* procellatur *in MS* [b] *Perhaps* suam ⟨missam⟩ faciens: sua *is used absolutely for* uxor *at the end of the next paragraph, James (unless we should add there* uxore *or* familia, *Winterbottom)* [c] *Perhaps* cum sola ⟨uxore⟩ *or* ⟨familia⟩, *as below, Winterbottom* [d] lucum *Wright;* lacum *MS*

[1] For Hoel, see above, pp. 376–7 n. 1.

no beast can bring forth, but when about to bear, they go outside it for that purpose. Wigon, in order to boast his full revenge, carried off with him in his left sleeve Alan's eyes and privy parts, masked deed and purpose with a smiling merry face, returned home and sat down to chess with his wife: when he had won the game he cast both upon the board with the words he had learned from her—'Mate to the blind man's daughter.' At the sight the woman perceived what had happened and though her spirit was stricken to death, she smiled calmly, feigned amusement, and said that her lord had done a clever piece of justice; and though her mind armed itself with all its power for vengeance, she suffered no hint of its inward plotting to show without.

At this time the Count of Nantes was Hoel, young, handsome and gallant;[1] who though he could easily find favour with the lady, only found extreme favour because by his means she could harm Wigon; she sent to him, and they united in a single mind of wickedness—she for revenge, he for covetousness, both for lust. They desired each other, and, mutually, their own advantage and the death of Wigon. That ill-fated man then was entrapped and sent off guilefully by the lady on pretext of ordering her affairs in the direction of Nantes, and slain. Hoel usurped all power, married another's wife, making her his own; and gave the daughter he had by her in marriage to a nobleman named Ilispon. A few years later he had a son by her, whom he named Salomon, and died.

Ilispon succeeded him and by a violent invasion mastered all Brittany, and then, that no challenger of his inheritance might survive, sought to kill Salomon. Henno, a noble and very loyal man of that country, took pity on him, carried him off and hid him, yet a baby, among the servants of his kitchen; to hide the greatness of his birth by bringing him up among the humble, in servile rank and mean condition. Only the foster-father and his wife were privy to the matter.

Now when he was fifteen years old, a boar outstripped Ilispon's huntsmen, and chanced to run into a wood near the kitchen where Salomon lived. Henno and his household rushed out at the cry of the hounds, and surrounded the wood, with the huntsmen, but as no one was bold enough

per audaciam presumeret ad aprum ingredi, irruit in aprum Salomon tunica feda sed uultu bono, palliolum habens in sinistra, cultellum in dextera modicum, et inuolantem in se fortiter suscipit sinistra, interficit dextera, spectaculum de puero quidem formosum et in admiracionem omnium cedens. Dum ergo pre magnitudine apri tum ad ipsum tum ad puerum omnes intenderentur oculi, uocauit eum in partem uenator senex, qui cum patre ipsius fuerat, nomen eius et gentem inquirens. 'Salomon' inquit 'michi nomen est, gentem nescio, quia me proiectum inuenit et nutriuit Henno.' Ille flens respondit: 'Ego scio.' Quod ut Hennoni puer innotuit, timens ab Ilispon prodito consilio uel interfici uel ut modicum exheredari, opida munit, et ad omnes ignotos et cognitos foras misso timore confessionem consilii sui manifeste mittit. Implorat eorum sibi et suo domino auxilia. Multi ergo magni principes Britannie, per oppressionem et tirannidem Ylispon prius ad iram prouocati, iam nunc optatam uidentes oportunitatem, ad Hennonem leti conueniunt.

Ad hos timet Ylispon rumores, et quoscunque potest in subsidium aduocat, inter quos Meinfelinus de Kimelec,[1] uir sapientissimus, aduenit. Iniecerat autem uxor Ylispon in iuuenem illius conuentus oculos, et cum se inuicem amarent, Meinfelinum timebant quasi prouidum et coniectorem, ne ipsius proderentur insidiis. Machinatur domina ut ipsum uel accusacione uel quoquo iniecto pudendo scrupulo a curia semoueat. Quo ipse comperto, filios suos octo ceteramque familiam instruit quatinus in omni casu se ita contineant ut ipsum uiderint continentem. Fatuus igitur, qui a domina instructus domum oberrat, Meinfelino bibenti lac in mensa uas lactis in caput supinauit; qui quasi de stulticia eius ridens, lac excussit in fatuum, et placata et pacifica facie prestolatur ulcionem ab Ylispon, arbitratus ipse secundum uisum non iniuriam sibi fieri, et iustum errorem fatui; his oblitis et inultis quasi domum reuers⟨ur⟩us abscedit cum licencia. Veniens ad Hennonem, quem tristem inuenit, letissimum suo reddit aduentu. Cui Henno: 'Victoriam

[1] Perhaps Quimperlé. J.E.L.

to risk approaching the boar, Salomon rushed on him with a dirty frock but a bold face, holding a cloth in his left hand and a small knife in his right, and received his attack bravely with his left hand and slew him with his right: it was a splendid sight in a boy, and excited the admiration of everyone; so while the great size of the boar was drawing all eyes on him and on the boy, an old huntsman who had been with his father called him aside and asked his name and family. 'Salomon', he said, 'is my name: my family I know not, for Henno found me cast out and brought me up.' The other replied with a tear: 'I know.' When the boy reported this to Henno, he, fearing that on the betrayal of his plan he would be murdered or at least dispossessed of all by Ilispon, fortified his towns, cast away fear, and sent abroad to all, known and unknown, a plain declaration of his design. He besought their aid for himself and his lord. Accordingly many great princes of Brittany whom Ilispon had previously angered by oppressions and tyranny, now saw the opportunity they desired, and gladly came together to Henno.

The report of this frightened Ilispon, and he summoned all he could to aid him: among them came Meinfelin of Kimelec,[1] a man of great wisdom. Now Ilispon's wife had cast her eye upon a youth of that company, and they loved each other and feared that Meinfelin, clever and discerning as he was, would betray their secret. The lady schemed to get him away from the court, either on some charge or by putting on him some shameful cause of offence. He found this out, and enjoined his eight sons and the rest of his train to practise in every event the same restraint that they should see him exercise. The jester, who was wandering about the hall, primed with instructions by his lady, upset a vessel of milk over the head of Meinfelin as he was drinking milk at the table. He, as if amused at the fooling, shook off the milk upon the jester and with good-tempered and peaceful visage waited for Ilispon to avenge him—reckoning, to all appearance, that no hurt had been done him and that the jester's extravagance was all fair: when all was passed over and unpunished he received leave to depart and went, on pretence of returning home. But he went to Henno, whom he found in low spirits, but raised to great gladness by his arrival. Henno said to him: 'The only

nostram tecum nobis ac per te a Deo missam in hoc solo timemus impediri posse, quod uicinus noster Camo, iuuenis prudens et strenuus optimisque castellis habundans, ex meo concessu spem conceperat ducendi filiam meam unicam et ab omni adhuc intactam uiro; quam quia nunc audit me mutata sentencia Salomoni parificare, opida munit, gentem multiplicat, uires omni conatu auget, manifestaque rabie suarum inflammatur iniuriarum ultor fieri. Cumque pertinacissimum sit odium in quod ex amore degeneratur, hic nisi conuertatur ad nos, nichil sumus.' Tunc sapiens: 'Mecum ueniat Salomon cum filia tua, ut nobis ipsum lenitum reddamus.' Secuti sunt ergo sapientem, quibus Camo man-
f. 57v datis[a] cum maxima militum pompa occurrit. / Cui sapiens: 'Dominus noster Salomon, quem nobis leges patrum et iura preficiunt, suos uobis resignat amores, Hennonis[b] filiam intactam, ut qui priores adoleuistis in eam ignes crebris non fraudemini cupitis, suamque uoluptatem abdicat, ut uestre satis fiat, torqueri malens uel uri, quam tanto amico uiam aperire scandali.' Victus igitur hac liberalitate Camo Salomonem pro humilitate et amica reddita exaltauit, et sue dedicionem uirtutis in auxilium promisit.

Omnibus his pactis ab Ylispon auditis, collectis uiribus aduersus Salomonem properat, diem bello prefigit. Vigilantissimus ille senex de Kimelec locum belli singulis explorat noctibus, situm scilicet loci, optimum in illo aduentum, stacionem, effugium. Nocte igitur id faciebat, ne manifesta fieret hostibus sua sedulitas, ut uel locum mutarent quia exploratum, uel ipsi exemplo eius idem facerent. Contigit ipsi uisio non omittenda nocte ante bellum proxima, quod ad arborem predicti loci ueniret Ylispon solus, et ipso uidente faceret sacrificium diis infernalibus, cuius instancie tandem responsum est, ut qui prior in crastino illic inueniretur uictor fieret. Dumque ad suos bella dispositurus reuertitur, illuc statim repedaturus, sapiens ad locum adducit Salomonem

[a] *Obscure: possibly something is missing, Winterbottom Wright;* Meinfelini *MS*

[b] Hennonis

thing which we fear can bar us from a victory—a victory that God has sent us in your person through your help—is this, that our neighbour Camo, a wise and valiant young man, possessed of many good fortresses, had with my consent conceived the hope of marrying my only daughter, as yet unwooed by any man; and as he has now heard that I have changed my mind and think of matching her with Salomon, he is fortifying his towns, gathering his people, augmenting his forces by every effort, and is inflamed with open wrath to take vengeance for his injuries, and since the hatred which is the degenerate product of love is the stubbornest, unless he is turned to us, we are undone.' Said the wise man: 'Let Salomon and your daughter come with me, and we will smooth his anger against us.' They accordingly followed the wise man, and were met by Camo on their arrival with a large train of knights. The wise man said: 'Our lord Salomon, whom the laws and rights of our fathers have placed over us, resigns to you his love, the maiden daughter of Henno, that you, who first burned with long ardour for her, be not defrauded of your desire; and gives up his pleasure to satisfy yours, preferring torment or burning to opening a way of offence to such a friend as you.' Overcome by this frank generosity, Camo extolled Salomon for his modesty and the restitution of his mistress, and promised to aid him by placing all his force at his disposal.

When Ilispon heard of all these agreements, he gathered his forces and hastened against Salomon, and fixed a day for battle. The wary ancient of Kimelec examined the battlefield every night, the situation of the place, the best approach to it, the standing-ground, and the way of escape. This he did by night, not to let the enemy remark his attention, and so change the spot, as being too well explored, or imitate him and do as he did. He saw too—something not to be forgotten—on the night before the battle, that Ilispon came alone to a tree in the place aforesaid, and in his sight did sacrifice to the infernal gods, and in answer to his importunity received the answer, that he who was found there first on the morrow would be the victor. While Ilispon went back to his men to set the battle in array, with intent to return at once, the wise man brought Salomon

in antelucano ut uincat, priorque inuentus est. Ordinatis igitur cuneis Salomonis ad bellum a sapiente centum relinquit milites in subsidium, retro phaulanges in siluule densitate absconditos et, ut breuiter, confecto exercitu Ylispon et effugato, sapiente uero cum septem filiis occiso, reuertente Salomone cum quindecim militibus, ceteris omnibus occisis, extemplo quidam[a] ipsi aderat Leucius ex confraganeis suis cum triginta sex propriis suis; uidensque se Salomone forciorem, facinoroso concipit in corde quod si Salomon de medio fieret, ipse fortissimus in regno diadema sibi posset imponere, seorsumque cum suis habito consilio suspicionem Salomoni facit, qui se cum suis ad defensionem et fugam preparat. Irruit in ipsum cum suis Leucius, et ui maiore cogit in fugam. Audientes hunc tumultum quos absconderat sapiens centum milites. Leucium subiti ocupant, ipsumque ⟨et⟩ familiam[b] captos tanquam proditores digna morte suspendio multant. Cessit autem ex hoc cunta[c] Britannia Salomoni et suis heredibus.

Quicunque lector hec perlegere dignatus fuerit, ex multis et diuersis hinc edoctus iniuriis ad cautelam armabitur, quam obseruare cum indempnitate non poterit, nisi fortissimo compescuerit auariciam freno, que fame arcius et siti omnique necessitate fedius impellit in profundum nequicie. Nam et hec horum causa fuit excessuum.

xvi. *De Sceua et Ollone mercatoribus*[1]

Sceua et Ollo, pares etate, moribus impares, pueri de plebe, adepta simul modica substancia, facti sunt nostris institores temporibus paruarum prius mercium, et deinde frequenti successu magnarum. Nam a collariis bigarii, a bigariis multorum domini effecti sunt aurigarum, semper autem fideles socii. Ampliatis ergo mercibus, ut alias dicitur, creuit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia.[2] Iam societatis uinculum et

[a] extemplo quidam *James;* excepto quod *MS* [b] et familiam *Mynors;* familiamque *Wright;* familiam *MS* [c] cunta *(or* cuncta*) Winterbottom;* tota *Wright;* tanta *MS*

[1] This story is set in Italy and has been supposed (without strong grounds) to have originated in Italy (see E. S. Hartland's note in James (1923), p. 218). The story of the merchants' rise could no doubt have been paralleled in any country in Europe, and has a certain similarity to the famous story of the early

to the spot at dawn to be conqueror, and he was discovered there first. Salomon's squadrons then were drawn up for battle by the wise man, and he left a hundred knights in reserve behind the lines, hidden in the thick of a small wood. And, to make a long story short, Ilispon's army was beaten and routed, but the wise man and seven of his sons were slain: then, as Salomon returned with fifteen knights—all the rest having fallen—there suddenly met him one Leucius, one of his allies, with thirty-six men of his own. He seeing that he was superior to Salomon in force, thought in his criminal heart that if Salomon were put out of the way, he would be the strongest man in the realm and could put the crown on his own head: he took counsel apart with his men, and this roused Salomon's suspicions, and he and his made ready for defence or flight. Leucius and his men attacked him, and by numbers forced him to fly. Hearing the commotion the hundred knights hidden by the wise man suddenly intercepted Leucius, took him and his band prisoners and punished them as traitors with deserved death by hanging. Hereupon all Brittany fell to Salomon and his heirs.

Any reader who may think fit to peruse this will learn, from the many and diverse crimes here told, to arm himself with caution, but he will not be able to keep it intact unless with the strongest of bridles he curb his covetousness—covetousness which, more hardly than hunger or thirst and more foully than any other pressure, drives men into the depths of wickedness. For this it was that caused all these enormities.

16. *Of the Merchants Sceva and Ollo*[1]

Sceva and Ollo, alike in age, not in character, boys of low birth, acquired at the same time a small capital, and in our days became first hawkers of small commodities, and then by continued success of large ones. From packmen they rose to be carriers, from being carriers to be masters of many waggoners, and always remained trusty partners. With the growth of their trade, as another author says, the love of money grew as great as grew the wealth.[2] The bond of partnership and the joint

life of St. Godric of Finchale (*Libellus de vita . . . S. Godrici*, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Soc. 1847). [2] Cf. Juvenal, xiv. 139.

communitatis unio displicent, separata placet proprietas, diuidunt omnia, sortes mittunt, tollit uterque quod sibi seorsum ponitur, recedunt abinuicem dicta acceptaque salute. Sceua, ut erat liberalis et secundum suam facetus sortem, cum lacrimis hortatur Ollonem ut nulla de cetero sit inter eos commeancium raritas nunciorum, quibuscunque consideant / f. 58 uillis aut urbibus, ut[a] separatis personis unitatem faciat frequentata commonicio dileccionis.

Elegit in Rauenna manere Sceua, castusque diu mutandis mercibus studuit; Ollo Papie formosam duxit uxorem. Primis inter eos temporibus multi sudabant nuncii, tandem quieuerunt.[b] Sceua enim ut Ollonem uisitaret Papiam peciit cum multa manu seruientum et bene redimita, et ecce Ollonem obuiam habuit cum bigis honustis properantem ad nundinas longinquas. Datis ergo et acceptis osculis, petit Ollo 'Vnde et quo?',[1] cum pocius secundum amores preteritos reuerti et suscipere tantum debuisset amicum. Audito autem quod ipse solus esset in causa sui aduentus, reditum excusauit per nundinas, et adiecit Sceuam in domo[c] sua nullatenus posse recipi multis ex causis, et ab ipso migrauit post bigas. Sceua se delusum dolens, prope Papiam Ollonis forte pastorem nescius alloquitur, et accipiens quis esset, querit statum Ollonis in rebus mobilibus et immobilibus,[d] et omnia secreta domus ab ipso edoctus, ea pro intersignis uxori Ollonis affert ut suscipiatur hospicio. Suscipitur, et non est passus ut contenta sit uel sua uel Ollonis familia hiis que reperiuntur in facultatibus domus, cum multe sint; extra iubet queri delicias, sibi ut iactat solitas, et tam splendidam tamque affluentem cenam preparat de proprio, ut in admiracione eciam uicinorum ueniat. Vocat in foro stantes,[2] transeuntes retinet, et tantam effundit ciborum et potus copiam, ut tam uxor Ollonis quam omnes alii sempiternam optent Ollonis absenciam et presenciam Sceue. Hoc diebus plurimis aucta semper solempnitate agitur; inuitat omnes; qui ueniunt

[a] ut *Mynors;* aut *MS* [b] *After* quieuerunt *a clause may have dropped out, James* [c] doma *MS* [d] immobolibus *MS*

[1] Cf. Horace, *Sat.* ii. 4. 1.
[2] Cf. Matthew 20: 3.

union of stock now became irksome, and separate ownership was agreed upon. They made a division of the whole, cast lots, took each what was set aside for him, exchanged farewells and parted. Sceva, a man of gracious nature and courteous for his class, begged of Ollo with tears that in future there should be no lack of messengers plying between them, in whatever villages or cities they might settle, and that though personally separated frequent reminders of affection should keep them in unity.

Sceva elected to live at Ravenna, and long unmarried devoted himself to exchange of goods; Ollo at Pavia married a beautiful wife. At first many a post sweated to and fro between them, but ceased at last. Sceva went to Pavia to visit Ollo with a large company of servants, well equipped, and lo! he met Ollo hurrying off with loaded waggons to a distant fair. They exchanged kisses, and Ollo enquired, 'Whither and whence?'[1] though, considering their former affection, he ought to have turned back and entertained so close a friend. However, on hearing that he was the one object of Sceva's arrival, he excused himself from returning, on pretext of the fair, and added that Sceva could not be put up in his house anyhow for many reasons, and then left him and set off after the waggons. Sceva, while grieving at his disappointment, happened to speak to a shepherd of Ollo's near Pavia, not knowing him to be so, and hearing who he was questioned him about Ollo's estate, personal and real, learnt of him all the secrets of the house, and produced them to Ollo's wife as passwords in order to be entertained there. He was entertained, and did not allow either his own servants or Ollo's to suffice themselves with what was to be found in the resources of the house, ample as they were. He had luxuries brought in from outside, to which he declared he was accustomed, and at his own cost arranged a dinner so splendid and abundant that it attracted the wonder even of the neighbours. He invited those who stood in the market-place,[2] detained passers-by, and expended such a wealth of food and drink that Ollo's wife, in common with everyone else, fervently prayed that Ollo's absence and Sceva's presence might be permanent. The same thing went on for many days with ever increasing elaboration: all were invited, those who came

auida honorantur leticia; qui non, missis onerantur exenniis. Aduolat tota prouincia uidere quod audiunt, euolat in uicos et urbes admiracio, fugientemque deprendit Ollonem. Stupet Ollo, statuitque non reuerti donec ille auertatur. Et cum zelotipie sollicitudine secum de uxore seuiat, zelo nichilominus intabescit inuidie, iam non ut auidissime solet in promocione mercium ardet. Nec dampna dolet, nec de lucro letatur nec de augenda pensat uel conseruanda pecunia; prodigus est rerum et auarus uxoris, et dum circa eius et Sceue statum curioso diuinat animo quid fiat, in id quod uere fit casu deuoluitur. Nam Sceua totus in hoc est quod ipse timet, et quacumque potest arte ipsam in uota sua seducit, et cum ad libitum suum abutatur illicita,[a] non satis ei placet abusio, sed adicit dicens: 'Carissima mi electa et super animam meam dilecta, potes si placeret menti placare[b] mentem sollicitissimam meam et totam tuis inflammatam amoribus, ut secure simul omnimodis de cetero conuiuamus; scilicet ut redeuntem non admittas Ollonem, sed quasi cum admiracione omni eum diffitearis, et deuoueas et abneges te nosse[c] hominem.[1] Hoc a uicinis omnibus et notis euincam fieri, uicecomitem et omnes ministros eius in hanc inducam sentenciam, dummodo tu michi faueas, et quicunque conati fuerint fidem facere iudicibus aut alicui potestati, quod ipse tuus fuerit aut maritus tuus aut diuiciarum possessor istarum, me statim audito quiescent, et si oporteat iurabunt in contrarium, ut sibi ipse de se discredat et fascinnata mente alias extra se putet Ollonem.' Illa, licet hoc perfici posse desperet, assentit. Sceua igitur datis ubique premiis additisque promissis, apud omnes notos Ollonis optinet, non enim sunt firme cum peruersis moribus amicicie. Principem adit et iudices, et quomodo solent infatuari peruertit. Bonus cuntis uidetur dolus et faceta derisio, sed et utile putant, ut ficus succidatur sterilis et plantetur oliua fructificans.

[a] *Perhaps* illicite *(or* abutatur, illicita . . .*) Winterbottom* [b] placare *Wright;* placere *MS* [c] nosce *MS*

[1] Cf. Luke 22: 34.

were honoured with eager liberality, those who did not were loaded with presents sent to them. The whole district flew to see what was reported to them: the wonderment spread among villages and cities, and overtook Ollo on his outward journey. He was stupefied, and decided not to go back until the other was out of the way: and though inwardly raging with jealous anxiety about his wife, he repined not less with the passion of envy, and no longer after his wont waxed hot with greed to push his wares. Losses did not grieve him nor profits gladden him, nor did he give a thought to gaining or saving money. He became careless of his substance and miserly of his wife, and as he questioned with anxious mind about the relations of her and of Sceva and what was happening, he fell by chance upon the truth. For Sceva was wholly bent upon what Ollo most feared, and decoyed her to his will by every art he could command, and when once he had gained her over and wrongfully abused her, not content with that injury, he went on to say: 'My dearest one, my chosen, loved more than my soul, you can, if your mind is willing, soothe my mind which is now most anxious and wholly inflamed with love of you, and manage that we shall henceforth live together in complete security: I mean by refusing to admit Ollo when he returns, and as if entirely surprised, repudiating and renouncing him and denying that you know the man.[1] I will procure this to be done by all his neighbours and acquaintances and will bring the sheriff and all his officers into the same tale, if only you will support me: thus whoever tries to make the judges or any official believe that he was ever your husband, or the owner of this wealth, will at once subside on hearing me, and will if need be swear the contrary, so that he will distrust himself and be bewitched into thinking that Ollo is somewhere else, outside himself.' She, though despairing of the possibility of the plan, assented. Sceva, therefore, by giving rewards and adding promises in all quarters, got his way with all Ollo's acquaintances, for friendships with crooked characters are unstable. He approached the prince and the judges, and corrupted them to folly in the usual way. The trick seemed a good one to all, and the joke a clever one, and they also reckoned it a benefit that the barren fig-tree should be cut down, and a fruitful olive planted in its stead.

Manet una cum uxore quasi uir legitimus in domo Sceua, commentaque preceptor fraudis non cessat omnes instruere, / f. 58v quomodo respondeant Olloni. Ollo caute, ut sibi uidetur, se absentat[a] donec ille recesserit, quatinus in uxorem ultor iniuriarum et tortor existat sine succurrente, et ne bonorum suorum uastam uideat quam audierat effusionem. Minus enim ledunt auaros inuisa suarum rerum detrimenta quam uisa.

Videns tandem moram, timensque periculum, domum diuertitur, pulsat ianuam, et quod non statim adest qui apperiat irascitur; instat, tumultuat, et excandescit; indignatur et minas addit. Nicholaum quem ianitorem suum fecerat ex nomine superbe uocat. Adest ille similique tumore respondet: 'Tu quis es? Quid furis? Quo agitaris demone? Vt quid cerebri tui plectimur insaniis? Quare domini mei quietem turbas? Numquid lunaticus es, aut similiter amens? Certe, si desipis, sapere te iam faciemus; si non quieueris, quiescere te fustes facient.' Tum ille: 'Serue mi, numquid non ego sum?' Nicholaus: 'Scio quod tu es tu, et tu ipse hoc nescis?' Ollo: 'Et nescis quod seruus meus es?' Nicholaus: 'Te scio seruum; possessionem furis.'[1] Ollo: 'Aperi cito ianuam meam.' Nicholaus: 'Tuam? Nonne iam probatum est quia uesanus es? Aut certe silebis aut tibi hac claua perpetuum inponam silencium.' Ollo: 'Serue nequam, numquid non ego sum Ollo, qui te constitui custodem curtis huius?' Nicholaus: 'Tu, pessime scurra? Certe Ollo ille hic intus est, et cum domina mea in lecto suo decumbit.' Ollo: 'Cum qua domina, diabole?' Nicholaus:[b] 'Certe, immo tu diabole, cum domina mea formosa Biblide.' Ille audita Biblide ab equo amens excidit, passusque aliquamdiu extasim ait: 'Exi, Nicholae, ut me clarius intuens resipiscas, et scias me dominum tuum et maritum Biblidis.' Tum Nicholaus cum maximo chachinno: 'Te per foramen meum satis uideo, et Ollo forsitan es; sed non quiuis Ollo maritus Biblidis.'

[a] ascultat *MS*, al. se absentat *marg.* [b] Nicholaus *Wright;* Nichil *MS*

[1] This sentence seems unintelligible; but cf. 'insanie . . . omnia possidet' on p. 400.

Sceva went on living in the house with the wife as her lawful husband, and as manager of the intrigue did not cease to teach everyone his fictions, and how they must answer Ollo. Ollo, warily, as he thought, kept away, listening for Sceva's withdrawal, meaning to become the avenger of his injuries upon his wife, and her tormentor when she had no helper, and unwilling to look upon the waste of his goods which he had heard of, for a miser is less hurt by the loss of his substance if he does not see it than if he does.

At length he saw that the delay was long, was seriously afraid of the risk, and turned towards home. He knocked at the gate and, as no one came instantly to open it, lost his temper; repeated his knocking, made a disturbance, flew into a passion; added threats to his anger. Haughtily he called by name upon Nicholas, whom he had made his porter. He came and with equal hauteur answered: 'Who are you ? Why are you making this fuss? What devil is driving you? Why are we to be plagued because you are wrong in the head? What are you disturbing my master's rest for? Are you a lunatic or something like it? If you are out of your senses, we can soon put you into them again: if you won't be quiet, you will have to be put to sleep with a stick.' Said he: 'My man, am I not I?' *Nicholas*: 'I know you are you; are you in any doubt of it yourself?' *Ollo*: 'And don't you know that you are my servant?' *Nicholas*: 'I know you are a slave. You are mad on possession.'[1] *Ollo*: 'Open my gate at once.' *Nicholas*: 'Your gate? doesn't that prove that you are out of your mind? Either you hold your tongue or I silence you once for all with this stick.' *Ollo*: 'O wicked servant, am I not Ollo who made you guardian of this yard?' *Nicholas*: 'You, you scoundrelly buffoon? Of course Ollo is indoors, and in bed, with my lady.' *Ollo*: 'With what lady, you devil?' *Nicholas*: 'Devil yourself! Why, to be sure, with my fair lady Biblis.' When he heard the name of Biblis he tumbled off his horse senseless, and after a short interval of unconsciousness, said, 'Nicholas, come out, and look at me properly, and come to your senses and recognize that I am your master and the husband of Biblis.' *Nicholas*: (with a great burst of laughter) 'I can see you well enough through my hatch, and you may be Ollo for what I know: but not every Ollo is Biblis' husband.'

Ollo: 'Immo ego sum ille Ollo, qui[a] eam te presente in sponsam a patre suo Mela suscepi et a matre Bala.' Nicholaus: 'Non uidi ebrium aut uesanum tante memorie; a quocunque sint edocta uel recordata, nomina bene retines, Melam et Balam et Nicholaum; numquid et Christianam ancillam nostram audisti?' Ollo: 'Non est opus auditu, nutricius enim suus sum et uester et omnium uestrorum, et has domos feci, et omnia que in eis sunt mea sunt.' Nicholaus: 'Cristina, Cristina, heus Cristina! Veni uidere hominem infelicissime insanie, qui omnia scit, omnes nutriuit, omnia possidet; faceta uere uexatur amencia, que ipsum regem fecit. Inspice, nonne iste est qui propter homicidium nuper ad crucem ductus in asilum euasit? Et postmodum se nostrum dicit nutricium! Quid tibi uidetur?' Cristina: 'Hoc tibi uolebam dicere quia ille est, et certe parcendum est ei quicquid agat, cui ex melancolie regno et iure omnia licent.' Ollo secum: 'Quam audax et obstinata est seruorum superbia, sumpta a Sceua! Precio me diffitentur, et cum ille meis satur abscesserit deliciis, procidentes ueniam orabunt, per ignoranciam se deliquisse dicentes. Pereat Ollo si non ostenderit eis pilosum dentem.' Nicholaus: 'Rumina tecum, excerebrate miser, et si non uis fustigari, abscede ocius.' Cristina: 'Heus tu, qui te Ollonem dicis! Tu nos deliros dicis, et nos te amentem; uoca uicinos tuos, et cum tibi dixerint quod nos, crede quod arrepticius es.'

Vocat ille uicinos et passas edocet iniurias. Illi negantes se uidisse uel audisse hominem derident eum, et se ortantur inuicem ut ligent eum, et emendent; et perseuerantem lapidibus cogunt exire forum. Similiter postmodum et a iudicibus repellitur, et cum unum inueniat ubique uultum et uerba similia, se undique respicit et sciscitatur a suis quis sit et unde, et quomodo res se habeat, contra
f. 59 suam ueniens omnino sentenciam, minus sibi / de se quam

[a] *MS repeats* qui.

Ollo: 'Yes, but I am that very Ollo who took her to wife in your presence from her father Mela and her mother Bala.' *Nicholas*: 'Well, I never saw a drunken man or a madman with such a good memory: from whoever you got them or remembered them, you have the names pat, Mela and Bala and Nicholas: perhaps you've heard tell of our maid Christina too?' *Ollo*: 'I've no need to hear tell of her; I board and lodge her and you too and all the lot of you, and I built this house, and everything in it is mine.' *Nicholas*: 'Christina, Christina, hi! Christina! come here and see a madman of the unluckiest kind: he knows everything here, maintains us all, owns the lot: yet it's a pleasant madness too that's on him, for it makes him a king. Have a look at him. Isn't he the man they took to the gallows just lately for murder, and he ran away and took sanctuary? And now he says he's our master! What do you think?' *Christina*: 'Well, I was just going to say to you that it was he; but certainly we ought not to be hard on him, whatever he does. One that's under the power of madness, and subject to it, he's allowed to do anything.' *Ollo* (aside): 'The impertinence of these servants! how brazen and stubborn it is; they get it from Sceva. They have been paid by him to repudiate me, and when he is gorged with my luxuries and has made off, they will be falling at my feet and begging forgiveness, and saying they erred in ignorance. But hang Ollo if he does not show them the rough edge of his tooth.' *Nicholas*: 'Mumble away to yourself, you poor brainless thing, and if you don't want a beating, be off sharp.' *Christina*: 'Here! you that call yourself Ollo. You call us crazy and we call you mad. Go to your neighbours and when they tell you the same as we do, make up your mind that you are in a fit.'

He summoned the neighbours and told them of the injuries he had suffered. They denied that they had ever seen or heard of the man, and laughed him to scorn and told one another to tie him up, and bring him to his senses: when he insisted, they drove him from the market-place with stones. In like fashion later on he was rebuffed by the magistrates, and when he found everywhere the same looks turned on him and the same answers, he scanned himself all over and asked his own people who and whence he was and how things stood, and turned wholly against his own judgement and trusted his own

aliis credens. Illi autem cum aliis a Sceua corrupti ex bursa eius loquuntur. Ait igitur ex his unus cui nomen Baratus: 'Domine, nos rei ueritatem scimus, sed tu nobis tam austerus es et tam hispidum nobis das[a] supercilium, ut que uera scimus pre timore tuo dissimulare oporteat. Mansio tua et Biblis, quam hic queris, est Rauenne; si uobis non displicet, eamus ut illic inuenias quod te credis hic uidisse.' Papiam igitur exeunt, et nocte prima itineris a suis derelictus, fere pre pudore uere factus est amens; perditas uidet magnas facultates preter solas eas quibus incumbit; pastores suos adit, uacuatosque ouilibus mobilia quibus inicere potest hamos abducit. Sequitur eum auditis rumoribus et consequitur Sceua, ipsum secum ligatum quasi furem copie sue retrahit. Timet Ollo iudices, et pre pudore uenture derisionis omnem abiurat Sceue calumpniam.

Crede michi: res est ingeniosa dare.[1]

Explicit distinccio quarta nugarum curialium.
Incipit quinta.

[a] das *Winterbottom;* dans *MS*

evidence about himself less than that of others. They, however, and the rest, bribed by Sceva, talked through Sceva's purse. At last one of them named Baratus said to Ollo: 'Master, we know the truth of the case, but you are always so hard with us, and show us such a rough eyebrow that for fear of you we have to pretend what we know is true to be false. Your house and the Biblis you are looking for here are at Ravenna. If you please, let us go thither, and you shall find what you suppose you have seen here.' They accordingly left Pavia, and on the first night of the journey Ollo was deserted by all his following, and for the shame of it almost went mad in reality. He saw all his great resources gone, save those only which he had about him: he went to his shepherds, turned them out of their folds, and drove off all the goods into which he could manage to cast a hook. Sceva heard news of it, followed him, overtook him, and brought him back with him in bonds as a spoiler of his goods. Ollo was afraid to face the judges and the derision that would follow, and in very shame abjured all claim against Sceva.

Yes, you may take it from me—giving's the way to succeed.[1]

End of the Fourth Distinction of the Trifles of the Court.

[1] Ovid, *Am.*, i. 8. 62.

i. *Prologus*

ANTIQVORVM industria nobis pre manibus est; gesta suis eciam preterita temporibus nostris reddunt presencia, et nos obmutescimus, unde in nobis eorum uiuit memoria, et nos nostri sumus immemores. Miraculum illustre! Mortui uiuunt, uiui pro eis sepeliuntur! Habent et nostra tempora forsitan aliquid Sophoclio non indignum[a] coturno.[1] Iacent tamen egregia modernorum nobilium, et attolluntur fimbrie uetustatis abiecte. Hoc nimirum inde est, quod reprehendere scimus, et scribere ignoramus; carpere appetimus, et carpi meremur. Sic raritatem poetarum faciunt gemine lingue obtrectatorum. Sic torpescunt animi, depereunt ingenia; sic ingenua temporis huius strenuitas enormiter extinguitur, et lucerna non defectu materie sopitur, sed succumbunt artifices, et a nostris nulla est autoritas. Cesar en Lucani, Eneas Maronis, multis uiuunt in laudibus, plurimum suis meritis et non minimum uigilancia poetarum. Nobis diuinam Karolorum et Pepinorum[b] nobilitatem uulgaribus ritmis s⟨c⟩ola mimorum concelebrat;[c] presentes uero Cesares nemo loquitur; eorum tamen mores cum fortitudine, temperancia et omnium admiracione presto sunt ad calamum. Alexander Macedo subacti sibi mundi calumpniatus angustias, uiso tandem Achillis tumulo suspirans ait: 'Felicem te, iuuenis, qui tanto frueris precone meritorum'; Homerum intelligens.[2] Hic magnus Alexander michi testis est, quod multi[d] secundum scriptorum uiuunt interpretacionem, quicunque meruerunt inter homines uiuere post mortem. Sed quid sibi[e] uoluerunt Alexandri suspiria? Plangere certe sua merita que magno indigebant poeta, ne ipsum supprema dies totum extingueret. Sed quis audeat quicquam quod hodie fiat

[a] indignum *James;* indigens *MS* [b] popinorum *MS* [c] scola . . . concelebrat *Mynors;* sola . . . concelebrat *MS; Wright (followed by James) read* sola . . . concelebrat nugacitas [d] multi *James;* multum *MS* [e] sibi *James;* tibi *MS*

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 10.

THE FIFTH DISTINCTION

1. *Prologue*

THE results of the industry of the ancients are in our hands; they make the deeds which even in their times were past, present to ours, and we keep mum; and thus their memory lives in us, and we forget our own. A notable wonder! the dead live, and the living are buried in their stead! Even our times perhaps afford something not unworthy of the buskin of a Sophocles.[1] Yet the excellences of our modern heroes lie neglected and the cast-off fringes of antiquity are raised to honour. This to be sure is due to the fact that while we know how to criticize, we do not know how to compose; we are all agog to carp, and to be carped at is our reward; and thus the double tongues of detractors cause a shortage of poets. Thus minds lie stagnant and wits pine away: thus the generous valour of this age is outrageously quenched and the lamp burns dim, not from lack of material, but because the craftsmen are supine and our writers have no influence. Think! Caesar lives in the mighty praises of Lucan, Aeneas in those of Maro, largely by their own merits, and yet not least by the alertness of the poets. For us the troupe of buffoons keeps alive the divine fame of the Charlemagnes and Pepins in popular ballads, but of our modern Caesars no one tells: yet their characters, with their fortitude and temperance and the admiration of all, lie ready to the pen. Alexander of Macedon, who blamed the narrowness of the world he had subdued, looked at last on the tomb of Achilles, and said with a sigh: 'Happy are you, young hero, who enjoy such a proclaimer of your merits', meaning Homer.[2] That great Alexander is my witness that many survive in the descriptions of authors, even all who have succeeded in living amongst men after their death. But what did Alexander's sighs mean? He meant assuredly to mourn his own merits, which stood in need of a great poet, if his death-day were not to blot him out entirely. But who is bold enough to enpage

[2] Cicero, *pro Archia*, 24; cf. Julius Valerius, *Res gest. Alex.*, i. 47.

impaginare, aut uel nomina nostra scribere? Certe si Henricum uel Gauterum uel eciam tuum ipsius nomen aliquis nouus karacter subnotatum prestiterit, uilipendis et rides; at non eorum uicio, et utinam non tuo. Quod si Hannibalem uel Menestratem[1] uel aliquod prisce suauitatis nomen inspexeris, errigis animum et prementita etatis auree secula ingressurus gestis et exultas. Neronis tyrannidem et Iube auariciam,[2] et quicquid uetustas attulerit, cum omni ueneracione amplecteris; Lodouici mansuetudinem et Henrici largitatem abicis. Sed si discredis priscam nostris inesse benignitatem et ut fabulam refugis, audi priscam de nostris malignitatem, ut Neronis et similium soles; nam nunquam
f. 59v sic / contra se degenerabit inuidia, ut si neget modernos esse antique nobilitatis, non concedat eos esse antique saltem ignobilitatis. Pictam hic nempe inuenies cum suis honestatem fauoribus in modernis et cum suis turpitudinem odiosis flagiciis. Hanc tibi uitandam proponimus pro ueneficiis, illam eligendam pro beneficiis; neutri subducas oculum, nisi uise penitus et agnite. Legenda enim tibi est omnis pagina quam uideris et examinanda, nec sit ulla neclecta nisi perlecta.

Vsula[3] piscis est Danubii qui per tela hostium musice petit mela, nec uulneratus absistit, sed uite prodigus et auarus organi sectatur anime sue mellitas illicebras usque ad mortem. Hec est nobilis et studiosi uiri triumphalis instancia, quem a studio non deterrent tussis aut tisis aut alie qualescunque inequalitates. Angustiato corpori sollicitudine martirium[a] asciscit; nam consulte arbitratur gloriosius effundere animam Deo luce sapiencie preciosam, quam sibi eam confouere desidia et ocio saginatam. Sic esto usula.[b]

[a] mater *MS;* martirium *marg.* [b] usula*: perhaps* ulula *here in MS*

[1] See above, p. xxxv: possibly a fictitious name; but see Bradley, pp. 397–8, suggesting an echo of similar names in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 32–3.

[2] James referred to Lucan, iv. 670, etc.; this is one of the passages from which Map may have known about Juba I, king of Numidia, but it does not help us to understand why Map associated the name Juba with avarice.

anything that happens nowadays, or even to write down our names? Certain it is that if any new writing shows you Henry or Walter or even your own name recorded, you set it at nought and mock at it; but through no fault of theirs, and I hope through none of your own. If, however, you see Hannibal or Menestrates,[1] or any name sweet with the perfume of hoar antiquity, your spirits rise and you yearn and exult at the thought of entering on the golden ages of old fable. The tyranny of Nero, the avarice of Juba,[2] and aught else that ancientry offers you—these you embrace with entire reverence: the mildness of Louis or the liberality of Henry you toss away. But, if you refuse to believe that our heroes possess the good disposition of the ancients, and shun the statement as false, listen at least to tales of ancient wickedness in our people, as you will to those of Nero and the like: for surely malice will never so degenerate from itself as not to allow that moderns are at least capable of old-fashioned ignobleness, even if it denies their old-fashioned nobility. For here you will find portrayed honour in modern men with its comeliness, and baseness with its hateful crimes. This we hold up to you to be shunned for its banes, the other to be chosen for its boons: withdraw not your eye from either unless you have thoroughly viewed it and taken it in; for you should read and scrutinize every page you see, and not one should be disused without being perused.

The *usula*[3] is a fish of the Danube, which pierces through the weapons of its enemies to come at musical tunes, nor even when wounded desists, but prodigal of its life and greedy of the organ, follows up the honeyed decoys of its soul even to death. Such is the triumphal instancy of the noble and studious man, whom not cough nor consumption nor any inconveniences whatever deter from his studies. By his anxious labour he brings martyrdom upon his anguished body; for of set purpose he thinks it nobler to pour out before God a soul enriched by the light of wisdom than to coddle it for himself and gorge it with sloth and leisure. In this way you should be an *usula.*

[3] Unidentified ('Perhaps the *Alosa* which Gesner says is susceptible to music' M.R.J. (1914), p. 269).

ii. *De Appollonide rege*[1]

Appollonides rex in partibus occidentis cum infinita preda spoliatis repatriauit hostibus. Obiter sacerdoti post eum clamanti quod .xx. de suis animalibus secum in preda duceret, accepto iuramento ait: 'Tolle que tua sunt et redi cum pace.' Cumque sacerdos optima ex omni armento eligeret, plus utilitati studens quam ueritati, licet non[a] ignorans Appollonides quid ageretur, ob reuerenciam sui siluit. Et dum adhuc admirantur, ecce ⟨alter⟩[b] currit sacerdos et alia .xx. simili modo et peciit, et periurus ut prior reduxit, rege non obiurgante licet offenso; cumque tercius adesset, pro duobus tantum animalibus se ad iurandum offerens, ait illi rex: 'Iura pro .xx., ut illi qui nunc abscesserunt.' At ille: 'Domine, non peierabo.' Tunc rex fidem ipsius remunerare cupiens, addidit illi cum duobus suis centum alia, dicens: 'Dignior est iste meis animalibus qui uoluit multis carere ne peieraret, quam illi suis qui uoluerunt peierare ne carerent.' Hoc ercle dictum et factum stilo dignum Homeri censeo, et me tam eleganti materia indignum.

Hic idem rex cum audisset regnum suum ab aduena rege inquietari, missis exploratoribus edidicit quod rex ille delicatissime uiueret in cibis preciosis, et quod in toto exercitu suo preter uinum nichil biberent, cum sit in partibus illis uinum rarissimum. Attendens igitur quod sibi et genti sue aqua sufficeret, ait: 'Inauditum est a seculo quod uinum aquam superaret.' Et cum diutino conflictu uinum et aquam biberent, cessit aque uictoria. Nam aduene uino ibi deficiente ad uinum redierunt.

Hunc regem uidi et noui et odi; nolo tamen ut odia mea uirtutem ipsius denigrent, nec michi propositum est ullius umquam bonitatem inuidia supprimere. Idem inimicis

[a] licet non *James;* sed *MS* [b] alter *add. James*

[1] Numerous suggestions have been made of the identity of the king whom Map knew, and hated: Bradley, p. 398, made a case for the young King Henry (see iv, 1); this was partly based on the appropriateness of the name—'son of Apollo', i.e. Phaethon, who tried to ride too high, that is, to drive his father's chariot (the sun) on its course one day, with disastrous results. But 'in partibus occidentis' and the life of plunder and booty strongly suggest a Welsh king rather than an English; and Tupper and Ogle point out the resemblance of the opening 'Ap' to the Welsh patronymic. See above, p. xxxvi.

2. *Of the King Apollonides*[1]

Apollonides, a king in the parts of the West, had plundered his enemies and turned his steps home laden with immense booty; on the way a priest cried after him that he was taking away a score of his beasts among his spoil: the king took an oath of him and said: 'Take what is your own and go back in peace.' And when the priest, with an eye to profit rather than truth, picked out the best of every flock, Apollonides, though aware of what was going on, out of respect for him said nothing. And while they were still in surprise at this, lo! a second priest ran up, and in like manner both demanded another score and went away forsworn like the first, the king, though annoyed, still making no objection: and when a third appeared, proffering his oath for two beasts only, the king said to him: 'Swear for a score like the others who have just gone.' He, however, said: 'My lord, I will not forswear myself.' Then the king, desiring to reward his good faith, gave him, over and above his two, a hundred more, saying: 'This man better deserves to have my beasts, as he was willing to go without a number for fear of perjury, than those others to have their own, who preferred forswearing themselves to going without.' This, by Hercules, was a word and an act which I reckon worthy of Homer's pen. I am all unworthy to treat so noble a theme.

This same king, hearing that his realm was being harassed by a foreign prince, sent spies, and ascertained that the king in question lived most luxuriously on costly food, and that in all his army nothing but wine was drunk, though wine is a very rare commodity in those parts. Observing, therefore, that for him and his men water sufficed, he said: 'From the beginning of the world it was not heard that wine got the better of water'; and as throughout a long campaign they went on drinking respectively wine and water, the victory fell to the water. For the foreigners, when the wine there was exhausted, went back to their wine at home.

This king I have seen and know, and hate. But I would not have my hatred blacken his worth; it is not my wish ever to suppress any man's excellence through envy. This same man

obsessis et periculo famis sub hastam ire coactis, largitus est uictualia, ut ipsius uiribus et non annone defectu uincerentur, auxitque nomen uictorie sue licet distulerit. Idem uicanis suis mansuetus et mitis exteras debellabat gentes, instar accipitris qui nullas unquam infestat aues nido suo proximas, sed earum hostes pacificis arcet unguibus, et remotissimas in predam adducit.

iii. *De origine Go⟨d⟩wini comitis et eius moribus*[1]

Anno ab incarnacione Domini m.l.iiii^to^ capta est Sarracenis Ierusalem,[2] et annis quadraginta quinque detenta; annis .xii. ante[3] redactam in seruitutem Sarracenorum Ierusalem Normannis est Anglia data.

f. 60

Actis / milleno centeno septuageno
Septimus a deno dat Ierusalem Saladeno.

Anno milleno sexagesimo quoque seno
Anglorum mete crinem sensere comete.

Anno milleno centeno quo minus uno
Ierusalem Franci capiunt uirtute potenti.

Annis triginta tribus ante captam Ierusalem a Sarracenis captiuata est Anglia, et per iram Altissimi data est Normannis. Annis circiter tribus ante hanc subuersionem Ierusalem, que in multa pace consenuerat Constantinopolis ab Andronio,[4] cuius nequicia Neronis impar non fuit, si non maior, multis et innumeris obtenta est et habita dolis. Sic subuersionibus Ierusalem prophetisse fuerunt et prenuncie due predicte. Sed ut earum raciones in posterum non deficiant, notande sunt, et paulo digrediendum.

[1] On this chapter see p. xxxvi.

[2] Jerusalem was securely in Muslim hands in the mid-11th century, and it is not easy to conjecture what event lies behind the supposed capture of 1054. In 1056 westerners were forbidden (for a time) from entering the Holy Sepulchre and many were ejected from Jerusalem (S. Runciman, *Hist. of the Crusades*, i (Penguin edn. of 1965), p. 49). The verses were probably not Map's: those on 1066 appear in 13th-cent. Bury annals and in the Hyde chronicle (*Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen*, ed. F. Liebermann, Strassburg, 1879, p. 129; *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards, RS, p. 291, cited Hinton, *Notes*, p. 291); the last couplet is in the annals of Vendôme, in *Recueil des annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. L. Halphen (Paris, 1903), p. 67. Halley's comet in 1066 was regarded as a portent of the Norman Conquest, and is vividly

gave provisions to his enemies when besieged and driven by risk of famine to capitulate; he wished them to be overcome by his own strength and not by want of bread, and though he deferred his victory, he increased the renown of it. He was also peaceable and mild to his near neighbours, but vanquished distant peoples, like the hawk, which never attacks the birds that live near its nest, but, with the talons of a peacemaker, keeps away their foes, and makes its prey of those that live far off.

3. *Of the Beginnings of Earl Godwine, and his Character*[1]

In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1054 Jerusalem[2] was taken by the Saracens and held by them forty-five years. Twelve years before[3] Jerusalem was brought into subjection to the Saracens, England was delivered to the Normans.

After years a thousand a hundred and seventy were past
The seventh after the tenth gave Jerusalem to Saladin. [1187]

In the year a thousandth sixtieth and sixth
The bounds of England saw the hair of the comet. [1066]

In the year thousandth and hundredth less one
The Franks took Jerusalem with valour and might. [1099]

Thirty-three years before Jerusalem was taken from the Saracens England was led captive, and by the wrath of the Most High was delivered to the Normans. About three years before this (last) overthrow of Jerusalem, Constantinople, which had grown old in continuous peace, was taken and held by means of many, even innumerable, intrigues by Andronicus,[4] whose wickedness equalled, if it did not surpass, that of Nero. Thus these two overthrows were the prophetesses and harbingers of those of Jerusalem. But that the manner (*or* reasons) of them may not fade from aftermemory, they must be noted, and we must make something of a digression.

portrayed in the Bayeux Tapestry; Jerusalem was captured by the Crusaders in 1099, lost to Saladin in 1187.

[3] Correctly *post*, 'after'.

[4] Presumably Andronicus, son of Isaac Commenus, emperor 1183–5 (cf. Dist. ii. 18).

Edgarus Anglorum rex,[1] stemate, moribus et regno prenobilis, de sponsa similem[a] sibi bene patrissantem suscepit Eduuardum, cuius matre defuncta de secunda sibi legittima suscepit Edelredum, cuius mater Eduuardo regnum inuidens ipsi uenenum propinauit, quo non proficiente conductis ipsum militibus interemit apud Sceftesbiriam.[b] Successit igitur Edgaro rex Edelredus, quem Anglici ⟨Nullum⟩[c] Consilium[2] uocauerunt, quia nullius erat negocii. Hic de sorore comitis Normannie[3] siue ducis duos habuit filios, Eluredum et Eduuardum. Huius ignobilis Edelredi tempore, propter ipsius inepciam et inerciam, reges insularum finitimarum tum predas ab Anglia tum ab ipso Edelredo xenia pacifica referebant.

Surrexit autem ea tempestate uir quidam hoc modo. Aberrauerat a sociis uenatu Edelredus. Hiems erat, et deuenit noctu solus errabundus ad domum cuiusdam custodis uaccarum suarum, petens et concessum suscipiens hospicium. Prosilit ergo impiger filius custodis puer nomine Godwinus,[4] pulcrior et melior quam ipsi daret linea priorum. Ocreas abstrahit, emundat, et reponit; equm abluit, extractum ambit, strigili tergit, et stramenta supponit et pabula ministrat; omnia composite, celeriter et munde disponit. Hic quasi dilectus patris et anguste preceptor domus pinguissimum

[a] *simíliem MS; perhaps* simili similem *James* [b] Scefresbiriam *MS*
[c] ⟨Nullum⟩ *Bradley; om. MS; see n. 2*

[1] When Edgar died in 975 he left two sons, by different mothers, Edward, who succeeded him, and Æthelred. Edward was murdered in 978 at Corfe, and his body later translated to Shaftesbury. Queen Ælfthryth, Æthelred's mother, was widely suspected in the 11th century of complicity, very likely unjustly. In the 12th century she came in legend to be a sorceress, see Keynes, *Æthelred*, pp. 163–74; cf. Wright, *Cultivation of Saga*, pp. 158–71, esp. 158, 166. Æthelred II (978–1016) married as his second wife Emma, sister of Richard II, duke of Normandy; of their sons Alfred (probably the younger) was killed on a visit to England in 1036, and Edward (the Confessor) eventually became king (1042–66) (on Alfred, see *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell (Camden, 3rd series, lxxii, 1949), pp. lxiv ff.).

[2] Bradley's emendation (p. 399) makes Map's Latin a direct translation of Æthelred's famous soubriquet, *Unrǣd*, 'no-counsel' (later corrupted to 'unready'); and this is clearly right, even though the nickname is not otherwise recorded before the thirteenth century. It is a pun on Æthelred's name, which means 'noble-counsel', and Dr Simon Keynes has shown that it reflects the declining reputation of Æthelred the Unready in the late 11th and 12th centuries: see his paper in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. D. Hill (British Archaeol. Reports, British Series 59, 1978, pp. 227–53, esp. 240

Edgar king of the English,[1] most noble in descent, character and reign, begat of his consort Edward, like to himself and following well in his father's steps: Edward's mother died, and by his second lawful wife he (Edgar) begat Æthelred, whose mother, begrudging the kingdom to Edward, gave him poison to drink: it did not succeed, and so she hired soldiers and slew him at Shaftesbury. Æthelred therefore succeeded Edgar as king; and him the English called 'No-counsel',[2] for he never achieved any action. He, by the sister of the Count (*or* Duke) of Normandy,[3] had two sons Alfred and Edward. In the days of this ignoble Æthelred, in consequence of his foolishness and slothfulness the kings of the adjacent islands took both spoil from England, and from Æthelred gifts to secure peace.

Now at that season a certain man rose up on this wise. Æthelred when hunting had strayed away from his company. It was winter, and he came alone by night in his wanderings to the house of a cowherd of his, and there asked and accepted lodging, which was given him. The herd's son, a boy named Godwine,[4] ran forward eagerly: he was handsomer and finer than his parent's descent might have made him. He pulled off the king's boots, cleaned them, and put them on again; cleaned down his horse, led it out, went over it, currycombed it, gave it litter and fodder; arranged everything orderly, quickly and neatly. Evidently his father's pride, and the commander of the humble home, he put down the fattest goose

and n. 78 (p. 251)). For the latest view of the reign of Æthelred II, see Keynes, *Æthelred*, chap. 4.

[3] 'Count' was the title normally used by the 'dukes' of Normandy in the early 11th century, and remained a common style in documents until the early 12th; in the late 11th 'duke' or 'marquis' or other titles were not uncommonly used to describe the Conqueror and his sons, and by Map's time 'duke' was the normal title. The use of 'count' may indicate that Map had a written source; but the alternative title may well have been quite familiar still.

[4] Godwine of Wessex, the leading earl of Edward the Confessor's time, rose to his earldom under Cnut; his father's name was Wulfnoth, and he may well have been a thegn; but we have no other record of Godwine's origin, and in the 12th century various legends arose to fill the gap: Map was not the only writer to make him out a shepherd's son. See the discussion of the legends by Wright, *Cultivation of Saga*, esp. pp. 218–29; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i (3rd edn. (Oxford, 1877), 719–31, esp. 727–8). In detail Map's version is his own; and Godwine's earldom of 'Gloucester' was no doubt his invention—there was no earl of Gloucester before the 12th century. Wright, pp. 197–8, suggests that Map's story was partly based on Gloucestershire tradition: cf. pp. 424–5 and the reference to Deerhurst.

apponit igni anserem; sororem adhibet custodie. Pater suus unam iubet parari gallinam; ille statim tres igni apponit. Pater unum salsi porci frustum oleribus apponi; ille tria properanter adicit, et preter matris et patris adibet consciencia nefrendem, id est adolescentem et uirginem suem.[1] Ignem nutrit, candelas accendit, fabulatur contra tedium; regi mimus est, matri adulator, patri hortator; defectus omnes prouide suplet; non iacet, non sedet, non accubitat, non stat; totus in motu est. Laborem non pensat, non utilitati sue studet, non intendit promocioni proprie, totus inhiat regi, totum se regi exhibet. Cumque regem nesciat, cum tanta plenitudine regiam impendit reuerenciam, se despicit et aspicitur, se necligit et eligitur, se non intelligit et intelligitur, non cupit aut sperat, non auare seruit, non in hamo ut quid referat; totum se liberaliter impendit, et aperto corde decurrit non ut emolat aut lucretur, et in emolumentum et lucrum incautus illabitur. Capitur in eius opera rex, et adoptat in proprium, ut presidem eum magnis faciat opibus. Hic mos est, ut quo quis hamum sollicitius[a] auida mittit uersucia non aduncet, et instancie simplici de celo pluat ex insperato gracia. Rex enim, licet in aliis ebes, omnia notat, ebibit et acceptat, et licet ipse piger, agilem in illo curam promtumque probat famulatum, ut multi laudant quod imitari non properant.

Tulit ergo ipsum rex in talamum suum, et processu temporis sublimauit super omnes principes regni, et cum cingulo milicie comitatum ei Gloucestrie contulit.[2] Ipse uero
f. 60v pererrabat omnes / Anglie portus, tum terra tum mari, piratas omnes destruens, et facta est Anglia per eius operam timor omnium circumiacencium terrarum, que fuerat earum direpcio et preda. Quieuit igitur et respirauit, et ipse comes pacis et quietis inpaciens, toto pectore feruens amore belli, in transmarinis tantis tamque longinquis exercitatus est preliis, ut tam Sarracenis quam Christianis esset nomen eius notissimum,

[a] sollicitius *(or* auidiori *for* auido*) James;* sollicitudinis *MS*

[1] Map's explanation of the rare word *nefrendem* does not quite tally with classical usage (cf. Webb, p. 122); it is an example of his items of abstruse knowledge, perhaps also of his improvised explanations.

[2] Godwine was earl of Wessex; neither he nor any of his sons was earl of Gloucester.

to the fire and set his sister to watch it. His father bade get ready one chicken; he at once set three to roast. The father bade serve one piece of salt pork, and cabbage: he hastily added three, and without consulting his mother or father, served up a sucking pig, that is, a young virgin sow.[1] He fed the fire, lighted candles, told stories to pass the time, amused the king, coaxed his mother, gave orders to his father, cleverly supplied anything that was wanting; did not lie, sit, lean on his elbows, or stand still, was ever in motion, spared no trouble, did not look to his own comfort or study his own advancement, was wholly intent on the king and spent himself wholly upon him. And though he knew not that it was the king, he paid him the reverence due to a king in all possible fullness, he looked down on himself and was looked up to, neglected himself and was elected, perceived not himself and was perceived, did not covet or hope, did not serve for gain, nor with a bait, to catch anything; but laid himself out freely and entirely, and with open heart ran on his course, not for gain and profit, and thus unawares slipped into both profit and gain. The king was taken with his well-doing, and adopted him as his own, to make him ruler over great wealth. This is the way of the world, that when a man anxiously casts his hook with greedy craft, it does not catch on, while upon simple-hearted exertion favour rains down unexpectedly from heaven. For the king, though in other ways dull, marked and drank in and welcomed all this service, and though lazy himself, approved the active zeal and ready ministering of the other; as many praise what they are in no hurry to imitate.

The king accordingly took him into his chamber, and in process of time elevated him over all the princes of the realm, and along with the belt of knighthood conferred on him the earldom of Gloucester.[2] He went up and down among all the harbours of England, by land and sea, putting an end to all pirates; and by his means England became the terror of all the surrounding countries, to which she had been a spoil and a prey. She rested and breathed again; but the earl himself, impatient of peace and quiet, his whole soul aflame with the love of war, exercised himself in battles beyond sea so great and so distant that his name was famous among Saracens and Christians alike, and his

et incomparabilis ubique fama. Repletum est igitur in reditu suo leticia regnum. Quicquid enim affabilitatis, facecie, largitatis, a quouis nobili uel eciam regis filio solet aut iuste potest expeti, totum omnibus hilaritate plena bubulci filius exhibet. Quod quidem eo uidetur mirabilius, quo contigit insperacius. Quis enim rusticum rusticitatis expertem crederet, et tanto uirtutum odore precluem? Non dico uirum bonum, sed probum et inprobum. Generositatis est filia bonitas, cuius habere summam degeneres d⟨eneg⟩at[a] sapiencia; probitas autem tam est boni quam mali. Bonitas non nisi bonum, probitas utrumque facit. Hunc autem non dico bonum, quia degenerem scio, sed probum, quia strenuus in agendis, audax in periculis, in casus inuolans, executor inuictus, dubiorum elector uelox, et iuris et iniurie fortis euictor. His igitur morum eminenciis comes ille bonus et comis in apparencia, que fide natiuitatis habebat probra tegebat, et ualida premebat uiolencia innatam malicie miliciam; nec sine forti congressu conspectior est ceteris, cui cum natura conflictus est. Emersit tamen et se, licet uix a uirtutum manibus erepta, cupiditas erexit, et in subsidium largitatis irrepsit auiditas; affectabat enim quocunque modo rem lucri facere, quatinus modis habundaret omnibus dare, nec puduit rapere quod posset erogare, cum non debeat largitas facultatis excedere modum, nec sit dare laus quod adquisiuit fraus. Hic cum esset incomparabiliter summus omnium, et possit ab ignauo diuiteque domino quiduis facile uir probus et inprobus optinere, a domino suo rege comitatum optinuit et dimidium, et per loca tum ab ipso tum ab aliis singula queque placita.

Berckelai prope Sabrinam,[1] uilla quingentarum librarum, monialium erat ibi manencium, et his abbatissa nobilis et

[a] denegat *Brooke;* negat *Bradley;* dat *MS*

[1] There was undoubtedly a monastery at Berkeley in the 11th century, and Godwine benefited by its suppression. J.E.L. See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, (2nd edn.), ii. 54–7; (3rd edn., 1877) ii. 556–8; and C. S. Taylor in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, xix (1894–5), 70–84, esp. pp. 80–2; B. R. Kemp, 'The Churches of the Berkeley Hernesse', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, lxxxvii (1968), 96–110, esp. 101. In all probability Map has conflated the suppression of Berkeley with the story of how Leominster Abbey disappeared after its abbess had been seduced by Godwine's eldest son

renown everywhere unrivalled. And so, at his return, the realm was filled with rejoicing. For all the affability, courtesy, liberality that is or might reasonably be looked for at the hands of any noble, nay, or king's son, this son of a herdsman showed to all in full measure of open-heartedness. And this indeed seems the more surprising in that it happened the more against expectation. Who would suppose that a rustic could be pure of rusticity and distinguished by such sweet perfume of virtues? I do not say he was a good man, but a mighty, and an unscrupulous one. Goodness is the daughter of nobility, and wisdom denies the highest degree of it to the ignoble; but prowess may exist in good and bad alike. Goodness makes a man only good, prowess makes him either. This man I do not call good, for I know he was ignoble, but of prowess, for he was brave in act, bold in dangers, pounced upon opportunities, was invincible in following them up, made his choice swiftly in dilemmas, and was strong to gain his cause whether right or wrong. With these striking features of his character the earl, good and courteous in seeming, masked the blemishes which he owed to his birth, and by main force kept down the innate militancy of his malice: and indeed it takes a hard struggle to make a man more eminent than his fellows, if he has to contend with defects of nature. Covetousness, however, did emerge, and, though hardly wrested from the hands of good qualities, raised her head, and avarice crept in to supplement his liberality, for his object was to acquire money at any price, that he might by all means have much to give away: nor did he blush to seize that he might be able to distribute, whereas liberality ought not to exceed the measure of one's resources, and it is no laud to give what is gained by fraud. He being beyond comparison the highest in the land, and able—brave and unscrupulous as he was—to obtain anything from his sluggish and rich master, got from the lord his king a county and a half, and, in various places, properties that pleased him, alike from the king and from others.

Berkeley by Severn,[1] a vill of £500 value, belonged to certain nuns who dwelt there and had a noble and comely

(not nephew) Swein (see Freeman (1st edn.) ii. 87–9; (2nd edn.), 592–3; also ii (3rd edn., 1877), 89–90, 608–10).

formosa. Vir autem predictus omnibus inspectis in dolo subtili satis, non ipsam sed sua cupiens, in transitu ei reliquit nepotem suum, iuuenem elegantissime forme, tanquam infirmum donec reuerteretur, instruxitque iacentem ne penitus conualesceret donec uisitantes ipsum et abbatissam et quascunque posset moniales fecisset de honestis onustas;[1] et ut plenam ualeret ab eis assequi puer uisitacionis graciam, anulos et zonulas nebridesque gemmis sidereas ei dedit, ipsis in fraude largienda. Is igitur uoluptatis iter ultroneum libenter aggressus, quia facilis descensus Auerni,[2] facile docetur, et in id quod sibi sapit sapienter desipit. Penes ipsum resident omnia fatuis optanda uirginibus, pulcritudo, deliciarum diuicie, affabilitas; et sollicitus est singulam[a] locum habere zabulus. Palladem igitur expulit, Venerem intulit, fecitque Saluatoris et sanctorum ecclesiam sacram execrabile pantheon, et delubrum lupanar, et sic agnas euertit in lupas.[3] Tumentibus igitur abbatisse multarumque uteribus, iam relanguens et uictus uoluptatis euictor euolat, et domino suo uictrices aquilas[4] mercede dignas iniquitatis ilico refert. Ille regem impiger adit, abbatissam et suas publicas pregnantes et prostitutas omnibus edocet, et exploratoribus missis et inde receptis omnia probat; Berkelaiam ipsis petit eiectis, et accepit a domino suo, sed melius a fatuo suo.

f. 61 Boseham[5] sub / Cicestria uidit, et affectauit, et multo stipatus agmine magnatum subridens et ludens, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo cuius tunc erat uicus ait: 'Domine, das michi Boseam?' Archiepiscopus autem admirans quasi sub questione repeciit: 'Ego do tibi Boseam?' At ille continuo cum illa manu militum ad eius procidit ut procurauerat pedes, et deosculans eos cum multa graciarum accione recessit ad Boseham, et uiolenta dominacione retinuit, et

[a] singulam] *apparently so in MS; perhaps* ⟨in⟩ singula *Winterbottom*

[1] This presumably means 'made them pregnant', 'burdened instead of honest', but the precise meaning of the phrases 'uisitantes ipsum . . . de honestis onustas . . . uisitacionis graciam' is not clear.

[2] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 126.

[3] *lupas* also means 'prostitutes'.

[4] Cf. Lucan, v. 238.

[5] Bosham undoubtedly was held by Godwine: this is recorded in *Domesday Book* (i. 16), and it is clearly implied in the opening scenes of the *Bayeux*

abbess. Now the man of whom I tell took stock of all with subtle craft, and conceived desire not of the abbess but of her property, and as he passed by the place left in her care his nephew, a very handsome lad, on pretence of his illness, till he should return, and enjoined the invalid not to recover completely until he had made a conquest of the abbess and as many of the nuns as he could,[1] and to give the youth the means of finding favour with them he supplied him with rings, girdles, and fawnskins, starry with gems, to be presented to the nuns in traitorous wise. He accordingly entered with alacrity and goodwill on the path of pleasure, and learnt it easily, for easy is the descent to Avernus,[2] and fooled wisely in that which was to his taste. In him dwelt all that foolish virgins could desire—beauty, delights of luxury, and kind address; and the devil was agog to find an abode in each one of them; so he drove out Pallas and brought in Venus, and made a church sacred to the Saviour and the saints a cursed Pantheon, and a sanctuary into a brothel, and the ewe-lambs into she-wolves.[3] So, when the swelling wombs of the abbess and many of the nuns were past concealment, their seducer fled, and speedily brought to his lord the conquering eagles[4] that had earned the reward of iniquity. Godwine at once approached the king, made public the news that the abbess and nuns were pregnant wantons, sent men to investigate, and on their return proved the truth of all he had said. The nuns were cast out, and he asked for and received Berkeley from his lord, who might better be called his fool.

Bosham[5] by Chichester he saw and desired, and backed by a great company of magnates, he said with a smile, as in jest, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who then owned the village: 'Lord, do you give me Bosham?' The Archbishop in surprise repeated his words, interrogatively, 'I give you Bosham?' At once he with his band of knights fell at his feet (as he had arranged), and kissed them, and with profuse thanks retired to Bosham and kept it by forcible power, and, supported by

Tapestry that it was a favourite possession of his son. But there is no reason to suppose that it had ever been the archbishop's; once again, Map seems to be conflating—this time with the story of Godwine's quarrel with Robert of Jumièges, archbishop of Canterbury in 1051 (*Life of King Edward*, ed. F. Barlow, NMT, 1962, p. 19). On the later history of Bosham, see J. H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels, 1100–1300* (Manchester, 1970), pp. 44–7.

cum testimonio suorum donatorem laudauit archiepiscopum coram rege, posseditque pacifice.

Ex his uobis animus eius innoteat, in adquirendo pestilens, ut in dando profusus fieret. Venator erat omnium ex omnibus lucrorum hominibus, ut omnibus sufficeret in distribucionibus;[1] timor omnium et spes, luctus et leticia.

iiii. *De Cnutone rege Dacorum*[2]

Erat illa tempestate regum omnium ditissimus et strenuissimus Dacorum rex Chnutus. Hic ab optimatibus Anglie uocatus et frequentibus epistolis illectus, non inuitis sed inuitantibus Anglicis et cum gaudio suscipientibus, cum exercitu nimio Danesiam illapsus est, que nunc usque dicitur a Dacis ut aiunt Danesia.[3] Hoc autem contumeliosa fecit oppressio. Mos enim regum est, ut quanto quisque timidior tanto crudelior. Talis et tam immanis Edelredus, quia timidissimus erat et omnes timebat, insidiabatur omnibus et non simul omnes sed singillatim optimos comprimebat, et libertatem in seruitutem et e conuerso redigebat; colla nobilium seruis calcanda prebebat, iuris euersor, assertor iniurie, seuicie sator, fomes inclemencie, nec ultor iniurie nec benefacti retributor. Non amabat quem non posset ira uel seruitutis uel prodicionis uel alicuius arguere criminis. Completum in ipso est quod dicitur: 'Rex iniqus omnes ministros impios habet.'[4] Qui benignus, qui mitis aut misericors dicebatur, non direxit in conspectu eius.[5] Superbus serui oculus et insaciabile cor in ipsius beneplacito ministrabat.[6] In

[1] Cf. 1 Corinthians 9: 22.

[2] This account of the relations of Cnut and Earl Godwine is mainly fictitious: Godwine was in fact of Cnut's creation. Cnut's father Swein, king of Denmark, staged several invasions of England, and after his followers had been continuously engaged in campaigns in England for some years, he made what was virtually a complete conquest in 1013, and was accepted as king; but early in 1014 he died. Cnut left for Denmark, but returned the next year with strong reinforcements. Æthelred's son Edmund Ironside attempted to resist him, and after Æthelred's death in April 1016 both Cnut and Edmund were acknowledged kings by different sections of the community. In October 1016 they met in battle at Ashingdon in Essex; Cnut was victorious, and in November Edmund died, leaving Cnut undisputed king of the English (1016–35). He married Æthelred's widow Emma (see above), and her two children by Æthelred, Edward, and Alfred, were left in Normandy, their mother's homeland; it was Edmund Ironside's sons Edward and Edmund who were brought up in Hungary. They had been sent to Sweden (not Pannonia) by Cnut, and passed on by the king of the Swedes

the evidence of his men, praised the Archbishop to the king as the donor, and possessed the place peaceably.

From these instances you may learn of what spirit he was, how pestilent in acquiring that he might be lavish in giving. He was a hunter of all gains from all men, in order to satisfy all his gifts,[1] to all a source of fear and hope, of grief and of joy.

4. *Of Cnut, King of the Danes*[2]

The richest and bravest of all kings at that time was Cnut, king of the Danes. He, summoned by the nobles of England, and enticed by their frequent letters—the English not opposing, but inviting him and receiving him with joy—landed with a very large force in *Danesia* (Dengey), which they say is still called *Danesia* from the Danes.[3] This was occasioned by shameful oppression, for with kings it is the rule that the worse coward any is, the crueller he is. Such and so savage was Æthelred, and being very cowardly and in fear of everyone, he set traps for all, and caught not all at once, but the foremost one by one, and reduced freedom to slavery, and vice versa: the necks of the nobles he gave to slaves to trample on, upset right, championed unright, a sower of cruelty, a hotbed of harshness, neither avenging injuries nor repaying benefits. He liked no one whom in his wrath he could not charge with servile birth, treason, or some other crime. In him was fulfilled the saying, 'An unjust king has none but wicked servants.'[4] He who was called kindly, mild, or pitiful, prospered not in his sight.[5] The proud eye of the serf and his insatiable breast, these ministered with his good pleasure.[6] All

to St. Stephen, king of Hungary.

Some of the legends told here appear in earlier writers (see below); much of them also in the *Vita Haroldi* of uncertain date. On this section see Wright, *Cultivation of Saga*, pp. 183 ff., and especially on the rise of Godwine, 218–29; pp. 224–9 discuss the *Vita Haroldi*; see also Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1877), i. 658, 712–13, 741.

[3] Dengey is a hundred in Essex; its name is in fact very old, much older than the Danish invasions, and it is not named after the Danes (P. H. Reaney, *Place-Names of Essex* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. xxii–xxiii, 213–14). There is no early evidence that Cnut (or Swein) ever landed here.

[4] Cf. Proverbs 29: 12: 'Princeps, qui libenter audit uerba mendacii, omnes ministros habet impios.'

[5] Cf. Psalm 100 (101): 7.

[6] Cf. Psalm 100 (101): 5–7.

querelis et fletu nobilium leticia sua. Generosas maritabat rusticis puellas, et altissimi filios cruoris in seruorum filias degenerare coegit. Similia suo corda satellitum amabat, et in omnes armabat crudelitatum astucias. Quot sub ipso tiranni, tot reges; uerus in minis, falsus in promissis, et omnis ubique malleus equitatis. Hunc in principio regni sui pertulerunt nobiles, ne suo uiderentur derogare stemati, quem postmodum quos fecit ipse ui a nobilitate degeneres alienigene uendiderunt populo.

Erat iste cum seruis quos elegerat, quorum nutu seuiebat in liberos, in thalamo Westmonasterii, cum rumor aduentus Chnuti personuit, et cum in cimba fugisset, apud opidum Londonie seruorum in medio timore decessit, et ab ipsis derelictus, impetu fluminis delatus est Numa[a] quo deuenit et Ancus.[1]

Cum naturaliter oderit anima mea seruos, hoc michi placet in eis, quod circa finem et oportunitates edocent quantum amandi sint. Prouerbium Anglicum de seruis est: *Haue hund to godsib, ant stenc*[2] *in þir oder hond*, quod est: Canem suscipe compatrem, et altera manu baculum.

Subitus igitur et inprouisus aduenit Chnutus, et statim ab inuitatoribus suis Lundoniensibus susceptus, omnes finitimas inuasit prouincias, et sibi ad securitatem Emmam sororem ducis Normannorum, nouam ab Edelredo uiduam, ⟨duxit uxorem⟩.[b] Filios autem eorum Aluredum et Eduuardum nulla questione reperire potuit. Rapuerat enim eos, ut preparauit Altissimus, a tumultu et turbine miles quidam, et clam in cimba positos in pontum[c] inpulit, et regiis ornatos insigniis cum breui cognicionis et cognacionis / f. 61v eorum disposicioni diuine supposuit. Illi autem in die secundo a mercatoribus Pannonie uagientes inuenti sunt, et ab Hungarorum rege redempti, et ad auunculum suum ducem remissi.

At in hac quid fecit Godwinus tempestate? Multa et ualida manu militum collecta Edmundum Edelredi filium aduocauit,

[a] Numa *Wright;* in ima *MS* [b] *Lacuna noted by James;* duxit uxorem *Mynors* [c] portum *MS*

[1] Cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 6. 27.

[2] Bradley (p. 399) pointed out that 'stent' (as in James) must be the same word as 'steng', and that this may have been spelt 'stenc'.

his delight was in the plaints and tears of the nobles. Maidens of gentle birth he wedded to rustics, and he forced the sons of the best blood to stoop to the daughters of serfs. He wished the hearts of his minions to be like his own, and he armed to every device of cruelty. There were as many kings as there were rulers under him: he was truthful in his threats, false in his promises, and everywhere a hammer of all justice. In the beginning of his reign his nobles bore with him, lest they might seem to belittle their own [? his] descent, but later they whom he violently put out of nobility into base estate sold him to a strange people.

He was in his chamber at Westminster in company with slaves whom he had chosen, and at whose beck he raged against the free, when the news of Cnut's arrival was noised abroad. He took to flight in a boat, and at London town died of fear in the midst of his slaves, and, deserted by them, was carried by the current of the river 'thither where Numa's gone and Ancus too.'[1]

Though my soul naturally loathes slaves, this point about them does please me, that in the end or in an emergency they show plainly how much they deserve affection. There is an English proverb about them: *Have hund to godsib ant steng*[2] *in thir oder hond*; that is, 'Take a dog for godfather (gossip) and a stick in your other hand.'

So then, Cnut came suddenly and unexpected upon them, and was at once received at London by those who had invited him, overran all the adjacent provinces and, to secure his portion, married Emma, the daughter of the duke of Normandy, and newly left a widow by Æthelred. Their children, however, Alfred and Edward, he could not by any searching find. For a certain knight had caught them away, as the Most High had foreordained, out of the strife and stress, and secretly put them in a boat and thrust them out to sea, decked with the ornaments of royalty, and with a letter showing their names and kindred, and so committed them to the disposal of God. On the second day they were found crying, by some merchants of Pannonia, and were bought by the king of Hungary and sent back to their uncle the duke.

But what was Godwine's action at this juncture? Gathering a large and strong force of soldiers, he summoned Edmund,

et properanti contra eos occurrunt Chnuto apud Durhurst in ualle Gloucestrie super Sabrinam. Erant hinc inde dispositi ad bellum cunei ⟨et⟩[a] phalanges exercituum, maior Chnuti qui dimidium Anglie cum Dacis adduxerat. Timebant autem Daci bonos et iratos aduersarios, et causam iniustam cui sola patrocinabatur auiditas; Chnutum ad racionem ponunt, ut non tocius exercitus sed unius hominis attemptetur obitus, fiatque pro bello duellum, et uictor pugil domino suo regnum optineat, ceteris in pace dimissis.[1] Placuit utrique parti sermo, bonumque uisum est Edmundo seipsum opponere periculo, nec pro se passus ⟨est⟩ admitti pugilem. Quo Chnutus audito, censuit in propria dimicandum persona, quatinus informis absit inparitas, par enim congressio regum et bene consona. Factis igitur cum debita solempnitate que ad rem pertinent, datis induciis, custodibus armatis duabus cimbis e diuerso collati conueniunt in insula Sabrine, precipuis et preciosis armis et equis quantum honos et proteccio uolunt redimiti. Iacturis et successibus eorum post congressus ingressum immorari non possumus (quibus ad alia transitus est),[b] cum utriusque diu silencio partis diuerse satis et aduerse uicissitudinis, que tristes alterutrim[c] timores et letas agitabant spes, et immotus inhiabat exercitus. Vnde tamen et memorabile uerbum, quod ut pedites equis facti sunt trucidatis, Chnutus procerus et macer et altus, Edmundum grandem et planum, id est mediocriter pinguem, tam probo tam improbo fatigauit assultu, quod in ad pausandum recessu, magno staret Edmundus hanelitu crebroque reductu spiritus, et audiente corona dixit: 'Edmunde, stricte nimis anhelas.' Ille rubore suffusus uerecunde tacuit, et assultu proximo tanto descendit in galeam eius ictu, quod genibus et manu

[a] et *add. Wright* [b] *Wright placed a full stop after* transitus est *(following the MS), and a comma after* exercitus. *In this case it becomes necessary to insert a verb (e.g.* certatum est*) after* spes, *James. The whole sentence is doubtful: perhaps read* aduerse ⟨erant⟩ uicissitudines, *Winterbottom* [c] alterutrim *Winterbottom;* alterutrum *MS;* alternatim *James (1914, p. 269)*

[1] The meeting at Deerhurst took place shortly after the battle of Ashingdon, but it was a peace conference in which the kings agreed to divide England between them—an arrangement rapidly brought to an end by Edmund's death in Nov. 1016 (F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1943), p. 387; 3rd edn. (1970), p. 393). The legend of this duel, however, is older than Map: it is recorded by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs, RS, i. 180) and

the son of Æthelred, and they met Cnut, who was hurrying to oppose them, at Deerhurst in the vale of Gloucester, on the Severn. On either side the squadrons and phalanxes of the armies were drawn up for battle, the larger being that of Cnut, who had brought half England along with his Danes. But the Danes were in fear of their stout and angry adversaries and of their unrighteous cause, of which greed was the sole support. They insisted with Cnut that the death of the whole army should not be put in the scale, but that of a single man, and that a duel should take the place of a battle, and the victorious champion obtain the kingdom for his master, and the rest be sent away in peace.[1] Both sides were pleased with this, and it seemed good to Edmund to confront the danger himself, nor would he allow of any champion in his stead. Hearing this, Cnut decided that he must fight *in propria persona*, so as to avoid an unseemly disparity: for a conflict of kings would be even and fitting. All the needful arrangements were therefore made with due solemnity: a truce was granted, keepers of the ground were armed, and the two, borne in two boats from opposite banks, met on an island in the Severn, equipped with excellent and precious arms and horses to the extent necessary for honour and safeguard. Upon their several failures and successes after the fight was begun we cannot dwell, since we have to pass to other subjects—a fight long waged amid the silence of either side, and of varying and contrary changes which alternately raised dismal fears and joyful hopes, as the army gazed open-mouthed and motionless. It gave rise, however, to one memorable phrase: when their horses were slain and they became foot-soldiers, Cnut, who was slender, thin and tall, pressed Edmund, who was big and smooth—in other words, fairly stout—with such prowess and persistency of attack, that in a pause allowed for rest, Edmund stood panting heavily and drawing deep breaths; and in the hearing of the ring, Cnut said: 'Edmund, you breathe too short.' He blushed, but kept a modest silence, and at the next attack came down upon Cnut's helmet with such a stroke that he touched the ground

Henry of Huntingdon (ed. T. Arnold, RS, p. 185) in the early 12th century. See Wright, *Cultivation of Saga*, pp. 184–98; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i, 3rd edn., pp. 705–17, esp. 712–13.

terram peteret, et resiliens prostratum non oppressit nec inpediuit afflictum, sed in ulcionem uerbi uerbum retulit, et ait: 'Non nimis arte, qui regem tantum pedibus suis inclinat.' Videntes igitur Daci quod in tam ardui finis conflictu detulisset Edmundus domino, et quod in tam prompta uictoria uincere distulisset, in fedus eos huiusmodi multis coegerunt precibus et lacrimis, quatinus equaliter inter eos diuisum possiderent tota uita sua regnum, et post mortem alterius succederet superstes in solidum; factique sunt ibi fratres et amici, fideque firmissima conglutinati, sic ut nec irarum sator zabulus, nec complices eius, acusatorum et adulancium odiose linguarum nouacule, initum possent fedus aut amiciciam soluere.

Contigit autem Edmundum decedere priorem hoc modo. Mos aliquorum regum est ut seruis thalami uel lecti secreta sui tribuant, et eis libera suorum capita submittere non formident; et hic incidit, quod Robertus Henrici primi filius, comes Gloucestrie,[1] uir magne prudencie multarumque literarum, cum tamen esset ut fieri solet petulans, cum eiusdem uicii uiro Stephano de Beauchamp omnibus bonis militibus quasi despectis frequentabat alloquia. Hic in
f. 62 artissimo discriminis articulo, iam / animante tuba, firmatis utrimque galeis, hastis ad submittendum erectis, clipeis pectoribus obductis, strictis equorum frenis, a bonis auxilium et consilium cum multa festinacione petebat, Stephano tanquam inutili retroacto. Cui quidam ex bonis: 'Voca Stephanum.' Comes erubuit improperium aduertens, et ait omnibus quos aduocauerat consilio: 'Miseremini mei, nec sitis[a] ad ignoscendum difficiles confitenti. Homo multe libidinis ego: cum me uocat domina mea Venus, uoco seruum eius Stephanum ministrum ad huiusmodi promptissimum; cum uero Mars, alumpnos eius uos consulo. Quod autem

[a] scitis *MS*

[1] Died 1147; illegitimate son of Henry I, half-brother and leading supporter of the Empress Matilda against King Stephen, and a patron of scholars, e.g. of William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth (on him see *CP* v. 682–6; xi, Appendix D, p. 106). Map is not alone in testifying to his learning, though he is the only writer to tell the story of Stephen de Beauchamp. The latter was a leading tenant of William de Beauchamp in the baronial *carte* of 1166, and he appears, with Earl Robert, as a witness to the empress's charter to William de Beauchamp of *c.*1141 (J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1892),

with knee and hand; but Edmund stepped back and neither crushed the fallen foe nor harassed the down-struck; only avenging a word by a word, he retorted: 'Not too short, if I can bring so great a king off his feet.' The Danes accordingly, when they saw that Edmund had deferred to their lord in a conflict of such mighty issue, and that when victory was ready to his hand he had delayed his triumph, compelled the two by many prayers and tears to make a treaty in these terms, that during their lives they should possess the kingdom equally divided between them, and that on the death of either the survivor should succeed to the whole. And on the spot they became brothers and friends, welded together in firmest faith, so that neither the devil, the sower of quarrels, nor his accomplices, the hateful razors of the tongues of slanderers and flatterers, could dissolve the agreement they had entered into, or their friendship.

It befell however that Edmund deceased first, and in this way. It is the practice of some kings to entrust the secrets of their chamber and their bed to servants, not fearing to expose to them their own free heads. And here an anecdote occurs to me: Robert earl of Gloucester,[1] the son of Henry I, a man of great cleverness and much learning, though, as often happens, wanton, used to be much in the society of Stephen de Beauchamp, a man beset by the same fault, and seemed to rate low all the noble among his knights. Now in the hardest stress of an engagement, the trumpet already stirring the spirits, helmets adjusted on both sides, spears raised to the casting, shields drawn close to the breast, reins tightly curbing the steeds, he was hurriedly seeking help and counsel from the nobles, putting aside Stephen as useless. And one of the soldiers said to him: 'Call Stephen.' The earl felt the force of the rebuke and blushed; then, to all whom he had summoned to council he said: 'Pity me, and do not be slow to forgive one who confesses his fault. I am a man of strong passions, and when my lady Venus calls me, I call her servant Stephen, who is the readiest of helpers in such a case: but when Mars calls, I turn to you, his pupils. But if my ear is

pp. 314–15; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iii, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1968), no. 68; for later occurrences, ibid. nos. 58, 112, 167, 409, 826).

ei mea fere semper auris adheret (os loquitur et uerum[a] uobis), hinc est, quod Veneri uoluntarius seruio, Marti milito coactus.' Riserunt omnes, et data uenia prestitere presidium.

Hinc ut opinor est quod quidam reges abactis liberis committant secreta seruis, quia seruire uolunt uiciis, et uirtutum fugiunt libertatem: et, ut uulgo dicitur, similis similem querit. Quesiuit Edmundus similem suis in uoluptate moribus, immo uiciis, et prefecit curie sue liberis hominem seruilis et abiecte condicionis;[1] qui cum ab ipso multas et insperatas et ignobilitatis impares esset assecutus opulencias, una tandem placuit regie corone uillula Ministrewrda, super Sabrinam, tribus a Gloucestria milibus. Hanc peciit, et in responso regio etsi non ablacionem, dilacionem audiuit. Rapidas igitur inde rabidasque colligit iras, et quem domini fauor iniustus fatue non superbire sed insanire coegerat, meditatus est iniquitatem in cubili suo,[2] quam concipere non posset infinitis iniuriis lesa libertas. Clausa sunt muris eneis corda nobilium, quos non inuidia, non ambicio, non iniquitatis corumpit acetum, unde raro beneficiis ingrati uidentur, quamuis malefici⟨i⟩s inueniant pacienciam. Animarum uero seruilium aut nulle[b] sunt sepes aut dirute; furtis, rapinis, ceterisque peruie sunt iniusticie filiabus. Decus et dedecus librare contempnunt, illo pessimo contenti uersiculo:

Iupiter esse pium statuit quodcumque iuuaret.[3]

Hoc est zabuli sic evangelium, ab Evan v consonante, quod est furor, interpretatum (unde Bachus Evan dicitur),[4] non euuangelium Domini Iesu, posito bis u uocali, ab *eu*, quod est bonum, quod abstinenciam docet a malis et in bonis instanciam.

[a] et uerum *MS*, al. uiro *marg.; perhaps om.* et *Winterbottom Wright;* nulla *MS* [b] nullae

[1] This clearly refers to the turncoat ealdorman of Mercia, Eadric Streona; he did not kill Edmund, but deserted him (not for the first time) at Ashingdon and so ensured his defeat. A similar legend also appears in William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 215–18) and Henry of Huntingdon (p. 186). Eadric's interest in Minsterworth does not occur in other sources; perhaps it was a local legend (see below). See Wright, *Cultivation of Saga*, pp. 185–205; pp. 206 ff. complete the story of Eadric and his legends.

[2] Cf. Psalm 35: 5 (36: 4).

[3] Ovid, *Heroides*, iv, 133.

almost always attent to her (I tell you the truth), the reason is that I serve Venus as a volunteer, but fight for Mars only when I must.' All laughed and granted him pardon and gave him their aid.

This I suppose is the reason why some kings banish free men and entrust their secrets to serfs, because they want to serve vices, and shun the freedom of virtues; and as is commonly said, like seeks for like. Thus Edmund sought one like him in his licentious character, or rather in his faults, and set over the freemen of his court a man of servile and low condition.[1] This person obtained from him many pieces of emolument which he had not hoped for and which were wholly unsuited to his low origin; but one vill in particular belonging to the Crown attracted him, namely, Minsterworth on the Severn, three miles from Gloucester. This he asked for, and in the king's answer received, not a refusal but a postponement. He conceived an anger at once rapid and rabid, and this man whom his lord's undue favour had foolishly brought not to pride but to madness, imagined mischief upon his bed,[2] such as a freeman's soul would never have conceived, even if wounded by a thousand iniquities. The hearts of noble men are enclosed in walls of brass which not envy or ambition or the vinegar of iniquity can dissolve, and so they are rarely found ungrateful for benefits, though they find patience against injuries. But the defences of the souls of serfs are either non-existent or broken down: they lie open to thefts, plunderings and all the other daughters of unrighteousness. They scorn to weigh honour against dishonour and are satisfied with that evil verse

Jupiter ruled to be good whatever gave pleasure to man.[3]

That is the devil's evangel from Evan spelt with a consonant V, which being interpreted is 'madness' (whence Bacchus is called Evan):[4] it is not the Euuangel of the Lord Jesus, where we have the vowel V doubled, from *eu*, which means good; for that teaches us abstention from evil and attention to good.

[4] Euhan or Euan (the 'u' was in fact a vowel) was one of Bacchus's numerous alternative names (cf. Ovid. *Met.*, iv. 15). 'Eu' is Greek for 'well'. (On this cf. Webb, p. 123.)

Seruus hic ultronea uersans odia, tandem in una quieuit sentencia, peracta regum recordacione, metitus[1a] pessima, scilicet ut superstes mortui fiat heres, suaque fecit superstitem opera Chnutum, ipsum sui iudicans animi sibique similem, quatinus ut ipse totis honoribus totoque Deo postposito totum cupiat uniri sibi regnum, et in mercedem iniquitatis accipiat, absque difficultate uel mora, quod ei dominus dare distulerat.

Fuit autem hic modus. Chnutus Lundoniam et illas trans Hichenild partes habebat, Edmundus alias;[2] unde forte cupitam illam Ministrewrdam uenit, cuius ego, Deo gratias, hodie capellam iure matris ecclesie de Westburia possideo.[3] Tum uero uisa illa ⟨cum⟩ facultatibus et deliciis pertinentibus, exarsit in rabiem seruus, supposuitque zabuli minister in assellacionis foramine domino suo ueru ferreum acutum et grande; precedens eciam in aduentu suo cum luce multa candelarum, alias eas uertit ut incautus irrueret. Irruit ergo, letalique uulnere confossus inde se deferri fecit, et in Ros,[4] uico regio, decessit, quem et ecclesie concessit Herefordensi, que[b] et adhuc possidet. Properat et Chnuto seruus astat, et ait: 'Salue, rex integer, qui semirex heri fuisti; et utinam auctorem tue remuneres integritatis, cuius manu sublatus est tuus hostis, et unicus euulsus e terra.' Tunc rex, licet tristissimus, placido uultu retulit: 'Deus bone! Quis michi tam amicus extitit, ut faciam eum precelsum pre consortibus suis?'[5] Seruus ait: 'Ego.' Tunc rex

[a] metitus *MS; perhaps* meditatus *James* [b] que *Winterbottom;* quem *MS*

[1] James translated *meditatus*, rather than *metitus*, 'measured, estimated'—perhaps rightly.

[2] The Icknield way was an ancient British track running from Dorset to Norfolk. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives Edmund only Wessex, and so the boundary is usually thought to have been drawn at the Thames; and Map is certainly right to give London to Cnut. Florence of Worcester, however (ed. B. Thorpe, i. 178) gives Essex and East Anglia to Cnut. This is probably wrong, but may represent the same tradition as that received by Map, though Florence is presumably not Map's source, since Florence (wrongly) gives Edmund London. Freely as Map treated his sources, it would be a strange chance if he had altered Florence on this point and hit on the truth. On the treaty, see Stenton, 1st edn., p. 387 and note; 3rd edn., pp. 392–3 and 393 n. 1. On London, C. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800–1216* (London, 1975), pp. 23–4.

[3] Westbury-on-Severn, of which Minsterworth is shown by the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica . . . Nicholai IV* (1291: Record Commission, 1802, p. 161b) to have been a chapel. J.E.L.

This serf, revolving gratuitous hate in his mind, at last settled upon one plan, after considering the situation of the kings, and conceived[1] the worst of designs, namely, that the survivor should be the heir of the deceased, and by his act made Cnut the survivor, judging him to be of his own disposition and like himself, so that like him he would desire, setting aside all honour and all thoughts of God, that the whole realm should be united under him, and that in reward of his iniquity he would himself receive without difficulty or delay what his lord had deferred giving him.

Now this was the manner of it. Cnut had London and the parts beyond Icknield; Edmund the rest,[2] and thus he happened to come to that coveted Minsterworth, the chapel of which I, thank God, to-day hold in right of its mother church of Westbury.[3] But this serf when he saw it, with all the resources and amenities that belong to it, flamed out into madness, and, minister of the devil as he was, put into the hole of his master's privy a large, sharp iron spit, and, preceding him as he came with a strong light of candles, suddenly turned them in another direction, that his master might fall into the snare unawares. He fell into it, and was pierced with a mortal wound, and had himself carried thence, and died at Ross,[4] a royal town which with its church he gave to the church of Hereford which still owns it. The serf hastened to appear before Cnut and said: 'Hail to you, whole king, who were yesterday but half a king; and may you recompense the author of your wholeness by whose hand your enemy has been removed and your one foe rooted out of the earth.' The king, though much saddened, replied with unmoved face: 'Good God! who has been so much my friend, that I may set him on high above all his fellows?'[5] 'I', said the serf. Then the king

[4] Map is right in making Ross a possession of Hereford cathedral, and it is possible that he is right in making it a gift of Edmund's and in placing Edmund's death at Ross. Florence of Worcester places this event at London, Henry of Huntingdon at Oxford. Neither is likely, since both places were probably in Cnut's dominions; as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* places his burial at Glastonbury, he is likely to have died further west. H. P. R. Finberg (*Early Charters of the West Midlands*, Leicester, 1961, p. 145) defended Map's story. But there is no supporting evidence; it is not safe to accept historical events on Map's word alone; and in another instance (ii. 12) he is right in assigning a property to Hereford cathedral, but apparently quite wrong about how the cathedral came by it.

[5] Cf. Psalm 44: 8 (45: 7).

eum sublime⟨m⟩ rapi fecit, et in altissima quercu suspendi, debito meritoque fine seruorum.

f. 62v Chnutus ergo libere monarcha per tempora plura mansit, operueruntque Daci totas ubique prouincias, et preualentes Anglicis eos ad pessimas cogebant seruitutes, eciam abutentes uxoribus eorum et filiabus et neptis. Quod Godwinus Cnuhto cum multis afferens lacrimis, ad nullam exauditus est populi sui liberacionem, et factus est pietate suorum impius et immitis regis Dacorum hostis, restititque regie potestati uiriliter (et in plurimis eum ipsi dicunt preualuisse congressibus), pacem semper Anglicis et libertatem exorans. Cum autem Chnutus ipsum prelio uidit insuperabilem, preces admisit, ut id dolo tempore pacis efficeret, quod ui uel arte belli non potuit, factique sunt amici superficietenus, et libertas Anglie restituta. Sepe similiter inita federa sicut et hoc rupere Daci, solito seuius in pristinas lapsi licencias. Multo tamen durauit hec pax tempore quo Chnutus in insidiis erat Godwino. Frequentibus xeniolis et amicicie simultatibus euicit ab ipso tam credi quam amari. Quod ut regi plenius innotuit, uocauit eum; post multa suspiria crebrosque gemitus ait: 'De uestra secure presumo uenia, quoniam et ego uobis omnia remisi que discordie uices meruisse uidentur; dico "uidentur" et non dico "meruerunt", quia cum ego fuerim uestratum persecutor iniustus, uestra semper fuit et laudabilis et iusta defensio. Si quid autem uos adhuc scrupuli uel nubis ex merito meo contristat, mea uobis inde placeat quam elegerit censura uestra placacio.' Comes igitur hiis uerbis quamuis dolosis delinitus et aliquantulum animo pacificatus, omnia prius[a] perperam attemptata remittit. At Chnutus, ut ipsum caucius irreciat, ita subintulit: 'O domine comes, letificastis animam meam, ut tute uobis utrius⟨que⟩[b] regni summa committere precepta placeat. Primo Daciam uolo uisitetis, ibi dispositurí prout uideritis et correcturi. Vnica soror mea pulcherrima uirginum et fidelissima cum

[a] prius *Winterbottom;* per prius *MS*

[b] utriusque *James;* utrius *MS*

had him caught up on high and hanged on the tallest oak: the due and proper end of serfs.

Cnut, therefore, continued a free monarch for a long time, and the Danes spread over all the provinces everywhere, and prevailed over the English and forced them into the worst of slaveries, ill-using their wives, daughters, and nieces. This Godwine reported with many tears to Cnut, but was not listened to for any deliverance of his people; so through pity for his own race he became a pitiless and cruel enemy of the king of the Danes, and manfully withstood the royal power (and, they say, prevailed against it in many encounters), continually entreating peace and freedom for the English. But when Cnut saw that he could not be beaten in battle, he gave ear to his prayers, in order that he might in time of peace achieve by fraud what he could not obtain by force or warcraft; and they became, on the surface, friends, and freedom was restored to England. Often did the Danes break treaties concluded on like terms, as they broke this, and lapsed into their old outrages more fiercely than before. Still, this peace lasted for a long time, during which Cnut was plotting against Godwine. By frequent presents and shows of friendship he gained from him both credence and affection. And when the king was fully assured of this, he summoned him, and after many sighs and much groaning said: 'I can safely presume on your forgiveness, since I too have forgiven you all that appeared to deserve the punishment due to rebellion (discord): I say "appeared" and do not say "deserved", for whereas I have been unjust in my persecution of your people, your resistance has always been both laudable and just. Now if there still remains any scruple or cloud of my causing to aggrieve you, be you satisfied with any atonement of mine therefor which your judgement may select.' The earl, mollified by these words, deceitful though they were, and somewhat appeased in his soul, granted forgiveness of all previous evil designs. Then Cnut, to enmesh him the more craftily, went on thus: 'Lord earl, you have made my mind so happy, that I wish to entrust to you in safety the highest command of both my kingdoms. First, I desire you to visit Denmark, and there order and correct matters as you shall see fit. And as my only sister, the fairest and faithfullest of maidens,

ibi loco meo presit, breue meum de manu uestra suscipiet, ut omnes ad uos conuocet optimates; aliud illis porrigetis, ut uobis in omni timore sicut et michi subiecti sint.' Annuit comes, et acceptis breuibus et licencia uenit impiger ad portum unde transfretandum erat. Et consilio Brandi[1] capellani sui, quem optimum sciebat in subtilibus artificem, utrumque sigillum, ficcionem regis aut fidem ut probaret, aperuit, non inmerito metuens Danos[a] et dona ferentes.[2] In primo reperit ut coram ipso Daci conuenirent; in secundo 'Sciant amici mei Daci, merito michi uirorum omnium amantissimi, quia fidelissimi, quod comes G., ad quem per literas meas uocati uenistis, extorsit a me tam dolose quam uiolenter Dacie regimen per triennium, prouidum se michi fidelemque ministrum fore spondens ad augmenta reddituum et omnium prosperitatem rerum et uestram defensionem, ut non fuerit Ioseph Egipto melior. Sic se lupus pastori fatuo canem exhibuit, ut exteros timores abigens crederetur, prede liberius solus incumberet. Gentis Anglorum cupit ulcisci dedecus, et in sanguine uestro gloriari. Sensi dolum et assensi precibus, ydiotam me simulans, ut manu uestra mortis artifex sua morte pereat, et a sapiencia se senciat superari calliditas. Non enim sum ipso superstite rex unicus Anglorum et Dacie.' Godwinus hoc breue mutari iubet, et contra uota suorum, qui suadebant reditum pre timore, magnanimiter agens, sic regale uertit imperium: 'Chnutus Anglorum et Dacie rex unicis sue prosperitatis amatoribus Dacis, quod omni tempore pacis et belli fideliter et strenue meruerunt. Scire uos decet quod sanus et incolumis
f. 63 tocius Anglie monarcha regno, quod / quidem Deo gratum spero, qui me dirigit ut Iacob quem amauit. Ipsi grates ago, uestrisque precibus; latori uero presencium, Eboracensium comiti[b] dominoque Lincolnie, Notingeam, Lucestrie, Cestrie,

[a] Donaos *MS;* Danos *marg.* [b] comite *MS*

[1] The only known ecclesiastic bearing this unusual name in the 11th century was abbot of Peterborough, 1066–9. Cf. W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 113; *Heads*, p. 60. Map is describing letters close, with the vellum folded and sealed across the fold.

[2] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 49 ('timeo Danaos et dona ferentis'). This story is told in the *Vita Haroldi* (ed. W. de G. Birch, London 1885, pp. 14–15, 114), of uncertain date, and it seems more likely that both texts derive from a common tradition than that the *Vita* copied Map. See Wright, *Cultivation of Saga*, pp. 224–9.

is ruling there in my stead, she shall receive a letter from me at your hand, bidding her assemble all the nobles to you, and to them you shall hand another, to the effect that they submit themselves to you, as to me, with all reverence.' The earl agreed, received the letters and licence to depart, and went quickly to the port whence he had to cross. By the advice of his chaplain Brand,[1] whom he knew to be an excellent worker in cunning devices, he opened both seals in order to test the good faith or fraud of the king, for not without reason he feared the 'Danes even with gifts in their hands.'[2] In the first letter he read that the Danes were to assemble before him, in the second: 'Be it known to my loyal Danes, who of right are of all men dearest to me, because most faithful, that Earl Godwine to whom you have been summoned by my letter, and have come, has wrung from me, alike by fraud and force, the government of Denmark for three years, promising to be to me a prudent and faithful minister to the increase of my revenues and the general prosperity and to your protection: so that not Joseph himself profited Egypt more. Just so did the wolf offer himself as a watch-dog to the foolish shepherd, that while he was trusted to keep off fears from without, he might the more freely attend to the spoil alone. He (Godwine) desires to avenge the shame of the English race, and to boast himself in your blood. I perceived the trick and agreed to this petition, feigning myself a fool, that by your hand the plotter of death may perish in his own death, and cleverness find itself outdone by wisdom. For while he lives I am not the single king of the English, and of Denmark.' Godwine ordered this letter to be changed, and acting with boldness, against the wishes of his men, who in fear would have had him turn back, thus perverted the king's command: 'Cnut, king of the English and of Denmark, to the Danes, the only lovers of his prosperity, wishes that which they have earned by their faith and valour in all times of peace and war. It is right that you should know that I rule as monarch over all England in health and safety, as I hope is pleasing to God who guideth me even as Jacob whom he loved. To him and to your prayers I offer thanks. Now to the bearer of these presents, being the earl of York and lord of Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, Chester,

Huntendune, Norhamtune, Gloucestrie, queque[a] nobis diu restitit Herefordie,[1] magis obnoxii sumus ex debito quam alii uiuenti, cuius michi manus pacem adegit, uirtus et sapiencia tranquillum facit regnum. Huic tanquam fidelissimo meo curam et disposicionem tocius Dacie commisi, sororemque meam uxorem dedi, cuius uolo subditi sitis imperio sine controuersia. Valete.'[2]

v. *De primo Henrico rege Anglorum et Lodouuico rege Francorum*

Henricus rex Anglie, pater matris eius Henrici qui nunc regnat, uir prouidus et pacis amator, regem Francie Lodouicum Grossum cum exercitu suo superbissimo confecit in bello iuxta Gisorcium, et dedit in fugam, uictorque reuersus Angliam pacificauit,[3] a patre suo Willelmo Bastardo conquisitam, et nec per ipsum Willelmum nec per filium et successorem eius Willelmum Ruffum compositam ad pacem, quia ueteres incole suum nullatenus equanimiter tollerantes exilium, infestabant aduenas, fueratque per uniuersum seuissima regnum sedicio. Sed hic Henricus de quo nobis sermo, coniugiis hinc inde factis inter eos, aliisque quibuscumque potuit modis, ad firmam populos utrosque federauit concordiam, diuque feliciter Angliam, Walliam, Normanniam et Britanniam rexit, ad honorem Dei subiectorumque diuicias multas et iugem leticiam. Is eciam monasterium Cluniaci[4] perfecit a fundamentis, que rex Hispanorum Adelfundus suis iniecerat expensis et uix ad terre duxerat superficiem, et a proposito per auariciam recesserat,

[a] queque *James;* quique *MS*

[1] Godwine was earl of Wessex; in listing his earldoms and lordships Map has simply taken a selection from the earldoms or leading English cities of his own day.

[2] Either the story was left unfinished by Map, or a leaf was wanting in the archetype of our MS. M.R.J.

[3] This is presumably a reference to the battle of Brémule (some miles north-west of Gisors), 20 Aug. 1119, in which Henry I of England defeated Louis VI of France (1108–37). Cf. Hinton, *Notes*, pp. 462–3; Orderic, ed. Chibnall (OMT), vi. 234–42.

[4] The great church of the Burgundian abbey of Cluny was rebuilt in the late 11th and early 12th centuries; and we have the assurance of Abbot Peter the Venerable himself that the kings of Castile (Alfonso VI) and England (Henry I) were its principal benefactors. Alfonso VI died in 1109, and it seems likely that

Huntingdon, Northampton, Gloucester, and of Hereford,[1] which long withstood us, we owe a debt more than to any other man living, since his hand hath obtained peace for us, and his valour and wisdom keep the realm in quiet. To him as my most faithful servant I have committed the care and ordering of all Denmark, and have given him my sister to wife; and to his command I will that you submit yourselves without gainsaying. Farewell.'[2]

5. *Of Henry I, King of the English, and Louis, King of the French*

Henry, king of England, father of the mother of that Henry who now reigns, a man of foresight and a lover of peace, defeated in a battle near Gisors, and put to flight, Louis the Fat, king of France, with his proud army, and returning victorious settled England in peace.[3] It had been conquered by his father William the Bastard, but neither by William himself nor by his son and successor William Rufus had it been brought into peaceful condition, for its old inhabitants by no means acquiesced in bearing their eviction patiently, but harassed the newcomers, and throughout all the realm there had been a state of fierce sedition. This Henry, however, of whom I speak, by arranging marriages between them for both parties, and by all other means he could contrive, federated the two peoples in firm amity, and reigned long and happily over England, Wales, Normandy, and Brittany, to the honour of God and the great wealth and enduring gladness of his subjects. He, too, completed from the foundations the monastery of Cluny,[4] which foundations Alfonso, king of the Spanish, had laid at his own cost and had barely brought to the ground level, and had then relinquished his purpose through miserliness.

Henry lavished gifts on Cluny from about that date; one of his favourite nephews, Henry of Blois, was a monk there. In 1131 he gave the abbey a pension of 100 marks. Though Map's account is doubtless exaggerated and inaccurate in detail, his witness is important confirmation of what can be deduced from other sources. See C. N. L. Brooke in *Il monachesimo e la riforma ecclesiastica* (4 Settimana di Studio Mendola, 1968; publ. Milan, 1971), pp. 137–9; D. Lohrmann in *Pierre Abélard: Pierre le Vénérable* (Paris, 1975), pp. 191–203; K. Conant, *Cluny* (Mâcon, 1968), pp. 81–2, 99, 110–11; *Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, Cambridge, Mass., 1967, no. 89, i. 229; cf. ii. 157–8; William of Jumièges, ed. J. Marx (Rouen–Paris, 1914), p. 312; J. H. Round, *Calendar of Documents preserved in France* (London, PRO, 1899), nos. 1387–9.

quod quidem cum maximum esset et pulcherrimum, in modico tempore post summam manum appositam totum corruit. Hoc autem cum ei timidi nunciassent Cluniacenses, et causarentur artifices, excusauit eos rex, id actum manu Domini dicens, ne suum opus alieno regis per auariciam uicti fundamento niteretur, missisque primis artificibus eici fecit a terra quicquid Adelfundus iniecerat, mireque magnitudinis opus perextruxit, deditque centum annuas libras sterlingorum monachis perpetuo possidendas ad conseruandam operis indempnitatem.

Idem cum esset inter auarum et prodigum ita medius, ut non posset esse prodigo sine uicio uicinior, omni semper affluencia felix extitit, tociusque regni sui prospero statu personarum et rerum pollebat. Scriptas habebat domus et familie sue consuetudines, quas ipse statuerat:[1] domus, ut semper esset omnibus habunda copiis, et certissimas haberet uices a longe prouisas et communiter auditas ubicumque manendi uel mouendi, et ad eam uenientes singuli quos barones uocant terre primates statutas ex liberalitate regis liberaciones haberent; familie, ne quis egeret, sed perciperet quisquis certa donaria. Diciturque sua fuisse, quantum sinebat mundus, sine cura curia, sine tumultu uel confusione regia, quod rarum est. Et si patribus credere licet, sua possumus Saturnia dicere secula, sub Ioue nostra. Concurrebant, ut aiunt, undique non solum nostrates ad curiam, ut leuarentur a cura,[a] uerum etiam alieni ueniebant[b] et mercatorum et mercium multitudinem inueniebant. Erant enim quasi nundine cum rege quocumque castra moueret, pro certitudine uiarum suarum et aclamate perhendinacionis. Maturi uel etate uel sapiencia semper ante prandium in curia cum rege, uoceque preconia citabantur ad eos qui pro
f. 63v negocio suo desiderabant / audiri; post meridiem et sompnum admittebantur quicumque ludicra sectabantur; eratque scola uirtutum et sapiencie curia regis illius ante meridiem, post, comitatis et reuerende leticie.

[a] cura *James;* curia *MS* [b] uenie ueniebant *MS; om.* uenie *James*

[1] Presumably a reference to the *Constitutio domus regis* of Henry I, known to us today from the 13th cent. Red and Little Black Books of the Exchequer; see the edn. by C. Johnson in *Dialogus de Scaccario* (NMT, 1950), pp. 129–35.

The building, though very large and beautiful, fell completely to the ground not long after the finishing touches had been put to it. But when the Cluniacs in great fear reported this to the king and blamed their workmen, he excused them, saying that it was wrought by the hand of God, that his own work might not rest on another's foundation, laid by a king who had succumbed to covetousness; and he sent away the former workmen and had all that Alfonso had laid dug up out of the ground, and built and finished a work of marvellous greatness and also gave the monks £100 sterling a year to hold for ever to keep the fabric in good condition.

The same prince, though he so held the mean between miser and prodigal, that he could not be nearer a prodigal without falling into the vice, was always blessed with all affluence, and flourished in the prosperous condition of men and affairs throughout his realm. He had the customs of his house and household, as ordained by himself, kept in writing:[1] of his house, to the end it might always have plenty of all supplies, and very regular changes, arranged long beforehand, and publicly known, of staying in or moving from every place, and that every foremost man in the land, who are called barons, when they came to it, might have definite allowances of the king's bounty; of his household, that no one might be in want, but each receive fixed grants. And it is said that as far as this world allowed, his court was without care, his palace free of crowding and confusion, which is rarely seen, and if we may believe our forefathers, we might call his age the reign of Saturn, ours that of Jove. As they tell, not only did our own countrymen flock to his court to be lightened of care, but foreigners too came and found there great store of merchants and wares: for there was, one might say, a market following the king whithersoever he moved his camp, so fixed were his journeyings and his welcome stays. Those who were ripe in age or wisdom were always in the court with the king before dinner, and the herald's voice cited them to meet those who desired an audience for their business; after noon and the siesta, those were admitted who devoted themselves to sports; and this king's court was in the forenoon a school of virtues and of wisdom, and in the afternoon one of hilarity and decent mirth.

Quis autem celare possit illius tam iocundi tam benigni, non tam imperatoris uel regis quam patris Anglie, modicas facecias, cum nequeamus exequi magnas? More suo sumebat cubicularius eius Paganus filius Iohannis[1] singulis noctibus singula sextercia[a] uini, scilicet in subsidium regie sitis, et semel aut bis aut nunquam petebatur in anno. Inde Paganus et pueri securi totum sepius ebibebant in noctis inicio. Contigit ut rex in conticinio uinum peteret, et non erat. Surgit Paganus, puerisque citatis, nichil inuenit. Deprendit eos rex uenantes uinum et non inuenientes. Aduocat ergo Paganum trementem et timidum, et ait: 'Quid hoc? Nonne semper uinum habetis uobiscum?' Ille pauide respondit: 'Immo, domine, singulis noctibus singula sextercia sumimus, et desuetudine uestre sitis et peticionis illa frequenter aut sero bibimus aut post dormicionem, et ueniam a uestra petimus misericordia uera professi.' Tum rex: 'Non nisi sextercium unum sumebas ad noctem?' Paganus: 'Non.' 'Modicum illud erat nobis duobus; amodo singulis noctibus duo sumas a pincernis: primum tibi, michi secundum.' Sic Pagani iustum timorem absoluit et regis mitigauit iram uera confessio, fuitque tam regie facecie quam largitatis loco rixarum et ire leticiam ei lucrumque refundere. Meliori stilo plurimoque sermone dignus esset rex iste; sed de modernis est, nec ei fecit auctoritatem antiquitas.

Rex autem Francie, predictus Lodouicus Grossus, uir maximus erat corpore, nec minor operibus et mente.[2] Lodouicus filius Karoli magni iacturam omnium optimatum Francie fere tociusque milicie Francorum apud Euore per stultam superbiam Radulfi Cambrensis nepotis sui pertulit. Satis egre rexit ab illa die regnum Francorum ad aduentum

[a] extercia *MS*, al. sexterna *marg.*

[1] A prominent baron of the Welsh border and vice-gerent of Herefordshire and Shropshire under Henry I: he was killed in 1137 (*CP* xii. 270–1). There seems to be no other evidence that Payne was Henry's chamberlain (see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956), xiii–xv).

[2] At this point Map switches back from Louis VI to give a summary of French history since the 9th century, based on the tradition of the *Chansons de Geste*. His point is that the French monarchy had been strong under Charlemagne, weak and subject to anarchy since then; and he finds the start of this anarchy in

But who can keep back the little traits of courtesy of this pleasant and kindly—not so much emperor or king as—father of England? for we cannot do justice to the great ones. His chamberlain Payne Fitz John[1] used customarily to draw every night a sexterce of wine to allay the royal thirst; and it would be asked for once or twice in the year, or not at all. So Payne and the pages had no scruple about drinking it all up, and often did so early in the night. It happened that the king in the small hours called for wine, and there was none. Payne got up, called the pages, and found nothing. The king discovered them hunting for wine and not finding it. So he summoned Payne, all trembling and afeared, and said: 'What is the meaning of this? Do you not always have wine with you?' He timidly answered: 'Yes, lord, we draw a sexterce every night, and by reason of your leaving off to be thirsty, or to call for it, we often drink it either in the evening or after you have gone to sleep: and now we have confessed the truth, we beg forgiveness of your mercy.' *The King*: 'Did you draw no more than one for the night?' *Payne*: 'No.' 'That was very little for the two of us: in future draw two every night from the butlers, the first for yourself, the second for me.' Thus his true confession rid Payne of his reasonable fear, and soothed the king's displeasure; and it was characteristic of the royal courtesy and liberality to recompense him with gladness and gain in place of scolding and anger. This king would be deserving of a better pen and a larger discourse: but he is a modern, and has gained no dignity from antiquity.

Now the King of France, the aforesaid Louis the Fat, was a man huge in body, and not smaller in act or thought.[2] Louis, the son of Charles the Great, incurred the loss of almost all the nobles and all the army of France at *Evore* through the foolish pride of his nephew, Ralph of Cambrai. From that day he ruled the realm of the Franks in sorry enough plight

the events of two *Chansons*, those of *Raoul de Cambrai* and of *Gormont et Isembart*. Raoul or Ralph was the nephew of Louis, probably Louis d'Outremer (936–54) not Louis the Pious; he was killed at the battle of Origny, near Vervins (here called *Evore*), in 943. *Gormont et Isembart* seems to refer in fact to rather earlier events, of the late 9th century. For texts and studies of the *Chansons*, see R. Bossuat, *Manuel Bibliographique de la littérature française du moyen âge* (Melun, 1951), pp. 46–9, 66–8, nos. 450–74, 650–66; *Raoul de Cambrai*, ed. P. Meyer and A. Longnon, Paris, 1882.

usque Gurmundi cum Ysembardo, contra quos cum residuis Francorum bellum in Pontiuo commisit, uictorque reuersus est cum paucissimo comitatu, cesis hostibus suis pro parte maiori, recedensque decessit in breui, tam lesione quam labore predicti prelii cum lamentis et luctu tocius Francie communiter. Ab illius Lodouici decessu non recessit a Francia gladius,[1] donec misertus Dominus hunc misit Lodouicum. Hic autem cum esset iunior, portas egredi Parisius ad miliare tercium non potuit sine principum proximorum licencia uel conductu, sed nec suum eorum quispiam aut tenebat aut timebat imperium. Colligit igitur inde tanta magnanimitas iram, nec est passa se terminis arceri breuibus. Excitauit eum tanquam dormientem Dominus,[2] deditque belli sentenciam et uictorie frequentem graciam, et compleuit labores illius ad summam unitatem et pacem tocius Francie.

Successit ei Ludowicus filius eius,[3] Christianissimus et mansuetissimus hominum, pacemque patris armis euictam omnibus uite sue diebus per graciam Christi tenuit, indubitanter in Domino confidens, qui nusquam derelinquit sperantem in se. Que uidi uel scio loquor. Cum esset homo tante benignitatis et tam simplicis mansuetudinis, et affabilem se cuique preberet pauperi, tam suis quam alienis, ut posset ydiota uideri, districtissimus erat iudex et iusticie sepe flens executor, superbo rigidus et miti non impar.

Contigit, ut a multis et magnis audiuimus uiris, quiddam mirabile dictu, quod et incredibile non inmerito uideatur. Vir in⟨tra⟩[a] Galliarum terminos marchio magnus, sed crudelitate nimius, tam uicinos quam aduenas cotidie seuissimis
f. 64 infestabat iniuriis; rapiebat ad carcerem pere/grinos, quos aut tormentis affligebat ad mortem aut spoliatos dimittebat semimortuos. Hic cum non esset Cateline dolis inferior, aut nequicie[b] Neronis impar, uxorem habebat genere, forma, moribus uicinis et remotis eminenciorem; cumque uiri pessimi tirannidem abhorreret, Christi caritatem terroribus eius ita preposuit, ut non timeret quandocumque facultas

[a] intra *Winterbottom;* in *MS* [b] nequicie *Winterbottom;* nequicia *MS*

[1] Cf. 2 Kings (2 Samuel) 12: 10.
[2] Cf. Psalm 77 (78): 65.
[3] Louis VII (1137–80). Louis had been called 'rex Christianissimus' by John

up to the coming of Gurmund and Ysembard, against whom he waged battle in Ponthieu with the remnant of the Franks, and returned victorious with a very small following, having slain his enemies for the most part, and retiring, died a short while after from his injuries and exertions in that battle, lamented and mourned by the whole of France in common. From the decease of that Louis the sword did not depart from France,[1] until the Lord in pity sent this Louis. He when he was young was unable to go outside the gates of Paris to the third milestone without the leave or escort of the neighbouring princes, and not one of them either kept or feared his orders. His high spirits gathered wrath at this, and he would not brook being confined in these narrow limits. The Lord waked him as one out of sleep,[2] and gave him a mind to fight and frequently the grace of victory, and fulfilled his labours to the perfect unity and peace of all France.

To him succeeded his son Louis,[3] the most Christian and kind of men, and by the grace of Christ kept all the days of his life the peace his father had won by arms; he hoped in the Lord, and doubted not, who never forsaketh him that hopeth in him. I speak of what I have seen or know. While he was a man of such kindliness and simple mildness, showing himself affable to any poor man, to his own or to strangers, that he might have been thought imbecile, he was the strictest of judges, and an executor, often with tears, of justice, stiff to the proud and to the meek not unfair.

A thing happened, as I have heard from several great men, which is marvellous to tell of, and might not unreasonably be thought incredible. A man within the confines of France, a marquis, great, but in cruelty excessive, daily afflicted with fierce violence both neighbours and strangers: he hurried travellers (pilgrims?) to his dungeon and there either pined them to death with torments or despoiled them and let them go half-dead. And while he was the equal of Catiline in guile, and of Nero in crime, he had a wife who in birth, beauty, and character excelled all both near and far; and she, abhorring her wicked husband's tyranny, so preferred the charity of Christ to the fear of him that she did not scruple at every

of Salisbury and others of Becket's friends in the 1160s, and the label stayed with him and his successors.

dabatur soluere ligatos, educere captiuos, omnes emittere liberos, et quibuscumque potuit muneribus honustos, nec erat leta nisi letos emitteret. Ad omnem domini sui seuiciam flebat, et tanto compaciebatur per Christi caritatem dolore miseris, ut quicquid aliquo modo uel de rapina tiranni uel de iustis tenencium dabatur copiis, totum spoliatis et aliis egenis inpendebat. Vnde factum est ut quocumque uiri deferebantur crudelitas et infamia, comitabantur uxoris pietas et fama, tantoque clarius enitebant, quanto sua magis in uiri tenebris elucebat claritas. Tirannus hic, cum nec uxoris bone consilio nec castigacionibus adquiesceret Lodouici piissimi, comprehensus est ab ipso, confessusque iudicatus et ductus ad patibulum. Et ecce bona uirago de qua superius, uxor eius, licet grauida, licet iuxta partum, omni spreto periculo tam iam fere parientis uteri quam parati partus, pedibus pii iudicis aduoluitur, lacrimosis exorat misericordiam ululatibus, et pro fame sue reuerencia perorat, et quem non castra mouerent, non flecteret aurum iudicem, frangunt lacrimosa suspiria, tantoque conspeccior emicuit oratrix quod iam libera, iam a pestilenti tiranno soluta, pro fide tori uinciri uoluit iterum. Cumque solucione sua fieret et solitudine felix, non iacturam libertatis, non tedia seruitutis, non pene pensat immanitatem, nec pristinis cedi scorpionibus nec in flagella relabi ueretur, tota totam fidei seueritatem sollicite secuta. Reducitur ergo nequam a supplicio uinctus ad palacium, et ne prorsus inconfusa uel irreprehensa uideatur malicia, uel integre glorietur illesa, iubet auriculam eius dexteram resecari rex. Hoc autem uidetur notabile prodigium, quod infra diem quartum post natus est ex illa liberatrice sua tiranno filius dextera carens auricula. Minus esset portentum si post patris abcisionem fuisset genitus, sed quod

opportunity to loose the bound, release prisoners, send all away in freedom, and load them with whatever gifts she could, nor was she happy unless she sent them away happy too. At every cruelty of her lord she wept, and so keenly sympathized through the love of Christ with the poor wretches, that whatever she got by any means either from the robberies of the tyrant or the proper payments of the tenants, she spent it all on those whom he despoiled or on others who were in need. And thus it came about that in whatever quarter the cruelty and ill-fame of the husband were noised abroad, the pitifulness and good report of the wife kept company therewith, and shone all the clearer, the more her brightness contrasted with her husband's darkness. This tyrant, refusing to submit either to the advice of his good wife or to the rebukes of the merciful Louis, was arrested by him, confessed his crimes, was sentenced and led to the gallows. And lo! that good woman, of whom I have been speaking, his wife, though great with child, and now near delivery, contemning all danger, either to herself now almost ready to bear, or to the offspring that was ready to be born, threw herself at the feet of the compassionate judge, besought mercy with tearful cries, pleaded the respect due to her character, and those tears and groans broke down the judge, who could neither be moved by arms nor softened by gold; and the brighter was the virtue of the suppliant in that, though now free, now loosed from that pestilent oppressor, she was willing, in faith to the marriage vow, to be bound afresh. And though she was become blest by her loosing and her loneliness, she counted not the loss of liberty, the burden of servitude, the enormity of the penalty, nor feared being beaten with the former scorpions, or falling again under the lash, but earnestly with whole heart sought to follow the strict demands of loyalty. The criminal was accordingly led back in chains from punishment to the palace, and lest his wickedness should seem to be passed over wholly without disgrace or rebuke, or should boast itself as entirely unpunished, the king ordered his right ear to be cut off. And herein appears a notable prodigy, that within four days there was born of his deliverer to the tyrant a son lacking his right ear. It would have been less of a portent had he been begotten after the mutilation of his father, but the

iam uiuus in utero pleneque formatus postmodum truncus apparuit fortissime compassionis signum est.

Hec una pietatum Lodouici fuit; altera que sequitur est huiusmodi. Waleranius ab Effria miles erat illiteratus, iocundissime tamen facundie, regique notus et carus; erantque regi ministri tres,[1] qui toti Francie preerant, Galterus camerarius, Bucardus Molosus, quod est Gallice *ueautur*,[a] Willelmus de Gurney prepositus Parisiacensis. Galterus omnes fere Francie fructus pro uoto messuit, Bucardus qui suberat aliquantos, Willelmus ⟨non⟩nullos, Lodouicus pre simplicitate sua quos illi permittebant. Walleranius hec uidens, sciensque quid ageretur, et dolens per seruorum potestatem tam immania fisci detrimenta fieri, carmen inde composuit lingua Gallica uerbis in istis:

Gauter uendenge, et Buchard grape,
Et Willelmus de Gurney hape;
Lowis prent que que lur escape.

Carmine publicato senserunt illi furta detegi, consciencias reuelari; doluerunt igitur et in ulcionem armati, quecumque nocere possent in ipsum congerunt, insidiantur et reum regi deferunt, et cum ipsum frequenter moueant, a pietate amouent. Matrona tandem quedam nobilis et ditissima, sed fame lubrice, magno rancore multaque superbia debachans, astantem regi Waleranium accusabat, quod de se Waleranius sed et de rege cantasset obscena carmina. Rex autem inde
f. 64v motus ait: 'Ga/leranne, mea fero pacienter obprobria, sed huius consanguinee mee dissimulare non decet, cum ipsa sanguis meus sit et unum membrorum meorum.' Respondit Gallerannus: 'Hoc herniosus es membro', quod facecius Gallice dicitur *De ce membre es tu magrinez*. Rex et hoc uerbo se reuerenter habuit. Riserunt alii, sed ipsa se derisam dolens intulit: 'Domine rex, dimitte michi uindictam ut morem ei geram.[b] Noui satis qua multandi sunt ulcione

a ueautur *James;* neant' *MS* *b* geram *Winterbottom;* gerem *MS*

[1] Walter of Villebéon (Seine-et-Marne) was chamberlain to Louis VII, and Bouchard le Vautre one of his chief counsellors. William de Gournai appears in 1154 as one of the provosts of Paris. See A. Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France* (2nd edn., Paris, 1891), i. 175, 217 n.; ii. 317, 323.

fact that when already living in the womb and fully formed he subsequently appeared maimed, is a sign of a most powerful sympathy.

This was one of the merciful acts of Louis: a second, which follows, was in this manner. Waleran of *Effria* was a knight without letters, but of a most pleasant gift of speech, and was known and loved by the king. And the king had three ministers[1] who were set over the whole of France, Walter the chamberlain, Bouchard the mastiff (*vautre*, in French), and William de Gournai, the provost of Paris. Walter reaped at will almost all the profits of France; Bouchard, who was next after him, some part of them; William not a few; Louis, in his simplicity, whatever they allowed him. Waleran saw this, and knew what went on, and grieving that such immense losses befell the treasury through the power of these underlings, made a rhyme about it in French in these words:

Gautier vendange et Buchard grappe
Et Willelmus de Gournay happe;
Louis prend ce que leur échappe.

When the rhyme was noised abroad, these men saw that their frauds were being discovered and their connivances revealed. They smarted accordingly and armed themselves for revenge; they gathered against him everything that could injure him, set traps for him, accused him of crime to the king, whom, by frequently stirring him up, they put away from kindly feeling. Finally a very rich and noble dame, but one of slippery reputation, in the intoxication of her spite and pride, accused Waleran in the king's presence of having sung ribald songs not only about her, but about the king. The king was pricked by this and said: 'Waleran, I can bear abuse of myself patiently, but abuse of this my cousin I must not pass over, since she is of my blood, and one of my own members.' Waleran answered: 'A very sick member.' (In French it runs more wittily, '*De ce membre tu es megrimé*.') Even this saying the king bore with temper. The rest laughed, but the lady smarting at the taunt said: 'Lord king, leave his punishment to me; I will suit him. I know well enough how clowns

J.E.L. (Waleran has not been identified: see Hinton, *Notes*, p. 462, for a suggestion.)

mimi; tres ei queram meretrices, quarum uerbere suo more castigetur.' Tum Walerannus: 'Domina, bene profecisti, nam ⟨non⟩nisi due tibi desunt.' Tum illa cum lacrimis has uindicari petit iniurias, et tres illi quos offenderat suas adiciunt querelas et proscribunt miserum. Galerannus igitur ad dominum nostrum, regem scilicet Anglie, confugit, et benigne susceptus est. Walterus interim domos eius deiecit, uineas euulsit, uirgulta subuertit, sepes dissipauit, omnia destruxit. Dominus autem noster bis literis suis, ter ore proprio, dominum Lodouicum petens, non est exauditus ut restitueretur. Videns igitur se Wal⟨erannus⟩ nullius intercessione posse restitui, quia Lodouicum piissimum nouerat, ad pietatis eius auxilia confugit; et regibus predictis colloquentibus in campo maximo, circumstante multa corona militum, nostro rege premunito, uenit Wal⟨erannus⟩ insidens equo modico nigro macieque deformi, uili nimis in habitu fractisque uetustate uestibus, hirtus et illotus, ipsis calcaribus a talo dependentibus, in duris ocreis et perforatis, ultimo similis hominum per omnia, regique Lodouico nostroque uideri cupiens apparuit uisus, sed inde dure fustigatus ut solent pauperes abscessit. Soli colloquebantur in circo reges, et de regnorum pace tractabatur. At Lodouicus, apparencia Galeranii notata, quod dolo bono fiebat sine simulacione fieri timebat ex ueritate necessitatis. Abhorruit igitur suum excessum in tantum ut a rege solus recederet Regi polorum adherere, festinauitque celo placari pace terre neglecta. Noster rex pacienter expectabat, sciens quid ageretur; at Lodouicus ad suos ueniens uocauit Walterum in partem, et ait: 'Elegi te de populo principemque constitui, prudentem et fidelem te sperans baiulum fieri tocius regni; meas tibi semper aures aperui, cupiens ⟨ut⟩[a] a sapiencia tua michi mel instillares ad pacem populi meamque salutem. Tu uero uirus infudisti, consulens ut peccarem in Dominum et fratrem meum Gall⟨erannum⟩; corrigendus erat uerbo pro uerbis, non fustigandus ac proscribendus. Heu! quam

[a] ut *James; om. MS*

ought to be corrected; I will find three harlots to whip him as he deserves.' 'Madam,' said Waleran, 'You have little more to do; you only have two to get.' At this she wept and begged for vengeance for these injuries, and the three men whom he had offended added their complaints to hers, and the poor man was proscribed. So Waleran took refuge with our lord, the king of England, and was kindly received. Meanwhile Walter pulled down his houses, rooted up his vines, cut down his woods, did away with his hedges, and destroyed everything, and our lord, approaching Louis twice by letter and thrice by word of mouth for his restoration, was not heard. Waleran therefore perceiving that no one's intercession would avail to restore him, and knowing that Louis was most compassionate, sought aid in his pitifulness; and when the two kings were conferring in a large field surrounded by a great band of knights, Waleran, having previously warned our king, came riding on a little black horse, thin and ugly, himself in a very mean guise—clothes ragged with age, unshaven, unwashed, spurs hanging down from his heels, boots stiff and split, in all points like the poorest of mankind, desiring to be seen of Louis and our own king. Seen he was, and soundly beaten off the ground, as beggars are, and retired. The two kings were conversing alone in the circle, and treating of the peace of their kingdoms. But Louis, who had noted Waleran's appearance, was afraid that what was in fact done in well-meant guile, was not feigned, but forced upon him by real need. He conceived disgust at his over-severity, so much that he left the king's presence to draw near to the King of Heaven, and hastened to reconcile himself with heaven, leaving aside the peace of earth. Our king waited for him patiently, aware of what was on foot; but Louis, going to his own people, called Walter apart and said: 'I chose you out of the people and made you a prince, in the hope that you would be a wise and faithful bearer of the burden of the whole realm. I always kept my ears open to you, desiring that you would of your wisdom instil honey into me, to the peace of the people and my own well-being. But you have dropped in poison by counselling me to sin against the Lord and against my brother Waleran. For a word he should have been chastened by words, not cudgelled and proscribed. Alas! how

inmisericordem me comperi modo, cum uiderem quam miserabilem eum per te fecerim. Illac recessit; sequere uelox eum ut reuoces.' Ingerit se Walterus in turbam timidus, inuenit, reducit, et plene restituit, et ne queratur amplius adicit ablatis ampliora. Cumque Galerannus referret de plena restitucione gracias, deuota nimis et humili prece rex ab ipso sibi ueniam optinuit.

Contigit ut cum rege moram facerem aliquamdiu Parisius,[1] mecumque tractaret de regum diuiciis inter sermones alios, dixitque: 'Sicut diuerse sunt regum opes, ita multis distincte sunt uarietatibus. In lapidibus preciosis, leonibus et pardis et elephantis, diuicie regis Indorum; in auro pannisque sericis imperator Bizancius et rex Siculus gloriantur; sed homines non habent qui sciant aliud quam loqui; rebus enim bellicis inepti sunt. Imperator Romanus, quem dicunt Alemannorum, homines habet armis aptos et equos bellicos, non aurum, non sericum, non aliam opulenciam. Karolus
f. 65 enim[2] magnus, cum terram illam / a Sarracenis conquisisset, omnia preter municiones et castella pro Christo dedit archiepiscopis et episcopis, quos per ciuitates conuersas instituit. Dominus autem tuus, rex Anglie, cui nichil deest, homines, equos, aurum et sericum, gemmas, fructus, feras et omnia possidet. Nos in Francia nichil habemus nisi panem et uinum et gaudium.' Hoc uerbum notaui, quia comiter et uere dictum.

Circiter illud tempus, cum ad concilium Rome[3] sub Alexandro papa tercio celebrandum precepto domini regis Anglie festinarem, suscepit me hospicio comes Campanie, Henricus filius Teobaldi,[4] omnium largissimus, ita ut multis prodigus uideretur, omni enim petenti tribuebat; et inter

[1] Presumably in the 1170s, since Map goes on to relate how 'about that time' he went to the Lateran Council of 1179. This story is told, in slightly different form, by Giraldus (*Opera*, viii. 317–18), where the culmination is an interjection by the king in a discussion in his presence: 'Et nos certe panem . . . habemus et vinum et gaudium'. Presumably Gerald had heard the story from Map. On this passage, see C. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis* (Cologne, 1968), i. 755.

[2] The force of *enim* is that the Emperor is poor *because* Charlemagne gave so much away—this is not, of course, serious history.

merciless did I perceive myself just now, when I saw how miserable I have made him by your means. He went that way: follow him quickly and bring him back.' Walter in terror cast himself into the crowd, found and brought back Waleran and fully reinstated him and, to stop future complaints, added more than he had taken away, and when Waleran returned thanks for his complete restoration, the king obtained forgiveness of him by most devout and humble entreaty.

It happened that when I was making some long stay with the king at Paris,[1] and he was talking with me of the riches of kings, among other matters, he said: 'As the wealth of kings is diverse, so it is marked out by many differences. The riches of the king of the Indians are in precious stones, lions and pards and elephants; the emperor of Constantinople and the king of Sicily boast themselves in gold and silken webs, but they have no men who can do anything but talk, for in warlike matters they are useless. The Roman emperor, whom they call the emperor of the Germans, has men fit for arms, and war-horses, but no gold or silk or other splendour. For Charlemagne,[2] when he had won that land from the Saracens, gave everything except the castles and forts for Christ's sake to the archbishops and bishops whom he had established in all the cities he had converted. But your lord, the king of England, who wants for nothing, has men, horses, gold, silk, jewels, fruits, game, and everything else. We in France have nothing but bread and wine and gaiety.' This saying I took note of, for it was merrily said, and truly.

About that time, when I was hastening by the order of my lord, the king of England, to the Council, which was to be held at Rome[3] under Pope Alexander III, the count of Champagne, Henry, son of Theobald,[4] took me in—the most liberal of men, so much so that to many he seemed prodigal, for to everyone that asked he gave; and in

[3] The Third Lateran Council, 1179 (see above, pp. xxxviii, 124–5).

[4] Henry the Liberal, count of Champagne (1152–81), was son of Theobald IV, count of Blois and Champagne (King Stephen's brother), and husband of Marie of Champagne, daughter of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Their court was a leading cultural centre (see J. F. Benton, *Speculum*, xxxvi (1961), 551–91; JS, *Letters*, ii, no. 209 and nn.; on Henry's reputation, cf. Hinton, *Notes*, p. 462). 'Omni . . . petenti tribuebat' is an echo of Luke 6: 30.

colloquendum laudabat Reginaldum de Muzun,[1] nepotem suum, in omnibus excepto quod supra modum largus erat. Ego uero sciens ipsum comitem tam largum ut prodigus uideretur, subridens quesiui si sciret ipse terminos largitatis. Respondit: 'Vbi deficit quod dari potest, ibi terminus est; non enim est largitatis turpiter querere quod dari possit.' Michi certe uidetur hoc facete dictum; nam si male queris ut des, auarus es ut sis largus.

Huius predicti Lodouici patrisque sui multa fuit in factis sapiencia, simplicitas in dictis. Hic tantam Deo reuerenciam habebat, ut quociens aliquid emersisset cause, quod ipsum et ecclesiam contingeret, sicut unus canonicorum censura se capituli moderabatur et appellabat a grauamine.[2]

Mos eius erat quod ubi sensisset sompnum obrepere quiesceret ibidem aut prope. Dormientem eum iuxta nemus in umbra, duobus tantum militibus comitatum (nam ceteri uenabantur),[a] inuenit comes Theobaldus,[3] cuius ipse sororem duxerat, et castigauit ne tam solus dormiret; non enim decebat regem. Ille respondit: 'Dormio secure solus, quia[b] nemo michi malum uult.' Responsio simplex, pureque consciencie uerbum. Quis hoc rex de se presumit alius?

Hic tam benigno fauore clericos promouebat, ut ab omnibus Christianismi finibus sub ipso Parisius conuenirent, et sub alarum eius umbra[4] tam nutriti quam protecti perdurauerunt in scolis in diem hunc. Dum ergo ego cum ceteris moram facerem in scolis ibi, ditissimus Iudeorum omnium Francie processionem clericorum in rogacionibus inuasit, et clericum inde raptum in sentinam domus sue proiecit, quia filium suum lapide leserat. Quod ut regi innotuit Christiano, Iudeum in rogum precepit proici. Nichil ei profecerunt aut tocius Francie preces, aut omnia Iudaici populi milia talentorum. Respondebat autem flentibus et petentibus rex:

[a] uenabantur *James;* uenebantur *MS* [b] quia *repeated in MS*

[1] Reginald de Mouzon (*al.* Monçon) was the son of Reginald II, count of Bar, and Agnes, eldest daughter of Theobald (IV) the Great, count of Blois and Champagne. He was elected bishop of Chartres in 1183 and died in 1217. J.E.L. See *Gallia Christiana*, viii (1744 edn.), 1152–6; for his predecessor's death in Feb. 1183, see John of Salisbury, *Letters*, i, p. x n. 'Nepos' must therefore be translated cousin, not nephew.

[2] The precise meaning of this sentence is far from clear.

conversation he was praising his nephew, Reginald de Mouzon,[1] in every point except that he was over-lavish. I, however, who knew that the count was so liberal as to be thought prodigal, smiled, and asked if he himself knew the limits of liberality. He replied: 'Where there remains no more to be given, there is the limit; for it is not liberality to procure by base means what you can give away.' To me this seems wittily said; for if you get the means of giving foully, you become miserly in order to be generous.

This Louis and his father were both remarkable for wisdom in act and simpleness in speech. The son had such reverence for God that whenever any case touching him and the Church came up he ruled himself by the decision of the chapter like one of the canons, and made his appeal against the gravamen.[2]

It was his habit that wherever he felt sleep coming on he would take his rest on or near the spot. As he was slumbering by a wood in the shade, attended only by two knights (for the rest were hunting), the Count Theobald,[3] whose sister he had married, found him and reproved him for sleeping so solitarily; it was not right, he said, for a king to do so. He answered: 'I may sleep alone quite safely, for no one bears me any ill-will.' It was a simple answer, the utterance of a pure conscience. What other king can claim so much for himself?

With such kind favour did he promote clerics that in his time they flocked to Paris from all quarters of Christendom, and, nourished and protected under the shadow of his wings,[4] have continued in the schools unto this day. So then, while I with the rest was staying in the schools there, the wealthiest of all the Jews of France attacked a procession of clerics at Rogation-tide, seized from among them a clerk and cast him into the cesspool of his house, for having hurt his son with a stone. When this became known to the Christian king, he ordered the Jew to be cast into the fire. Neither the prayers of all France nor all the thousands of talents of the Jewish people availed to save him. The king made answer to the weeping petitioners:

[3] Theobald V, count of Blois from 1152 to 1191. Louis VII married his sister Adela in 1160, on the death of his second wife. J.E.L.

[4] Cf. Psalm 16 (17): 8.

'Volo sciant Iudei canes a Christianorum processionibus arcendos.'

Hec forte friuola sunt et magnis inepta paginis, sed meis satis apta sunt scedulis, michique uidentur stilo meo maiora. Me presente Parisius, ortum est inter clericos et laicos in regis huius curia murmur, et inualuit sedicio, laicique preualuerunt, et clericorum plurimos in pungnis et fustibus dure uisitauerunt, et regie conscii iusticie fugerunt ad latibula. Verumptamen rex audiuit clamorem pauperum, uenit et pauperrimum inuenit modicumque puerum in cappa nigra, corona fracta sanguinolentum, et ab ipso quesiuit 'Quis hoc?' Et ostendit ei puer magistrum cubiculariorum regine, qui nuper duxerat regis Hispanorum filiam,[1] qui per superbiam maietatisque proprie presumpcionem nec fugere dignatus est, nec ad racionem positus negare; tantum respondit puerum ei conuicia dixisse. Captus igitur est iussu regio, uinctus et eductus ad loca patibulorum. Audit et attonita fit inde regina, properat, accurrit, sparsisque crinibus regis
f. 65v est aduoluta pe/dibus, et curie tota multitudo, multoque petunt ululatu ueniam; allegat generositatem uiri et sapienciam, quod et tradidit eum pater suus eius manibus et cure; mirumque contigit, quod eum misericordia moueret ad lacrimas. Nichilominus eum coegit ad ulcionem iusticia, manumque dexteram ei iussit amputari qua coronam percusserat.

Idem cum Fontem Blaadi iussisset excoli cingique muris locum maximum, montes et ualles, fontes et nemora, quatinus ibi mansionem suis faceret deliciis, constructis iam domibus, uiuariis factis et muris, fossis et aqueductibus, rusticus incola uicini soli questus est aliquam agri sui partem regiis ocupatam muris et domibus. Quod cum innotuisset regi, iussit domos deici murosque solui, tanti faciens querelam[a] modicam, ut magis a pluribus fatuitatis argueretur,

[a] non *inserted above the line in the MS before* modicam

[1] Louis VII's first marriage, to Eleanor of Aquitaine, was annulled in 1152, and in 1154 he married Constance, daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile.

'I will have these Jews know that they must keep their dogs off the processions of Christians.'

These matters are perhaps trifles and unfit for great books, but for my sheets they are suitable enough, and to me they even seem too high for my pen. When I was at Paris there arose a murmuring between the clerics and laymen of this king's court, and the schism grew strong, and the laymen prevailed and visited many of the clerics hardly with fists and cudgels, and then, in fear of the king's justice, fled to hiding-places. However, the king heard the cry of the poor, and came and found a very poor small lad in a black cope, bleeding from a broken head, and enquired of him, 'Who did this?' And the boy pointed out to him the master of the queen's chamberlains, who had just brought to court the King of Spain's daughter,[1] and out of pride, and presuming on his own dignity, neither deigned to fly, nor, when charged, to deny the act, he only made answer that the lad had abused him. Accordingly at the king's command he was arrested, bound, and led off to the place of execution. The queen heard of it and was thunder-struck. She hurried to the spot with dishevelled hair, threw herself at the king's feet, and so did all the crowd of courtiers, and begged for pardon with great cryings. She pleaded the man's nobility, his wisdom, the fact that her father had entrusted him to her hands and her care; and a wonder happened, that compassion moved Louis to tears. For all that, justice compelled him to punish, and he commanded the right hand, with which the boy's head had been struck, to be cut off.

When the same king had given orders that Fontainebleau should be beautified, and a large area surrounded with walls, including hills and valleys, springs and woods, that he might make there a mansion for his delight, and when buildings had already been put up, ponds and walls, fosses and aqueducts made, a farmer who lived near by complained that some part of his land had been encroached upon by the king's walls and buildings. When the king heard of it he ordered the buildings to be pulled down and the walls cleared away, paying such heed to a small complaint, that most men rather accused him of folly than praised him

quam ex misericordia meritas laudes acciperet. Nec destitit donec rusticus mutuum longe melius peteret, et petito susciperet utilius.

Pater huius, Lodouicus Grossus, cum debellatam Franciam sub gladio suo libere possedisset et inconcusse, filium suum primogenitum Philippum regem[1] fecit, qui post unccionem suam et tocius Francie fidelitatem a paternis degenerauit moribus et patriis deuiauit institutis, sublimi supercilio fastuque tirannico molestus omnibus. Factum est autem, dictante Domino, cum die quadam multis comitatus equitibus in illa parte Parisius que Greue dicitur equm admisisset, in litore Secane prosiliens a sterquilinio porcus niger se sub pedibus inmisit equi currentis. Corruit autem per offensam equs, colloque fracto decessit eques; sed porcus in Secanam subitus inmersit, nullique prius hominum uisus nulli postmodum apparuit. Pater igitur eius, Lodouicus Grossus, immo Dominus qui Franciam ab ore leonis eripuit, substituit ei Lodouicum mansuetum et pium, ut Sauli Dauid.

Hic rex Grossus, cum a rege sicut supra diximus[2] Anglorum Henrico uictus uenisset Pontisaram, non more uel merore uicti sed exultacione uictoris in mensa conuiuis omnibus letissimus apparuit; cumque mirarentur et ab ipso quererent conuiue tante leticie racionem in tanta causa tristicie, respondit: 'Michi frequenter in omnibus fere Francie finibus contigit ut nunc, et infortuniorum frequencia durus sum parumque uereor; sed Anglorum rex Henricus, qui nos hodie confecit, continuis iam in successibus, et qui nunquam aliquid sinistri perpessus est, si contigisset ei quod nobis, intolerabiliter et inmoderate doleret, et pre nimietate doloris infatuari possit aut mori, rex bonus et toti Christianismo necessarius. Inde reputo uictoriam eius michi pro successu, quia perdidissemus.' Imitabilis hec et non inuidiosa responsio.

Rex idem, dum adhuc contenderent cum eo principes

[1] Philip, Louis VI's son, was anointed and crowned in 1129, at his father's orders, but died in a riding accident on 13 Oct. 1131 (Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. H. Waquet, Paris 1929, pp. 266–7 and n.; Orderic, ed. M. Chibnall, vi. 390–1, 420–3). Suger also attributes his accident to a pig—'porcus diabolicus'; but both Suger and Orderic give Philip a good reputation.

[2] pp. 436–7.

as he deserved for his mercifulness. He did not desist until the farmer applied for an exchange much to his profit, and received something even better than he asked.

His father Louis the Fat, when after subduing France by the sword he had possessed it freely and undisturbedly, made his first-born son, Philip, king.[1] He, after his anointing and the swearing of fealty to him by all France, degenerated from his father's ways and strayed away from his father's orders, and with proud brow and tyrannic pride was injurious to all. But it befell, at the Lord's command, that one day when, in company with many knights, he had put his horse to the gallop in that part of Paris which is called La Grève, a black pig rushed out of a dunghill on the bank of the Seine, and ran in among the feet of the galloping horse. The horse stumbled and fell, and the rider broke his neck and died; but the pig suddenly plunged into the Seine, and as no one had seen it before, so was it seen of none afterwards. Therefore his father Louis the Fat, or rather the Lord who had delivered France out of the mouth of the lion, set in his place the kind and merciful Louis, as He put David in place of Saul.

This king, the Fat, when, defeated, as we said above,[2] by Henry, king of England, he had come to Pontoise, appeared at table to all his guests most cheerful, not in the guise or the depression of a beaten man, but with the triumph of a conqueror; and when they wondered and asked him the reason of his so great cheerfulness when he had such cause for sorrow, he replied: 'To me things like this often happened in almost all parts of France, and by frequent misfortunes, I have become hardened, and fear them very little. But Henry, king of England, who has to-day beaten us, has enjoyed uninterrupted successes, and he who has never suffered any disaster—if that had befallen him which has come upon us—would have sorrowed unbearably and above measure, and excess of grief might have driven him to madness or death—a good king and one needed by all Christendom. So I count his victory as my own success, for otherwise we might have lost him.' It was an answer to be imitated, and pure of envy.

This same king, at the time when his princes were still

sui, fuissetque comes Companie Teobaldus[1] aduersus eum principum princeps, in multis eum uincebat congressibus, et maiora merebatur in dies odia. Fauebat autem comiti Romanus inperator, et fouebat ad bellum, regnique simul principes. Cumque iam uideretur Lodouicus in guerra superior, a Romanorum imperatore uenerunt ad eum nuncii dicentes: 'Mandat tibi Romanorum imperator et precipit, sicut de regni tui statu propriaque salute gaudere uis, quatinus infra mensem hunc pacem et fedus ineas cum comite Teobaldo penitus ad eius uoluntatem et honorem; sin autem, Parisius ante mensem elapsum obsidione cinget, et te interius, si temerario presumpseris ausu prestolari.' /
f. 66 Respondit eis rex: '*Tpwrut Aleman!*' Hec autem omnibus Alemannis responsio grauissima uidetur adhuc, et propter huiusmodi improperium multe frequenter inter eos et alienos rixe fiunt. Hec michi securi cordis et bene residentis animi fuisse uidetur.

Item, cum inter hunc et Teobaldum essent inimicicie mortales, id est ad mortem periculose, sed et immortales quia perpetue, non est a sapientibus inuenta uia pacis. Sed Dominus, qui quando uult et quantum flagellat filios quos recipit,[2] furori frenum facete posuit sic. Absconderat se rex ante Carnotum in nemore cum multa manu militum armata, quatinus missis prouocatoribus inprouidi ruerent in ipsum inimici Carnotenses; et ecce comes Teobaldus iter faciens quid fieret incautus tutissime iuxta regem preteribat. Videns igitur eum rex datum in manus suas, tantum successum inde leuipendens, quod casualiter et absque procuracione uel negocio prouenisset, abstinuit et per nuncios castigauit, ut tutus nusquam incederet dum inimicos haberet, ⟨et⟩ abire liberum dimisit. Quem non posset flectere uictor pietate uictus, et hostis benignitate pater?

Item contigit ut uenisset rex Blesim cum exercitu grandi.

[1] i.e. Theobald IV of Blois and Champagne (died 1152). This incident is probably intended to belong to 1124: Theobald was at war with Louis, and in alliance with Henry I of England the Emperor Henry V planned an invasion of France. Louis VI summoned all his feudatories with such success—even Theobald sent a contingent—that the emperor was forced to abandon his invasion. See Hinton, *Notes*, pp. 463 ff., for a discussion of the meaning of 'Tpwrut'; he observes that A. Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros* (Paris, 1890), pp. cxxxvii, 164, thought Map's story likely enough.

contending with him, and Theobald, count of Champagne,[1] was the prince of princes opposed to him, got the better of him in many engagements, and daily earned his increasing hatred. Now the Roman emperor favoured the count and urged him on to war, and so did the princes of the realm. And when now Louis appeared to be the best in fight, there came to him messengers from the Roman emperor who said: 'The emperor of the Romans sends to you and commands that, as you would enjoy the state of your kingdom and your own safety, you do within this month conclude peace and a treaty with Count Theobald, wholly at his will and to his honour; and if not, before the month is out, he, the emperor, will surround Paris in siege, and you within it, if you presume to be so bold as to wait for him.' The king answered them: 'Tpwrut Aleman!' Now this reply is reckoned to this day by all Germans as the worst of insults, and it is a reproach which constantly causes many quarrels between them and foreigners. It was the reply, in my opinion, of a confident heart and a well settled spirit.

Again, whereas between him and Theobald there was enmity, mortal—I mean perilous even to death—yet also immortal, because enduring, no way of peace could be found by the wise. But the Lord who scourgeth his sons whom he receiveth,[2] when and as much as he will, put a courteous end to their fury in this wise. The king had concealed himself before Chartres in a wood, with a great armed force of knights, with the view of sending out men to provoke a sortie and making the enemy in Chartres attack unprepared: when the Count Theobald, on the march, unknowing of what was afoot, came past the king in complete security. The king seeing him delivered into his hands, made little of such a success, because it would have come to him by chance and without arrangement or trouble, and so held off, and by a messenger reproved him, telling him not to go anywhere so carelessly while he had enemies, and let him go free. Who would not be touched by the spectacle of a victor vanquished by kindness, and an enemy acting in good nature like a father?

Again it happened that the king had come to Blois with

[2] Cf. Hebrews 12: 6.

Cumque preparasset machinas ad muros, ad assultum equites, incensores ad uicos, audiuit comitem interius esse cum paucis, et secundum esse sue minucionis diem. Attolitur hinc inde murmur, ut obsidione certissima cingatur hostis interceptus. Rex autem aliter sentit, reducit equites, incensores reuocat, solutisque machinis reuerti properat. Tunc utique qui se sapienciores autumant stomacantur, in litem exeunt, causantur quod supra modum fuerit omnibus infortuitus tanti necligens ultro discriminis offerentisque fortune spretor, iniuriarum remissus ultor, amator hostilitatis et fotor, prompteque uictorie crudelis abiector. Quibus ipse parcius hec: 'Si quid erraui, nichil tamen ob has erratum est causas. Va! Nescitis quia uirorum post Salomonem sapientissimus ait Cato

Vincere cum possis interdum cede sodali?[1]

Numquid eius consilio uenire uultis obuiam? Attamen et alia erat nunc parcendi racio. Caui certe ne per operam meam uir optimus leuum aliquid audiret minucionis sue tempore, quod ei posset esse mortis occasio.' Riserunt et deriserunt eum inde sui, licet clam; sed qui uidet in cor Dominus et hanc ei tribuit sapienciam, eandem ei sic retribuit quod omnes Francie gladios conuertit in uomeres,[2] et suo fecit deinde per graciam suam gladio subiectos. Nam Teobaldus audita pietate uerborum et beneficii caritate, miratus et ueneratus amicum hostem, literas has per fideles misit nuncios: 'Domino Francorum regi Lodouico, sue salutis conseruatori, Theobaldus Campanie comes in Domino salutem dicit. In assumpcione beate Marie uirginis uobis adero per gratiam Christi, uestre de cetero iussioni pariturus in omnibus, auctor hostilitatis pacis amatori satisfacturus, uictori me uictum dediturus, ut perpetua fiat in nobis pax cum honore uestro meoque dedecore.[a] Valeat in Domino semper rex pacificus.'

[a] *MS originally* decore.

[1] Pseudo-Cato, *Disticha*, i. 34, ed. M. Boas (Amsterdam, 1952), p. 75.
[2] Cf. Isaiah 2: 4.

a large force, and when he had made ready siege-machines against the walls, cavalry for the assaults, and men to fire the villages, he heard that the count was within the city with a few men, and that that was the second day after he had been let blood. Murmurs were raised on all sides that the trapped foe should be hemmed in with the closest of sieges. But the king thought otherwise. He brought back the cavalry, recalled the fire-party, took the machines to pieces, and made haste to go back. Then indeed they who styled themselves wiser were enraged, quarrelled openly with him, charged him with being above measure disastrous to all, wilfully neglecting to use such a crisis, and refusing luck that offered itself, lazy in avenging injuries, loving and nourishing strife [*or* his enemies], cruelly throwing away victory that was ready to his hand. He replied with economy of words: 'If I have erred, my error was not due to any of these causes. Bah! do you not know what Cato, the wisest of men after Solomon, says:

Sometimes, when you might win, it is better to yield to your brother?[1]

Do you want to go counter to his advice? Yet there was another reason, besides, for my sparing him now. I wished to prevent an excellent man hearing by my means of anything sinister at the time of his blood-letting which might occasion his death.' His people laughed and derided him for this, though behind his back; but the Lord, who looks into the heart, and who gave him this wisdom, recompensed it to him in such-wise that he turned all the swords of France into ploughshares,[2] and thereafter by the favour he secured made them subject to his own sword. For Theobald, when he heard of the mercifulness of that speech and the charity of that good act, admired and reverenced this friendly enemy and sent him this letter by a trusty messenger: 'To the Lord Louis, king of France, the preserver of his health, Theobald, count of Champagne, bids greeting in the Lord. At the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary I will, by the favour of Christ, be with you, intending for the future to obey your bidding in all things, I, who was the beginner of strife, but will make satisfaction to the lover of peace, and will surrender myself as conquered to the conqueror that there may be perpetual peace between us, to your honour and my shame. May the king the peacemaker fare ever well in the Lord.'

Hiis auditis, Lodouicus gracias egit Altissimo, dieque statuta Teobaldum a pedibus suis ad osculum erexit, et exinde uero corde dilexit et ab ipso plene dilectus est, ad perpetuam sui temporis et regni pacem. Sic, iuxta uerbum Domini, prunas ardentes imposuit super hostile caput, uertens impium, et non fuit ultra.[1]

Sed cur dicam impium nisi fuerat, cui Dominus postmodum fecit sue dileccionis aperte signum? Profecto (si digredi[a] licet) hic non ad iactanciam sed ad lucem bonorum operum, Lodouico filio Grossi retulit, et ad diem suam supremam supprimi testimonium postulauit. Leprosos
f. 66v lecius et libencius exhibebat quam alios pauperes, / cum omnibus esset amicus: illos autem ideo precipue quia quanto sunt despicabiles abiectius et intolerabilius improbi, tanto se sperat obsequium prestare Deo placencius, et affectuosius acceptari; pedes eis lauat et tergit, magneque memor Magdalene, quod ipsa compleuit in corpore dominico, deuotus hic membris eius exequitur. Sed ibi uitalis odor et dulcedo cor attrahens caroque mundissima; letalis hic fetor et amaritudo corumpens et sanies ulcerosa. Domos eis per uillas construebat proprias, aut simul aliquibus aut seorsum alicui, quibusque uictualia prouidens. Vnum tamen singulariter excolebat solitarium in tegete, qui cum in prosperitate extitisset secundum exigenciam probitatis et stematis purpura nobilis et bisso satis, in lepra fuit utraque dignior.[2] Hic enim est generositatis incessus, ut in rerum augmento crescat humilitas, et in attricione paciencia roboretur. Virum hunc semper illac transiens uisitabat comes attencius, eius utens utili consilio. Contigit autem aliquando uisitanti secundum morem eum comiti, quod ipsum ad mortem inuenisset infirmum, precepitque preposito uillule quatinus curam eius egisset. Post aliquot autem dies memor eius reuersus est ⟨ad⟩[b] tegetem; clausum quod reperit hostium pulsat incassum domus, sed et moram fecit ultro donec omnes ultra remotos

[a] dicredi *MS* [b] ad *Wright; om. MS*

[1] Cf. Proverbs 25: 21–2; 12: 7.

[2] Cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, viii. 135–6 (and cf. Hinton, *Notes*, p. 465, for other stories and evidence of Theobald's charity).

Upon hearing this, Louis gave thanks to the Most High, and on the appointed day raised Theobald from his feet to his embrace, and thenceforth loved him with a true heart and was loved of him, to the lasting peace of his time and his realm. So, according to the word of the Lord, he put coals of fire upon the head of his enemy, and turned the impious, and he was not so any longer.[1]

Yet why should I call him impious, if he was not so indeed, to whom the Lord afterwards showed a clear sign of his love? Why (if I may so far digress), Theobald related this not as boasting, but to make good works shine, to Louis the son of the Fat, and begged that the testimony might be kept back till the day of his death. He used to support lepers more willingly and with more pleasure than other poor persons, though he was a friend to all sorts: but these especially, because, the more abjectly contemptible and the more unbearably importunate they were, the more pleasing, he hoped, was the service he offered to God, and the more lovingly was it accepted. He washed and wiped their feet, and, mindful of the great Magdalene, devotedly followed out in the Lord's members what she had fulfilled in his body. Yet *there* was an odour of life and a sweetness that drew the heart to it, and the purest of flesh: *here* was the stench of death and a bitterness that corrupted, and an ulcerous discharge. He built houses specially for them in his villages, either for several together, or apart for individuals, and provided food for all. Now one in particular he attended to who lived alone in a hut, who, whereas in prosperity, agreeably to the requirements of his prowess and nobility, he had been bright with purple and fine linen, in his leprosy was nobler than either.[2] This indeed is the gait of nobility, that with the increase of substance humility grows, and under affliction patience gathers strength. The count always took care to visit this man when he passed that way, and enjoyed his profitable advice. But it came about that once when the count visited him after his custom, he found him sick unto death, and enjoined the reeve of the village to take care of him. After some days he recollected him, and came back to the hut: he vainly knocked at the door of the house, which he found shut, and even took pains to wait till he saw that everyone else was at a

uidit. Descendit igitur et iterum pulsans humiliter intulit: 'Amicus uester Teobaldus petit, si fieri potest, ut apertum sit ei hostium.' Surgit ille bonisque uerbis et uultu letus apparuit, benigne suscipit, et quem afficere fetore solebat ulcerum suauissimo reficit odore pigmentorum. Miratur consul, et supprimit hoc. Querit utrum bene conualuerit. Ille respondit 'Optime', petitque suppliciter ut preposito benefiat, eo quod deuotus ei fuerat. Letus inde Theobaldus benediccionibus eius deuote conductus exit, obuiamque[a] prepositum habens, inpensam egro curam laudat, et dignam multa retribucione testatur. Cui prepositus: 'Domine, precepto uestro uiuenti fui satis assiduus, et mortuo feci dignas exsequias, et si placeat eius sepulcrum uideamus.' Obstipuit comes, et siluit a uisis, uisitatoque sepulcro redit ad tugurium, et nichil preter domum uacuam inueniens, gauisus est se uidisse Christum. Hoc nostro regi retulit post mortem huius Theobaldi rex Lodouicus, Grossi filius Lodouici.

vi. *De morte Willelmi Rufi regis Anglorum*[1]

Willelmus secundus rex Anglie, regum pessimus, Anselmo

a obuiam quia *MS*

[1] The circumstances of Rufus's death are mysterious. Map tells, with some variations, the story generally current: that William (or those about him) had dreams on the night before his death; that Walter Tirel, lord of Poix in the county of Amiens, and a relation of the houses of Clare and Giffard, shot an arrow at a stag while he and the king were hunting in the New Forest, which hit the king by accident and killed him; that the king's attendants fled, that the body was carried on a cart to Winchester, and buried in the cathedral; that meanwhile William's younger brother Henry, who was also in the forest, rode at once to Winchester to seize the royal treasury, and then on to London, where he had himself acknowledged king by the English magnates and anointed and crowned by Maurice bishop of London; that Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, in exile at Lyons, miraculously received a message of the king's death on the day it happened.

How much of this story was true it is hard to say: Walter Tirel apparently denied that he was involved; we need not take too seriously the stories of dreams and portents; perhaps we should take seriously the possibility that there was a conspiracy, in which Henry I was involved, but Professor Warren Hollister has argued convincingly that it was an accident. The evidence, and legends, are discussed at length by Freeman in *The Reign of William Rufus* (Oxford, 1882), ii, Appendix SS; for discussions of the event, see also C. Brooke, *The Saxon and Norman Kings* (London, 1963), chap. xi; Warren Hollister, in *Speculum*, xlviii (1973), 637–53; for Walter Tirel's family, J. H. Round, *Feudal England* (London, 1895), pp. 468 ff.

To the common legend Map has added the following. He makes William II responsible for the New Forest and the uprooting of 36 churches—this was no

distance. He then dismounted and knocking again humbly, said: 'Your friend Theobald desires, if it be possible, that the door may be opened to him.' The other arose and showed himself, with good words and a cheerful face; courteously received him, and whereas he had been used to annoy him by the stench of his sores, now refreshed him with a sweet odour of spices. The count marvelled, but forbore to speak of it. He asked if he had made a good recovery. 'The best possible,' replied the other, and asked earnestly that the reeve of the place might be rewarded, because he had been assiduous to help him. Theobald rejoiced thereat, and went forth accompanied by the devout blessings of the other, and then meeting the reeve, praised him for his care of the sick, and vowed he deserved a good recompense. The reeve answered: 'Lord, I was attentive enough to him as you bade me, while he lived, and when he died I made him a proper funeral, and, if you please, let us go and see his grave.' The count was astounded, but said nothing of what he had seen, and after visiting the tomb went back to the hut, and finding nothing but the empty building, rejoiced that he had beheld Christ. This, King Louis, son of Louis the Fat, told our king after the death of this Theobald.

6. *Of the Death of William Rufus, King of the English*[1]

William II, king of England, the worst of kings, who drove

doubt the common story (somewhat exaggerated) of what William I had done (cf. F. H. Baring in *EHR*, xxvii (1912), 513). He elaborates the story of William's dream and introduces the saintly Bishop Gundulf of Rochester (1077–1108) into it; a very similar version of the story of the forest, dream, and death is told by Gerald of Wales (*Opera*, viii. 322–6, esp. 322 ff.). To the portents he adds the story of Peter de *Meluis* (unidentified). He attributes Henry I's coronation to a corrupt bargain with Gerard, bishop of Hereford. Gerard was probably there, and did indeed succeed Thomas I as archbishop of York later in the year; but there is no warrant for the rest of Map's story, nor for the name 'Alured' for Thomas, archbishop of York; perhaps a deliberate slip, perhaps too a corruption of Thomas's predecessor Ealdred. Archbishop Gerard died on 21 May 1108, at Southwell, *en route* for the Council of London (M. Brett in *Councils and Synods*, i. 695, 699, citing Hugh the Chanter, ed. C. Johnson (NMT, 1961), pp. 14–15; *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, RS, ii. 111, 522, and quoting Eadmer). N. F. Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England* (Princeton, 1958), pp. 135–46, develops an ingenious argument to support Map's claim that Gerard crowned Henry, but the early sources agree that the ceremony was performed by Maurice, bishop of London (M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), p. 69 n. 3). Gerard's reputation was ambiguous, but he is not elsewhere accused of simony. (I owe much help on this passage to Dr Brett.)

pulso a sede Cancie, iusto Dei iudicio a sagitta uolante pulsus, quia demonio meridiano deditus,[1] cuius ad nutum uixerat, onere pessimo leuauit[a] orbem. Notandum autem quod in silua Noue Foreste, quam ipse Deo et hominibus abstulerat ut eam dicaret feris et canum lusibus, a qua triginta sex matrices ecclesias extirpauerat et populum earum dederat exterminio. Consiliarius autem huius inepcie[b] Walterus Tyrel, miles Achazar[2] iuxta Pontissaram Francie, qui non sponte sua sed Domini de medio fecit eum ictu sagitte, que feram preteriens cecidit in beluam Deo odibilem.

Die qua sagittatus fuit, mane sompnium suum Gundulfo Roffensi episcopo retulerat hoc modo. 'In foresta pulcherrima post longam ferarum exagitacionem capellam prenobilem ingressus, hominem in ea uidi nudum super altare iacentem, cuius uultus et caro tota tam delectabilis erat aspectui quod pro cibo potuque posset orbi sufficere perpetuo. Manus igitur dextere sue digitum longiorem comedi, quod ipse paciencia summa uultuque sereno passus est;
f. 67 unde statim / ad feras rediens,[c] in modico reuersus esuriens, manum illam a qua digitum tuleram apprehendi. At ille prius super angelos forma speciosus ad se manum illam tam subito rapuit, et me tam irate despexit, angelico uultu mutato in tam intolerabilem horrorem, in tam ineffabile dissidium, quod a faciei talis rugositate posset non unius hominis sed tocius orbis ruina fieri; dixitque michi: "Non me comedes amodo." ' Flens ergo Gundulfus intulit: 'Foresta est regnum Anglie; fere sunt innocentes quos tibi Dominus dedit custodiendos, qui cum sis a Deo minister constitutus, ut eis per te fiat pax et tranquillitas ad laudem et honorem ipsius,[d] tu pro uoto pessimo, cum non sis eorum dominus sed seruus, tanquam appositos tibi fructus dilanias, deuoras et disperdis. Capella quid aliud est quam ecclesia, quam tu truculenter irrumpis, predia sua distrahens in stipendia certe

[a] leuauit *MS, altered to* leuiauit [b] inepecie *MS* [c] rediens *Wright;* radiens *MS* [d] *MS adds* et; *om. James*

[1] Cf. Psalm 90 (91): 6 (cf. p. 352 n. 3)
[2] See J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, p. 476.

Anselm from the see of Kent, when smitten by the just judgement of God by the arrow that flieth, because he had given himself over to the demon that walketh by noonday,[1] at whose beck he had lived, lightened the world of an evil load; and it is to be noted that it happened in the wood of the New Forest, which he had himself taken away from God and men to devote it to beasts and sport with hounds; from it he uprooted thirty-six mother churches and delivered their population to exile. The adviser of that piece of folly was Walter Tirel, knight of Equesnes (?),[2] near Pontoise in France, who, not of his own will, but of the Lord's, put him out of the way by the stroke of an arrow, which passed by a wild beast and fell on a monster hateful to God.

Early on the day he was shot he told a dream of his to Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, in these terms: 'In a beautiful forest, after long chasing of beasts, I went into a very fine chapel, and saw therein a naked man lying on the altar, whose face and all whose flesh was so delectable to look upon that it might suffice for food and drink to the whole world for ever. And so I ate up the middle finger of his right hand, the which he suffered with the greatest patience and with a calm countenance: and from him I went back forthwith to the beasts, and in a short while was an hungered and returned and took hold of the hand whereof I had taken the finger. But he, who was before more beautiful than the angels, snatched that hand to him so quickly and looked down on me in so great wrath, changing his angel's face into an horror so unbearable, and an anger so unspeakable, that from the corrugation of that visage there might ensue the undoing, not of one man only but of all the world. And he said to me, "From henceforth thou shalt eat of me no more." ' Whereat Gundulf wept and said: 'The forest is the realm of England: the beasts are those innocents whom the Lord hath delivered to thee to keep, and whereas thou art a minister ordained of God that through thee they should enjoy peace and quiet to his honour and praise, thou according to thy wicked will, being not their lord but their servant, dost tear, devour and destroy them, as if they were fruit set before thee. The chapel, what is it but the church, which thou dost savagely invade, and disperse her estates for the wages, yea

sed et dispendia militum? Formosus ille pre filiis hominum filius Altissimi uocatur,[1] cuius comedisti digitum quando beatum uirum Anselmum, membrum grande corporis dominici, sic deuorasti, quod in officio suo non comparet.[a] Quod existi et reuersus es item esuriens, significat quod adhuc proponis Dominum dilaniare deterius in membris suis. Quod ipse manum suam tibi uiolenter abstulit, mutato uultu quasi a luce in tenebras: lux significat quod suauis et mitis est et multe misericordie omnibus inuocantibus se,[2] tu autem ipsum non inuocasti, sed quantum in te fuit suffocasti. Quod autem circa uultum illum mutatus est color optimus,[3] tu meruisti; tibi nunc imputat iratus factusque terribilis, quod ipsum dedignanter repulisti dum fuit placabilis. Quod ait "Non comedes", iam iudicatus es, et tibi potestas maleficii penitus ablata. Conuertere uel sero, quia tibi mors in ianuis est.' Non credidit ei rex, et eadem die in foresta quam Deo abstulit a predicto Waltero Tyrel occisus est, et a suis ad plenam nuditatem spoliatus. Quem impositum biga rudi et uili, quis esset ignorans, pietate motus, rusticus Wintoniam deferre uoluit. Perueniens autem et quem tulerat non inueniens, in lacu quem transierat corpus reperit luto sordidum, et ad sepulturam detulit.

Eadem die Petro de Meluis, uiro de partibus Exonie, persona quedam uilis et feda, telum ferens cruentum, cursitans apparuit dicens: 'Hoc telum hodie regem uestrum perfodit.'

Hic rex multas ecclesie possessiones iniustis modis a prelatis euictas militibus suis, proprii tenax, largus alieni, contulerat.

Die mortis sue dompnus abbas Cluni⟨acensis⟩ Anselmo, qui penes ipsum perendinabat exul, eam manifestauit.

Erat autem Henricus frater minor dicti regis Londoniis, sollicite satagens ut regnaret, et neminem habuit ex episcopis adiutorem, tum quia Robertus frater eius natu maior

[a] comparet *MS; recte* compareat *Winterbottom*

[1] Cf. Psalm 44: 3 (45: 2); Luke 1: 32.
[2] Cf. Psalm 85 (86): 5.
[3] Cf. Lamentations 4: 1.

rather the waste, of thy knights? That one fairer than the children of men is called the Son of the Highest,[1] and his finger thou didst eat when thou didst so devour the blessed man Anselm, that great member of the Lord's body, that he is no more to be seen in his office. Whereas thou didst go forth and again return in hunger, this signifieth that thou hast still the intent to tear the Lord yet worse in his members. In that he violently snatched away his hand from thee and changed his face as it were from light to darkness: the light signifieth that he is sweet and kind and of great mercy to all them that call upon him:[2] but thou hast not called upon him, but as far as lay in thee hast strangled him. Whereas in that countenance the fair colour was changed,[3] thou wast the cause: he is wroth and is become terrible, and now imputeth it to thee that thou didst disdainfully reject him when he was able to be appeased; and whereas he said, 'Thou shalt not eat' —thou are already judged, and the power to do evil is wholly taken from thee. Turn thou, even though it be late, for death is at thy doors.' The king believed him not; and on the same day, in the forest which he took from God, he was slain by the aforesaid Walter Tirel, and by his own people stripped quite naked. A countryman moved with pity, and not knowing who he was, laid him on a rough mean cart and thought to carry him to Winchester; but when he reached it, and did not find the man he had been carrying, he discovered the body foul with mud in a pond he had passed, and so brought it to burial.

On the same day, to Peter de *Meluis*, a man of the parts about Exeter, there appeared a being, ugly and foul, holding a bloody dart, who ran by, saying: 'This dart went through your king to-day.'

This king had conferred on his knights many possessions of the church which he had wrung by unjust means from the prelates: he was close with his own substance and lavish with other people's.

On the day of his death the lord abbot of Cluny revealed it to Anselm, who was in exile and was staying with him.

Now Henry, the younger brother of this same king, was at London, anxiously devising to become king, and had none of the bishops to help him, partly because his elder brother,

Ierosolimis agebat, tum quia tunc adhuc exulabat Anselmus, quem merito timebant.[1] Girardus autem Herefordensis ignominiosus episcopus, pacto sibi sub iuramento archiepiscopatu priore uacante, coronauit eum. Videntes autem et scientes populi Henricum iustum et strenuum, annuerunt cum principibus qui tunc aderant, et acclamauerunt, et non fuit qui reclamaret. Decessit autem Aluredus[2] Eboracensis archiepiscopus, uir illustris, qui Willelmo regi predicto uiriliter aduersatus, ecclesiam suam ab ipso fere solus conseruauit integram et indempnem, aliis ab ipso laceratis. Aderat autem regi Henrico Girardus, pacto instans. Rex autem simoniaci penitens introitus, obtulit ei Herefordensem episcopatum ampliare fundis ad equiualenciam archiepiscopatus predicti, et libertatem eternam quantam habet
f. 67v Dunelmensis / episcopatus, in quo nullus minister regius aliquid agere uel attemptare potest; episcopi sunt omnes potestates et omnia iura. Girardus autem, diabolo plenus, omnia contempsit, et factus archiepiscopus multa fecit inmisericorditer et immite. Quadam autem die post cenam apud Suwelle in precioso tapeto puluuinari serico subnixus inter clericos suos obdormiuit et expirauit.

Rex autem Henricus proficiebat in regno, et quamuis habuisset uiciosum ingressum, omnes decessores suos regimine tranquillo uicit, et diuiciis et magnis per totum Christianismum inpendiis. Ter in anno uestiebat Lodouicum Francie regem et plures principum suorum. Scriptos habebat omnes comites et barones terre sue, constituitque eis in aduentu uel mora curie sue certa xenia quibus eos honorabat, in candelis pane uinoque.[3] Quemcumque iuuenem infra montes Alpium audiebat captantem boni famam principii, ascribebat familie, et cui minus annuatim dabatur, centum per nuncium suum percipiebat solidos, et quandocunque contigisset ab ipso mandari, suscipiebat in aduentu suo singulis diebus a recessu residencie sue singulos solidos.

Hoc autem modo se habebat in regno. Certissime prouidebat et pronunciari faciebat publice dies itineris et

[1] The objections against Henry were that his elder brother was alive, and on Crusade, and that his claims should not have been overruled in his absence; and that the archbishop of Canterbury, who normally anointed and crowned a new king, was in exile. [2] See p. 465 n. [3] See p. 438 n.

Robert, was at Jerusalem, partly because Anselm, whom they feared with good reason, was still in exile.[1] Gerard, however, the disgraceful bishop of Hereford, crowned him, having got his promise, under oath, of the first archbishopric that fell vacant. The people, who saw and knew Henry to be just and valiant, agreed with the nobles then present, and acclaimed him; and there was none to dissent. Then Alured[2] archbishop of York died—a distinguished man who had manfully withstood King William aforesaid, and was almost the only man who preserved his church whole and uninjured by him, while the rest were torn to pieces. Now came Gerard to King Henry to claim his promise. But the king, repenting of his simoniacal entry, offered him to enrich the bishopric of Hereford with estates up to the value of the archbishopric of York and to give it a perpetual liberty as great as that owned by the bishopric of Durham, in which no officer of the king can do or attempt any act—all powers and all rights belong to the bishop. But Gerard, full of the devil, scorned all offers, became archbishop, and was guilty of many harsh and merciless acts. However, one day after supper at Southwell he laid himself down among his clerks upon a precious carpet and a silken pillow, went to sleep, and gave up the ghost.

But King Henry prospered in the kingdom, and though his entry into it had been faulty, he surpassed all his predecessors in the tranquillity of his rule, in his wealth, and in the great sums he laid out all over Christendom. Thrice in the year he clad Louis, king of France, and several of his princes. He had a register of all the earls and barons of his land, and appointed for them at his coming or during the stay of his court certain presents with which he honoured them, of candles, bread, and wine.[3] Every youth on this side of the Alps whom he heard of as desiring the renown of a good start in life, he enrolled in his household, and any who had a smaller yearly allowance than 100 shillings received that sum by the hand of his messenger; and whenever it happened that he was sent for by the king he received at his coming a shilling for every day after he left his residence.

Now this was the king's guise of life in his kingdom. He arranged with great precision, and publicly gave notice of,

perhendinacionis sue, numerum dierum et nomina uillarum, ut posset scire quiuis errore semoto uite sue statum per mensem. Nichil inprouisus aut inprouidus aut properanter agebat; omnia regali more decentique moderamine faciebat. Vnde a transmarinis ad curiam suam properabatur a mercatoribus cum mercibus et deliciis uenalibus, et similiter ab omnibus Anglie partibus, ut non essent alias nundine fertiles quam circa ipsum quocumque diuertebat. Erat autem summa gloria sua in obseruacione pacis et in subditorum sibi copia. Neminem uolebat egere iusticia uel pace. Constituerat autem ad tranquillitatem omnium, ut diebus uacacionis uel in domo magna uel sub diuo copiam sui faceret usque ad horam sextam, secum habens comites, barones et proceres uauassores.[1] Iuuenes autem familie sue non aderant ei ante prandium, nec senes post, nisi qui ex uoluntate sua se ingerebant ut discerent aut docerent. Hoc autem modo continencie per orbem audito, sicut alie uitantur curie, sic appetebatur ista, et fuit et celebris et frequentata. Frenabantur tiranni uel domini uel ministri. Continebat manus omnis auaricia, que tunc adhuc erat uicium, nunc alborum est regula monachorum. Nemo diebus illis pauper nisi fatuus. Cibus et potus auidius dabantur quam sumebantur. Cuicunque propositum erat ex alieno uiuere, ubique tam gratanter exibebatur ut nusquam ignominiose uite puderet. Cum quis comes aut magnorum principum ex iudicio cadebat in regis ut dici solet misericordiam, multum erat dare .c. solidos, quos tamen infra triennium persoluebat, et de querelis prius ortis pax in foro regio cuicunque sub misericordia constituto. Hac autem causa multi delinquebant ut inciderent in ipsam, et delectabantur in ea teneri.

Erat autem rex Henricus rex Anglie, dux Normanie, comes Britanie, consul[2] Cenomanie, Scocie, Galweie, tocius Anglicane dominus insule; que cunta regebat tam

[1] See p. 262 n. 2.

[2] i.e. count. The statement that Henry was overlord of Scotland is bravado: the king of Scots acknowledged Henry II's overlordship when this passage was written; David I was a vassal of Henry I, but in virtue of his English honours.

the days of his travelling and of his stay, with the number of days and the names of the vills, so that everyone might know without the chance of a mistake the course of his living, month by month. Nothing was done without preparation, or without previous arrangement, or in a hurry: everything was managed as befitted a king and with proper control. Hence there was eager sailing from the parts beyond sea to his court, of merchants with wares and luxuries for sale, and likewise from all parts of England, so that nowhere save about the king, wherever he went, were there plentiful markets. His greatest glory he reckoned to be in the keeping of peace and in the wealth of his subjects. He would have no man to feel the want of justice or of peace. To further the ease of everyone he arranged that on vacation days he would allow access to his presence, either in a great house or in the open, up to the sixth hour. At that time he would have with him the earls, barons, and noble vavassors.[1] The young people of his household, however, were not with him before dinner, nor the seniors after it, except such as might make their way in at their own choice, either to learn or to give instruction. And when this orderly method became known all over the world, his court was desired as much as others are shunned, and it was famous and frequented. Oppressors, whether lords or subordinates, were bridled. All covetousness held its hand —covetousness which was then still a blemish, and is now the rule of the white monks. No one but an idiot was poor in those days. Food and drink were supplied more lavishly than they were used. Whoever made it his object to live at the expense of others was maintained everywhere so kindly that in no place need he blush for his mean state. When any earl or one of the great nobles fell, as a result of a judgement, into the king's mercy, as the phrase goes, a hundred shillings were reckoned a great deal for him to give, and that he paid within three years; and anyone who was 'set in mercy' enjoyed peace in the King's Courts in respect of all charges previously incurred. For this reason many committed offences in order to fall into mercy, and took pleasure in being held therein.

Now King Henry was king of England, duke of Normandy, count of Brittany, 'consul'[2] of Maine, Lord of Scotland, Galloway, and the whole English island; and all these he

potenter, tam dispensanter, quasi bonus paterfamilias domum unam. Ab abbacia monialium Wintonie monacham sacratam et sacram, regis Scocie sororem Dauidis,[1] ad lectum suum in coniugem accepit, Roma nec annuente nec abnuente, sed permittente. Suscepit ex ea filium qui iuuenis factus in Raso Barbari fluctu submersus est, et filiam Matildem, que nupsit Henrico Romanorum imperatori, qui sine liberis decessit; ipsa uero a patre suo data est Gaufrido
f. 68 Andegauorum[a] comiti, cui tres peperit, Henricum, / Gaufridum, Willelmum, uiros strenuissimos. Minores autem cito facti sunt de medio.

Duorum annorum erat Henricus primogenitus Gaufridi, quando auus suus Henricus rex decessit, cui Stephanus, nepos eius ex sorore et Blesensi comite Stephano, successit in regno, uir armorum industria preclarus,[b] ad cetera fere ydiota, nisi quod in malum pronior; sub quo duobus annis fere siluit regnum, tercio uero Robertus filius regis Henrici, Gloucestrie comes, uisa regis inepcia, per instinctum et sapienciam Milonis post comitis Herefordie,[2] uocauit ab Andegauia Matildem et Henricum filium eius ad regnum. Qui sapiencia †Milonis†[c] et strenuitate regem Stephanum ad composicionem huiusmodi compulerunt, quatinus regno iurato Henrico ipse teneret donec de medio fieret; et infra tercium annum mortuus est, et apud Fauersham abaciam nigrorum monachorum quam ipse fundauerat sepultus. Cui successit Henricus Matildis filius, in quem iniecit oculos incestos Alienor Francorum regina, Lodouici piissimi coniux, et iniustum machinata diuorcium nupsit ei, cum tamen haberet⟨ur⟩ in fama priuata quod Gaufrido patri suo lectum Lodouici

[a] Angedauorum *MS* [b] placlarus *MS* [c] *See n. 2: perhaps for* Rogeri *(and* Milonis *an intrusion due to* sapienciam Milonis *above)*

[1] Edith or Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III of Scotland and St. Margaret, and so sister of David I, was brought up in Romsey and Wilton abbeys (*Councils and Synods* i. 661 n., revising *Heads*, p. 219). When Henry I wished to marry her, she satisfied a council summoned by Anselm that she had not taken vows and was free to marry, but the story that she had been a nun and so ought not to have married Henry had a certain vogue in the reign of Stephen: it was argued that Matilda, Henry I's daughter, was illegitimate, and Stephen the rightful heir (for this argument, *GF*, chap. vii). Henry and Matilda had three children: the first died in infancy; the second, Matilda, married first the Emperor Henry V (died 1125), and then Geoffrey, count of Anjou, by whom she had the three children named

governed as strongly and as providently as a good householder would rule a single house. Out of the abbey of nuns at Winchester he took a holy nun and one who had taken the veil, the sister of David, king of Scotland,[1] to wife to the nuptial couch: to which Rome said neither yes nor no, but suffered it. By her he had a son, who when grown to youth was drowned in the sea at the Raz de Barfleur, and a daughter, Matilda, who married Henry, emperor of the Romans; he died without issue, and she was given by her father to Geoffrey, count of Anjou, to whom she bore three sons, Henry, Geoffrey, and William, all very valiant men; but the two younger were quickly taken away.

Henry, the first-born of Geoffrey, was two years old when his grandfather King Henry died, who was succeeded in the kingdom by Stephen, his nephew by his sister and Stephen, count of Blois; he was a man distinguished for skill in arms, but in other respects almost a fool, save that he was rather inclined to the side of evil. Under him the realm was almost quiescent for two years, but in the third Robert, son of King Henry, and earl of Gloucester, perceiving the king's incompetence, at the instigation and by the wise counsel of Milo, afterwards earl of Hereford,[2] summoned Matilda and her son Henry from Anjou to take the kingdom, and by the wisdom and valour of Milo they forced King Stephen to this arrangement, that he should swear the kingdom to Henry and hold it himself till his decease; and within the third year he died, and was buried at Faversham, in an abbey of black monks founded by him. To him Henry, son of Matilda, succeeded, and upon him Eleanor, queen of the French, the wife of the most pious Louis, cast her unchaste eyes, and contrived an unrighteous annulment, and married him, though she was secretly reputed to have shared the couch of Louis with his

below, Henry, the future Henry II (1133–89), Geoffrey (1134–58), William (1136–64); the third, William, died in the wreck of the White Ship in 1120, off the Pointe de Barfleur, presumably in the current which is still called the *Raz de Barfleur*.

[2] Milo of Gloucester, created earl of Hereford, by the empress, in 1141, died in 1143, ten years before the Treaty of Wallingford between Stephen and Henry (*GFL*, p. 534 and refs.). Other details, however, such as the reference to Faversham, are accurate.

participasset.[1] Presumitur autem inde quod eorum soboles in excelsis suis intercepta deuenit ad nichilum.

Ipse uero Henricus quando regnare cepit, erat quasi uiginti annorum, et triginta sex annis regnauit inuictus et inconfusus, exceptis doloribus quos ei fecerunt filii sui, quibus ut aiunt inpacienter toleratis eorum rancore decessit. Fecerat autem idem rex Lodouico piissimo, preter predictam iniuriam, tedia multa, quorum Dominus tam in ipso quam in filiis duriter ad ulcionem recordatus est, ut creditur.

Vidimus inicia regni sui, uitamque sequentem in multis commendabilem. Mediocris stature summos excedebat in modico, uir membrorum integritate uultusque uenustate beatus, et quem milies diligenter inspectum accurrebant inspicere. Vir hic membrorum habilitate nulli secundus erat, nullius actus inpotens quem posset alius, nullius comitatis inscius, litteratus ad omnem decenciam et utilitatem, linguarum omnium que sunt a mari Gallico usque ad Iordanem habens scienciam, Latina tantum utens et Gallica. In legibus constituendis et omni regimine corrigendo discretus, inusitati occultique iudicii subtilis inuentor; affabilis, uerecundus et humilis; pressure pulueris et luti paciens, importunitate querelarum offensus, lacessitus iniuriis, cum silencio perferens. Verumptamen semper itinerans erat dietis intolerabilibus quasi duplomate ⟨utens⟩,[a] et in hoc familie sequenti nimis immisericors; canum et auium peritissimus et illusionis illius auidissimus; in uigiliis et labore continuo. Quociens autem in sompnis ipsum ymaginaria uoluptas agebat, corpori suo maledicebat, quod nec labor nec abstinencia frangere uel extenuare ualebant. Nos autem exinde non inconstancie labores suos ascribebamus, sed timori nimie pinguedinis.

[a] utens *add. James (1914, p. 270, citing Peter of Blois, Epp. 52, 59, PL 207. 159, 175).*

[1] The marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Louis VII of France was annulled in 1152 on grounds of consanguinity; it is in fact clear that relations between them had been troubled for several years. It is unlikely that Henry was behind their desire to end the marriage, and it is far from clear how much truth there was in the various allegations made against Eleanor in this period of her life. (Cf. John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pontificalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, NMT, 1956, pp. 52–3, 61; Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, ed. J. T. Appleby, NMT, 1963, pp. 125–6—for allegations of misconduct in the late 1140s.) It is remarkable in any event that

father Geoffrey.[1] That is why, it is presumed, their offspring, tainted at the source, came to nought.

Henry himself was about twenty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned thirty-six years unconquered and undismayed, save by the sorrows which his sons occasioned him, and these, they say, he could not bear with patience, and died of the rancour they caused him. But this same king had caused the most pious Louis many vexations, besides the injury I have mentioned, and, as is believed, the Lord remembered these sternly, unto vengeance both upon himself and upon his sons.

I saw the beginning of his reign and his subsequent life, which in many respects was commendable. He was a little taller than the tallest men of middle height, and was blessed with soundness of limb and comeliness of face, one, in fact, whom men flocked to gaze upon, though they had scrutinized him a thousand times already. In agility of limb he was second to none, failing in no feat which anyone else could perform; with no polite accomplishment was he unacquainted; he had skill of letters as far as was fitting or practically useful, and had a knowledge of all the tongues used from the French sea to the Jordan, but spoke only Latin and French. He had discretion in the making of laws and the ordering of all his government, and was a clever deviser of decisions in unusual and dark cases: affable, sober, and modest: tolerant of the discomforts of dust and mud; when oppressed by importunate complaints or provoked by abuse, bearing it all in silence. On the other hand, he was always on the move, travelling in unbearably long stages, like a post, and in this respect merciless beyond measure to the household that accompanied him: a great connoisseur of hounds and hawks, and most greedy of that vain sport: perpetually wakeful and at work. When troubled by erotic dreams he would curse his body which neither toil nor abstinence could avail to tame or reduce. Further, we used to ascribe his exertions, not to fickleness, but to his fear of growing too fat.

Map felt free to make such references to the English queen-mother (as she was when this passage was written). It is interesting to compare Map's description of Henry II with those of Peter of Blois (*Epp.* 14, *PL* ccvii, 42–51; cf. note *a*).

The odd phrase 'in excelsis suis' below may be an echo of 2 Kings (2 Samuel) 1: 18, 25.

Matris sue doctrinam audiuimus hanc fuisse, quod omnia protelaret omnium negocia, quod quelibet in manum suam excidencia diu retineret, et fructus inde perciperet, et ad eas suspirantes in spe suspenderet, parabola crudeli sentenciam hanc confirmans, hac scilicet: accipiter insolens carne sibi sepius oblata et retracta uel occultata fit auidior, et pronius obsequens et adherens. Docebat eciam quod in talamo frequens, in frequencia rarus esset; †nichil alicui confer⟨r⟩et cuiusquam testimonio nisi uisum et cognitum,†[1a] et in hunc
f. 68v modum multa pessima. / Nos autem illi doctrine fidenter imputamus omnia quibus erat tediosus.

Inposuit autem ei principio[b] regni sui meretrix quedam publica, nichil immundicie dedignans, filium quem a populo susceperat nomine Gaufridum,[2] quem iniuste minusque discrete tanquam suum acceptans, in tantum promouit ut hodie sit Eboracensis archiepiscopus. Nomen autem matris eius Ykenai. Congregauit hic sibi predictas consuetudines inportunas patris inpositi, et de bonis tam paucas, quod continue sint inimicicie canonicorum suorum ad ipsum et e conuerso, quia uiciorum plenus est et morum expers.

Placeat autem de matre predicti regis audire, quod filia fuerat optimi principis et sancte Matildis regine, materque boni regis, ipsa bonorum in medio pessima. Tradidit eam pater suus Henricus Romanorum imperatori nuptui, qui minorem fratrem suum regem Ytalie[3] captum in bello decapitauerat manu propria, patremque suum cupiditate regnandi deiecerat ab imperio, ut postmodum pauper a communia canonicorum quorundam secularium imperii sui sustentaretur. His predicti sponsi peccatis adiecit Matillis, quod ab omnibus

[a] *See n. 1* [b] principio *James;* principia *MS*

[1] This makes little sense: such advice was not clearly 'pessima'.

[2] Map is the only writer to name Geoffrey's mother ('Ykenai', 'Hikenai' on p. 494), or to question that Henry was his father. Geoffrey was bishop-elect of Lincoln 1173–82, chancellor to his father, treasurer of York, etc. 1181/2–9, archbishop of York 1191–1212 (*Fasti*, iii. 2, 25, 111; M. B. Lovatt, 'The career and administration of Archbishop Geoffrey of York (?1151–1212)', Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1974–5; D. M. Smith in *English Episcopal Acta*, i: *Lincoln 1067–1185* (British Academy, 1980), pp. xxxvi–xxxviii, 177–83; D. L. Douie, *Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet and the Chapter of York* (York, 1960)). Giraldus wrote a life of him: *Opera*, iv. 355–431. Dr Lovatt (p. 1 and n. 3) argues that

I have heard that his mother's teaching was to this effect, that he should spin out all the affairs of everyone, hold long in his own hand all posts that fell in, take the revenues of them, and keep the aspirants to them hanging on in hope: and she supported this advice by this unkind parable: an unruly hawk, if meat is often offered to it and then snatched away or hid, becomes keener and more inclinably obedient and attentive. He ought also to be much in his chamber and little in public: he should never confer anything on anyone at the recommendation of any person, unless he had seen and learnt about it:[1] with much more of the worst kind. And I confidently impute to this teaching all the points in which the king was vexatious.

At the beginning of his reign a common wanton (who shrank from no impurity) fathered upon him a son begotten by one of her many lovers, named Geoffrey,[2] whom he accepted improperly and with little discretion as his son, and so far promoted him that at this day he is archbishop of York. His mother's name was Ykenai. This man gathered to himself all the troublesome habits of his putative father which I have described, and so few of the good ones that there are continual enmities of his canons against him, and vice versa; for he is full of faults and devoid of character.

You may also like to hear of the mother of this said king, that she was the daughter of an excellent prince, and of the holy Queen Matilda, and the mother of a good king, but herself, midway between the good, most evil. Her father Henry gave her in marriage to the emperor of the Romans, who had with his own hand beheaded his younger brother, the king of Italy,[3] when taken in battle, and from lust of power had cast down his own father from his empire, so that afterwards in his poverty he was maintained by the commons of some secular canons in his realm. To these sins of her said husband Matilda was the means of adding that he extorted from all

Geoffrey was born about 1151, before his father came to the throne and before his marriage to Eleanor. See Lovatt, pp. 1 ff., 13–15 for this passage.

[3] Conrad was Henry V's elder brother, and eldest son of Henry IV; he was elected and crowned king of Germany at his father's wish in 1087, but rebelled in 1091 and had himself crowned king of Italy; his rebellion was not a great success, and he died—a natural death—in 1101, to be replaced as heir and rebel against Henry IV by his younger brother, the future Henry V.

ducibus et principibus imperii sui et episcopis et archiepiscopis exegit ciuitates et castella propria manu tenenda, et quemcunque precepto non potuit, bello conatus est euincere. Restitit autem ei dux unicus Baiwarie et Saxonie,[1] contraque manus omnium acie[a] ordinauit, factoque congressu nec fugitum est nec fugatum; durauitque mutua cedes longissimo die circa finem Iunii a mane usque ad mediam noctem. Multis milibus de medio deletis, recesserunt abinuicem pauci de timidis et ignauis. Quoniam igitur a residuis desperatum est de sepultura cadauerum, lupis et canibus et auibus derelicta sunt et putredini, quorum fetor circa se solitudinem fecit.

Compunxit autem Dominus ea die predictum imperatorem, et per graciam suam ei coram oculis posuit, quod ipsum cupiditas ad fratris necem impulerat et patris exilium, et ad cedem presentem que innumerabilis erat et toti mundo plorabilis; penitensque fortiter a malis exiuit foras et fleuit amare,[2] et camerarii non temerarii sed sapientis et fidelis opera, simulato prius morbo ianuisque seratis, et demum eius morte nunciata, seipsum proscripsit penitens et euasit ad exilium ultroneum. Procurauerat autem camerarius mortuum loco eius, et preciosissime inuoluerat conditum aromatibus, et imperiali pompa sepelire fecit. Ipse autem processit, corpore uagus, animo firmus, nec potuit tanti doli latere prorsus utilitas (bonus enim fuerat, quantum uisus est) et iusta fallacia.[b] Multis in locis apparuerunt multi qui se dicebant illum imperatorem esse, et mortem ipsius simulacionem asserebant, post decessum immo recessum eius, ut honorabiles haberentur; et multi falsi deprensi sunt. Verumptamen Cluniaci susceptus ei simillimus, ut dicebatur, pauper habitu, sermone nimis ambiguus, ut ex ipso neutrum agnosci posset.

[a] acie *Winterbottom;* acies *MS*

[b] bonus . . . fallacia *suggested by James; MS places* et *before* quantum

[1] These two duchies were not united in Henry V's time: the reference is probably to the rebellion of Lothar, duke of Saxony (later emperor) in 1114–15; this was never formally suppressed, but there was no open warfare between Lothar and Henry in the years immediately preceding Henry's death in 1125. It is possible, however, that Map has confused Lothar with Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, rebel against Frederick Barbarossa, and son-in-law of Henry II of England who was deprived of his duchies in 1180–1. Hinton, *Notes*, p. 465, gives other references to the legend of Henry V's disappearance; a similar story was told of Frederick Barbarossa after his death in 1190—and, indeed, of many other potentates medieval and modern, from King Arthur to the Tsar Alexander I.

the dukes, princes, bishops, and archbishops of his empire cities and castles to be held in his own hand; and whomsoever he could not subdue by commands he tried to overcome in battle. The duke of Bavaria and Saxony[1] alone withstood him and drew up his whole force against him; battle was given, and neither side retired or forced a retirement. The mutual carnage lasted for the whole of a very long day near the end of June from morning to midnight: many thousands were wiped out, and but a few of the cowardly and useless withdrew from each other. And as the remnant despaired of being able to bury the corpses, they were left to wolves and dogs and birds and corruption, and the stench of them made a solitude all round about.

Now on that day the Lord pricked the heart of the aforesaid emperor, and by his grace set it before his eyes that covetousness had driven him to slay his brother and banish his father, and also to that present slaughter which was not to be numbered, and was deplorable to the whole world. And he repented earnestly of his evil deeds and went out and wept bitterly,[2] and by the help of a chamberlain, no chamberer, but wise and faithful, he first feigned illness and closed his doors, and at last announced his death, and in penitence proscribed himself and slipped out into voluntary exile. The chamberlain had procured a corpse to fill his place, and had it shrouded richly and perfumed it with spices, and so had it buried with imperial pomp. But Henry himself went forth, wandering in body but stable in soul, nor could the benefit of this great deception be wholly concealed (for he had been to all appearance a noble man), nor the righteous intrigue. In many places many men appeared who declared themselves to be that emperor, and asserted the feigning of his death (after his decease, or rather withdrawal) in order to gain honour: and many were found to be deceivers. At Cluny, however, one very like him, it was said, was taken in —poor in garb, in speech very perplexing, so that from his mouth no certain answer, yes or no, could be made out.

[2] Cf. Matthew 26: 75; Luke 22: 62.

Abbas autem, ut Cluniaci mos est, ipsum reuerenter exhibebat. Contigit autem quod dompnus Cluniaci Alemannus prior ueniret, quem dominus abbas ad uirum illum instructum misis, ut uideret, quem si uiderat, et manifestaret. Ille secum iuuenem nepotem suum duxit, qui cum ipso diu fuerat, qui statim ipso uiso dixit eum simulatorem et falsum. At ipse uelox, inconfusus et tutus, ei alapam fortem dedit, et dixit: 'Tu mecum fuisti uere, sed semper proditor,[a] et in una prodicionum tuarum interceptus euasisti, sed tibi quidam satellitum pedem dextrum spiculo misso perforauit, unde uulnus adhuc aut cicatrix apparet. Comprehendite, famuli, tricatorem, et uidebitis.' / Et apparuit cicatrix; at iuuenis ait: f. 69
'Domino meo quem iste se fingit singularis erat in brachio dextro proceritas, ut stans extentus posset palma genu dextrum operire.' Quod ipse surgens statim impleuit. His uisis aliquamdiu reuerencius exhibitus est, et tandem inuentus est falsus.

Sed ut ad materiam unde digressus sum, id est ad regem Henricum secundum, reuertar; erat idem rex Henricus multarum[b] grossarum et pinguium elemosinarum, occultus autem, ne pateret sinistre quod dabat dextera.[1] Missus a Ierusalem episcopus Acharanensis[2] querere contra Saladinum auxilium, congregatis cum regibus Francorum et Anglorum utriusque principibus, allegabat pro terra predicta censum petens. Rex autem Francorum, quia tunc puer, urgebat amicabiliter regem Anglie dicere primum; qui respondit: 'Proposui cum oportunitatem habuero loca sancta Christique sepulcrum uisitare, sed pro modo meo donec id fieri posset ei succurram; liquet enim quod urgens et anxia necessitas tantum emisit nuncium. Sexaginta milia marcarum illuc per ipsum et meos hac uice transmittam.'[3] Quod dixit infra mensem impleuit, uel tunc uel post nullum inde fatigans exaccione uel exigencia, ut multi solent a subditis quod

[a] proditor *Wright;* perditor *MS* [b] multarumque *MS;* multarum *James*

[1] Cf. Matthew, 6: 3–4.

[2] It was Archbishop William of Tyre who attended the conference between Henry II and Philip Augustus (1180–1223) held in Jan. 1188 between Gisors and Trie and persuaded the two kings to sink their private quarrels and take the Cross. The 'Saladin tithe', for the expenses of the crusade, was levied in both kingdoms. The bishop of Acre had been in England in 1183 (Eyton,

The abbot maintained him with decency as is the manner at Cluny. It happened that a Dom of Cluny, a German prior, came there, and the lord abbot sent him to this man with instructions to see him and report if he had seen him *before*. The prior took with him his nephew, a young man who had been long with the emperor, and he on seeing the man at once said that he was a deceiver and imposter. The other quickly, without blenching, and confident, dealt him a great buffet, and said: 'It is true that you were with me, but you were always a traitor, and in one of your treacheries you were caught, but escaped; only one of the guards threw a dart and pierced your right foot, and the wound of it or the scar must still show. You servants, seize that liar, and you will see.' And indeed the scar was to be seen; but the young man said: 'My lord, whom this man pretends to be, had a particularly long right arm, so that when he stood at his full height he could cover his right knee with the palm of his hand.' The man at once rose and accomplished this. For some little time after this demonstration he was maintained with respect, but eventually proved to be an impostor.

But, to return to the subject from which I digressed, that is, to King Henry the Second. This same King Henry was a man of many and large and fat almsdeeds, but in secret, lest it should be known to his left hand what his right hand gave.[1] The bishop of Acre[2] was sent from Jerusalem to seek aid against Saladin, and with the kings of the French and the English were assembled the princes of each, and he pleaded for that land and besought contributions. The king of the French, as being then but a boy, urged the king of England in friendly wise to speak first, and he answered: 'I have purposed when I have opportunity to visit the holy places and the sepulchre of Christ, but until that can be done I will help him according to my power; for it is plain that only an urgent and anxious emergency can have sent forth a messenger of such eminence. I will send thither by him and by my own people 60,000 marks this time.'[3] What he said he fulfilled within a month, not vexing anyone then or afterwards by exactions or demands—as many do wring from their subjects

p. 252). J.E.L. See next note.

[3] See *Councils and Synods*, i, pt. ii, 1022–5.

impendunt prelatis eripere. Rex autem Francie, quasi sagitta subita percussus, et omnes principes eius obmutuerunt; nec ipse rex nec aliorum aliquis tanto uerborum audito culmine quicquam promittere sunt ausi. Hec autem facta sunt apud Siluanectum. Has .lx. milia marcas episcopus ille Acre, que prius Acharon dicebatur, tulit ad Sur, que prius fuerat Siria.[1] Nam antequam uenisset, capta fuit Ierusalem et Acra, et his marcis defensa fuit Sur et residuum terre Ierusalem per manum Bonefacii marchionis de Monteferrato,[2] quem post presentibus Philippo rege Francorum et Ricardo Anglorum duo Hassasisi occiderunt in foro exercitus eorum, quos rex Ricardus statim fecit in frusta coincidi. Dicunt Franci quod ipse Ricardus fecit hoc fieri per insidias,[3a] et quod procurauit mortem Bonefacii.

Rex eciam Henricus secundus supradictus, multis clarus moribus et aliquantis obscurus uiciis fuit. Vicium est quod a matris sue doctrina, ut predixi, contraxit; dispendiosus est in suorum negociis, unde fit ut antequam negocia eorum consequantur multi moriantur, aut ab ipso recedant tristes et uani,[b] fame cogente. Vicium aliud est, quod cum perhendinat, quod raro fit, non permittit se uideri secundum uota bonorum, sed in interioribus clausus solis illis copiosus est, qui copia tanta uidentur indigni. Vicium tercium est, quod quietis impaciens, fere dimidium Christianismi uexare non miseretur. In his tribus error eius; ceteris ualde bonus est, et in omnibus amabilis. Non enim preter ipsum quisquam tante uidetur mansuetudinis et affabilitatis. Quociens exit, arripitur a turbis et in loca distrahitur, et quo non uult impellitur,[4] et, quod mirum est, singulos audit pacienter, et iniuriatus ab omnibus tum clamoribus, tum tractibus et uiolentis inpulsibus, inde nemini calumpniam facit aut

[a] insidias *Winterbottom;* inuidiam *MS (the sentence must mean that Richard was accused of killing the man to disguise the fact that he was himself responsible for the marquis's death)* [b] *James emended to* uacui

[1] For the identification of Acre with Acheron, and on the name *Sur* for Tyre, see Hinton, *Notes*, p. 466, citing the chronicle of Robert of Torigny (*Chrons. of the reigns of Stephen etc.*, ed. R. Howlett, RS, *recte* iv. 84; and *Gesta Henrici II*, ii. 25). *Sūr* is Arabic for Tyre.

[2] The crusading Marquis of Montferrrat, who was assassinated on 28 April 1192, was Conrad; Map has confused him with his son Boniface, who took over as Marquis when his father set off on the Third Crusade (Previté Orton, pp. 355 ff.). For contemporary accusations against Richard, see *Itinerarium . . . regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS, 1864, pp. 338–42, 444–5, exculpating him; Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, ed. J. T. Appleby, NMT, 1963, p. 80 and n.

what they spend on prelates. But the king of France, as if struck suddenly by an arrow, and all his princes, were dumb, and neither the king himself nor any of the rest after hearing such an exalted utterance dared promise anything. This happened at Senlis. These 60,000 marks that bishop of Acre (which was of old called Acheron) conveyed to Tyre (which was formerly Syria).[1] For before he arrived Jerusalem and Acre had been taken, and with those marks Tyre and the rest of the land of Jerusalem was defended by the hand of Boniface, marquis of Montferrat;[2] later on two assassins slew him in the court of their camp in the presence of Philip, king of the French, and Richard, king of the English. King Richard immediately had them hewn in pieces. The French say that Richard himself got this done out of craft,[3] and that he procured the death of Boniface.

Now the aforesaid King Henry II was distinguished by many good traits and blemished by some few faults. There is a fault which, as I have already said, he contracted from his mother's teaching: he is wasteful of time over the affairs of his people, and so it comes about that many die before they get their matters settled, or leave the court depressed and thwarted, driven by hunger. Another fault is that when he makes a stay anywhere (away from home), which rarely occurs, he does not allow himself to be seen as honest men would have him do, but shuts himself up within, and is only accessible to those who seem unworthy of such ready access. There is a third fault, that he is intolerant of quiet and does not in pity refrain from troubling almost the half of Christendom. In these three ways he goes wrong: in other respects he is very good, and in all amiable. There does not seem to be anyone beside him possessed of such good temper and affability. Whatever way he goes out he is seized upon by the crowds and pulled hither and thither, pushed whither he would not,[4] and, surprising to say, listens to each man with patience, and though assaulted by all with shouts and pullings and rough pushings, does not challenge anyone for it, nor show any

[3] See n. *a*.

[4] Cf. John 21: 18.

ire similitudinem; cumque nimis angustiatur cum silencio fugit ad loca pacis. Nichil superbe uel tumide facit; sobrius est, modestus et pius, fidelis et prudens, largus et uictoriosus, et bonis honorificus.

Transfretauimus cum ipso dudum in uiginti quinque nauibus, que sibi tenebantur ad transitum sine pretio.[1] Tempestas autem dispersit omnes, ad cautes et litora nauibus inepta collisit, preter suam, que per Dei graciam in portum producta[a] fuit. Misit ergo mane, singulisque nautis secundum eorum estimacionem perdita restituit, cum non teneretur hoc facere, fuitque summa magne numerositatis; et forsan / f. 69v aliquis[b] rex iustum non soluit[b] debitum.

Mos curie nostre fuit, ut gratis fierent et redderentur breuia sigillata ministris curie que nomina sua uel negocia continerent. Detulit autem dispensator regius reum sigillatorem, quod breue nomen suum et negocium continens ei negasset sine precio reddere. Turstinus filius ⟨Simonis⟩ dispensator erat, Adam a Gernemue sigillator.[2] Auditis igitur his, hesitante curia, regem aduocant; qui cum Turstinum audisset, audiuit Adam dicentem: 'Susceperam hospites et misi qui precaretur dominum Turstinum, quod michi duo liba de uestris dominicis daret. Qui respondit "Nolo." Cum autem postea uellet breue suum, memor illius "Nolo" similiter dixi "Nolo." ' Rex uero condempnauit eum qui dixerat primum 'Nolo.' Sedere fecit Adam ad scamnum,[c] coram posito sigillo breuique Turstini; coegit autem Turstinum abiecto pallio genibus flexis Ade presentare duo gastella regia, mantili candido decenter inuoluta, susceptoque xenio iussit ut Adam ipsi breue redderet, fecitque concordes, et adiecit, ut non tantum sibi deberent inuicem ministri subuenire de suo proprio uel de fisco, sed eciam singulis domesticis, et quos necessitas urgeret alienis. Nos autem hoc comiter actum putauimus.

[a] *James suggested* perducta [b] *Or perhaps* alius . . . soluisset (alius, *Webb;* soluisset, *James)* [c] scamnum *Mynors; perhaps* stancium *MS*

[1] Perhaps on 3 Mar. 1170 (Tupper and Ogle, citing *Gesta Henrici II*, i. 3–4, which describes a sensational storm which scattered '50' ships accompanying the king).

[2] Thurstan son of Simon was hereditary dispenser, Adam of Yarmouth is otherwise known as itinerant justice in 1169 and 1173. In 1173 Thurstan son of Simon was also a justice, and had Map himself as colleague (J. H. Round, *The*

appearance of anger, and when he is hustled beyond bearing silently retreats to some place of quiet. He does nothing in a proud or overbearing fashion, is sober, modest, pious, trustworthy and careful, generous and successful, and ready to honour the deserving.

Some time ago I crossed the Channel with him with twenty-five ships which had the obligation of carrying him over without payment.[1] But a storm scattered them all and drove them upon rocks and shores unmeet for ships, except his own, which by God's grace was conveyed into harbour. So in the morning he sent, and to each sailor restored the estimated amount of his loss, though he was not obliged to do so; and the whole sum came to a large amount; and perhaps there have been kings who have not paid even their just debts.

It was the custom of our court that sealed writs containing their names and duties were drawn up and delivered to the ministers of the court gratis. Now the king's dispenser laid an information against a sealer, that he had refused to deliver him a brief containing his name and duties without payment. Thurstan son of Simon was the dispenser, Adam of Yarmouth the sealer.[2] The court after hearing them was in doubt and called in the king; he first heard Thurstan, and then Adam, who said: 'I had received some guests, and I sent a man to beg the lord Thurstan to give me two cakes of your own royal sort. He answered, "No." Afterwards, when he wanted his brief, I remembered that "No", and in like manner I said, "No." ' The king decided against him who had said 'No' first. He made Adam sit at the bench with the seal and Thurstan's brief placed before him; and he compelled Thurstan to put off his mantle, and on bended knee present Adam with two royal cakes, decently wrapped in a white napkin, and when the present had been received ordered Adam to deliver him the brief, and so reconciled them; and he added that his officers ought not only to help each other from their own stock or the treasury, but also to help anyone of the household, and even outsiders who were pressed by necessity. This I thought was a genial act.

King's Serjeants (London, 1911), pp. 186–93; D. M. Stenton, *English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter* (London, 1965), p. 74; Eyton, pp. 130, 176).

Sed nunc faceciora fiunt, ut putant quorum est nunc facere.

Willelmus de Tancaruilla,[1] summus ex feudo regis camerarius, uir nobilis genere, singularis armis, uiribus magnificus, moribusque mors inuidis, multorum accusacione regi nostro suspectus factus est. Audiebat eum tamen frequenter rex multarum uictorem congressionum, et quod esset pater equitum et panis egencium, et qui posset ad nutum quorumlibet corda mutare tantum exceptis liuidorum cordibus, et quod acceptabilis et carus esset Francorum regi ceterisque †quibus ipse timebat†.[a] Persecutus est uirum bonum in multis, deiecit omnia municipia sua quasi cornua sibi retundens, et leges ei debitas libertatesque negauit, et nimiam inuidis suis dedit in possessiones suas potestatem. Ipse uero dissimulabat, decenter paciens quod oportebat. Contigit autem quod multo preconatu festum diei Natalis Domini proclamatum fuit apud Cadomum a domino rege fieri.[2] Conuenerunt ergo multitudo numerosa tam aduenarum quam indigenarum, quorum capitales erant rex et filius eius admirabilis ille rex Henricus, et tercius Henricus Saxonie dux et Bauarie tunc exul, gener nostri regis, comes Pictauie Ricardus qui nunc regnat, dux Britonum frater eius Gaufridus, et episcopi multi, cum prouincia plena comitum et baronum. Cum igitur adesset die festo Natalis domino regi qui daret aquam manibus eius, ecce per medium pressure predictus Willelmus, eo quod esset summus camerarius, multis equitibus ut mos eius erat comitatus, et palla proiecta sicut mos est ministrorum, pelues argenteas arripuit traxitque fortiter ad se. Tenebat ille uix regemque respiciebat, qui iussit eas dimitti, suscepitque pacienter aquam de rapina. Willelmus autem, cum dedisset eam ipsi filiisque suis et duci Saxonie, pelues proprio clienti dedit et sedere perrexit. Hoc autem multis admirantibus, et cubiculario regis instanter pelues petente, abegit eum rex, et sine similitudine delicti

[a] *This passage may be corrupt*

[1] Hereditary chamberlain of Normandy: see *CP*, x, Appendices, pp. 47–54; on this passage, see esp. p. 52 n. f.

[2] 1182 (cf. Eyton, p. 249): this was the year when Henry the Lion, formerly duke of Saxony and Bavaria, went into exile (see above, p. 480 n. 1), and the year before the Young King Henry's death (above, p. 280 n. 1).

But nowadays even smarter things are done, in the opinion of those who now have the doing of them.

William de Tancarville,[1] great chamberlain to the king by tenure, a man noble in race, unique in warcraft, splendid in strength, in worth a very death to the envious, became suspect to our king, through the accusations of many persons. Still, the king often heard of him as victor in many encounters, heard that he was a father to his knights, and bread to the needy, that he was one who could turn the hearts of all, save only those of the envious, to his will, and that he was acceptable and dear to the king of the French and to others of whom the king stood in awe. He persecuted this good man much, pulled down all his fortresses by way of breaking his horns short, denied him his due legal rights and liberties, and gave unreasonable power over his possessions to his enviers. He, however, concealed his feelings, and endured with correctness what he had to bear. Now it happened that the feast of Christmas was proclaimed with much heralding to be kept by the lord king at Caen.[2] So a great concourse of people, alike strangers and natives, assembled, the principal of whom were the king and his son, that wonderful King Henry, and a third Henry, the duke of Saxony and Bavaria (then an exile), son-in-law to our king, Richard, count of Poitou, who is now king, Geoffrey his brother, duke of Brittany, and a great many bishops, together with the province-ful of counts and barons. So then when on the feast of the Nativity someone was attending on the lord king to pour water on his hands, lo! through the midst of the crowd came the aforesaid William—being the great chamberlain—escorted as was his wont by a number of knights, and casting off his cloak in the way proper for ministers, seized the silver basins and pulled them violently towards him. The other kept hold of them with difficulty, and looked at the king, who bade him let them go, and received patiently the robbed water. William, after giving water to him, to his sons and to the duke of Saxony, handed the basins to a follower of his own and went to take his seat. There was great surprise at this, and the officer of the king's bedchamber instantly demanded the basins, but the king sent him off, and bore all without appearing to perceive any

tulit. Affuerunt ex inuidis Willelmi nocte sequenti maxime circa regem, plurimique qui rapinam illius celeberrime diei menseque regie cuntis preferrent excessibus, et dicerent ipsum regem pacificum et non scelerum ultorem, et quecunque possent eum efferare. Deinde circuierunt hospicia principum, id agentes quod apud regem, nec absistere uoluerunt, aut non potuerunt, quoniam inuidia non pausat, et
f. 70 Iudas non / dormit. In crastino consedere duces,[1] et senescallus Normannie[2] querelam regis omnibus exposuit aduersus Willelmum, honerans eam et aggrauans quantum sciuit. Surgens ergo Willelmus, et rapina negata, subintulit: 'Scimus omnes et nemo dubitat quin domino nostro curieque presenti placeat iusticia, displiceat omnis enormitas; ultores enim scelerum et rapine quod persecuntur oderunt. Vim quidem intuli, non uiolenciam. Quid enim fit sine ui? Verumptamen iusta ui iureque traxi pelues, summus domini regis camerarius, quas ille subditus meus extorquere conatus est iniusta uiolencia. Quod autem inde predo sim, ut domini regis asserit senescallus, hoc contradico, quia quod michi ius appropriat, iuste tuli. Pater meus cum abbaciam fecisset in Tankeruilla beato Georgio, posuit in ea pelues quas a manibus regis Henrici primi iure suo sine lite tulerat, quod adhuc ibi testantur, similiter et idem alie testificant in monasterio beate Barbare.[3] Si uero tantis non habetur fides instrumentis, si quis se iuri meo presumpserit aduersarium opponere, presto sum illud asserere quacunque ui uel uirtute sanxerit hec curia, nemine pro me nominato, sed in persona propria. Quod autem inmerito me multi detulerint domino meo reum, et iram eius aduersum me fortiter aggrauauerint, non timeo. Scio quia nulla poterit iudicium eius ira peruertere. Forte plures assunt qui michi clam insidiantur; utinam uelint palam experiri, iustoque iudicio, tam unice, tam electe curie subicere quod secrete susurrant. Nouit dominus noster rex et sui,

[1] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 1.

[2] William FitzRalph, seneschal from 1178 to 1200 (C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Cambridge, Mass., 1918, pp. 183–4). J.E.L.

[3] The Tancarville foundations of Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville, a Benedictine house near Rouen ('Tancarville' is clearly a mistake) and Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge (Calvados), an Augustinian priory (*Chronique de Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge*, ed. R. N. Sauvage, Mémoires de l'Académie de Caen (1906); *GFL*, pp. 125–6).

offence. On the following night, some of those who hated William were busy about the king, and there were many who set his robbery, done on that solemn day at the king's own table, above all his other excesses, and declared the king himself an appeaser, and no punisher of wrong, and whatever else was calculated to enrage him. Thence they went about the lodgings of the princes, doing as they had done at the king's, nor would they desist—or else they could not, for envy has no rest and Judas no sleep. On the morrow the chiefs took their places,[1] and the seneschal of Normandy[2] set forth before all the king's quarrel against William, loading and aggravating it as much as he knew how. William then rose, denied the robbery, and added: 'We all know and none of us doubts that our lord the king and the present court favour justice and do not favour any violation of rule; for those who punish crimes and robbery must hate that which they prosecute. Force I did bring to bear, not violence. What indeed can be done without force? Yet it was with a just force and of right that I, the great chamberlain of our lord the king, seized the basins, which the other my subordinate tried to wring from me with unjust violence. That I am in consequence a robber, as this seneschal of my lord the king's asserts, I deny, for I justly took what law (right) assigns to me. When my father founded an abbey in honour of St. George at Tancarville, he placed in it the basins which he had taken of his right without contention from the hands of King Henry I, and they still witness to it there, and in like manner others at the monastery of Ste. Barbe testify the same.[3] But if credit is not given to evidences of such weight, if any man takes upon him to oppose himself as adversary to my right, I am ready to defend it by whatever form of force or valour this court shall decide, appointing no man in my stead, but in my own person. As for the fact that many have undeservedly denounced me to my lord as a criminal, and have mightily aggravated his wrath against me, I am in no fear. I know that no anger can pervert his judgement. Perhaps there are here many who secretly intrigue against me. I wish they would try it openly, and submit that which they privily whisper to the just judgement of this court, so unique, so select as it is. Our lord the king and his princes know how,

qualiter ab ipso pacificata Pictauia post mortem illius preclari Patricii,[1] tenuerim eam et ad precepta sua coegerim, cum dici soleat

Non minor est uirtus quam querere parta tueri.[2]

Semper autem ego meique domino meo propriis militauimus stipendiis, suaque nobis decenter oblata resignauimus, et ubicunque nos uocauit necessitas assilire uel tueri, fuimus primis in omni congressu priores aut certe pares. Non autem hec credat in tot et tantis examinata milicia superbe uel arroganter me uociferasse. Sed hominem auditis accusatum, et coram inuidis suis et detractoribus irate loquentem, suis extollentem se meritis non superbe, non ad gloriam, non uane, sed ut prouocem palpones coram positos et hec audientes, ut, si quid habent meriti uel uere iactancie, palam edisserant, et pro se bona que negari non possint allegent, aut certe desistant eos in occulto persequi, quos in manifesto sequi uel audire formidant.' Secutus est igitur oracionem hanc murmur multus, et omnium uultus intendebant in eum. Rex autem ait: 'Iustum uolo fieri iudicium ex his que dicta sunt, ut nec amore nec odio quicquam diffiniatur iniquum. Memores autem in hoc casu uos oro fieri, quod cum Parisius in hospicio meo dominus meus Lodouicus rex et ego consedissemus, astante nobis pincerna meo, subito domum ingressus Willelmus comes Hyrundella,[3] recens a redditu Ierusalem, quem nemo nostrum uiderat triennio preterito, nobis breuiter salutatis pallam uillosam quam sclauinam nominant uelox abiecit, et uasi uini rapidus inhesit, pincernamque renitentem, ut erat magnus et fortis, inpulsu deiecit, flectensque genua coram domino rege Francorum subintulit: 'Domine mi rex, quod hic agitur non est excessus aut reuerencie uestre contemptus. Scit dominus meus rex quod de iure decessorum meorum pincernarum princeps sum et primus; hic autem quem deieci presumpsit arroganter

[1] Patrick, earl of Salisbury, was killed by a Poitevin ambush led by Guy of Lusignan in 1168 (JS, *Letters*, ii. 566–7 and n.); there seems to be no other record of William's administration of Poitou. [2] Ovid, *Ars am.* ii, 13.

[3] He was hereditary butler to the king, and married Adeliza, Henry I's widow; he was created earl *c.*1139 (*CP*, i. 233–5; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iii, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1968), pp. xviii, xxv). He was faithful to Henry in 1173 and died in 1176. Henry was in Paris in Sept. 1158

when he had brought Poitou to peace after the death of that famous Patrick,[1] I held it and made it obey his commands, as in the well-known saying:

Not less is the valour that keeps than that which achieves a conquest.[2]

Always have I and mine fought for my lord at our own charges, and have resigned what he honourably offered us, and whenever an emergency summoned us to attack or defend, we were in every engagement ahead of, or at least equal with, the first comers. Let not the king think, however —as my service has been tested often and so much—that I have uttered this in pride or arrogance. You are listening to a man who has been accused and is speaking in wrath before those who envy and slander him, who exalts himself for his deserts, not proudly, not for boasting's sake, not idly, but that I may challenge the sycophants who are before me and hear these words, that if they possess aught of merit or true cause of boasting, they may tell it openly, and allege on their own behalf good deeds which cannot be denied, or at least desist from secretly persecuting those whom they fear to imitate or to listen to openly.' This speech was followed by a great murmuring, and all faces were intent upon him. But the king said: 'I will that a just judgement be given upon what has been said, that nothing unfair be decreed out of affection or dislike. And I beg you to recollect in this case that when my lord King Louis and I were settled in my lodging at Paris, my butler standing by me, William earl of Arundel[3] fresh from his return from Jerusalem, whom none of us had seen for three years past, suddenly entered the house, briefly saluted us, quickly threw off his fleecy cloak—what they call a *sclavina*—and hastily clutched the vessel of wine. The butler resisted him, but he, tall and strong as he was, knocked him down with a push, and on bent knee before the lord king of the French said: "My lord king, what I am doing here is no outrage or contempt of your honour. My lord the king knows that by the right of my ancestors I am the chief and first of the butlers; but this man whom I have knocked down has

(Eyton, p. 41; J. H. Round, *The King's Serjeants* (London, 1911), pp. 142–3); hence the absence referred to would fall in the years 1155–8. (J.E.L., revised.) For the Butlers, see Round, pp. 140–65.

sibi ius meum, cum detinuit quod obtulisse debuerat non petenti." Sic et hec ille Willelmus, et a tanta curia nomen facecie retulit, non arrogancie. Vobis autem hoc ideo re-
f. 70v cordor, / ut ex aliis actis instruamini, ne cuiusquam amore sit huic Willelmo censura nostre curie remissior uel odio alicuius districtior; equa lance libretur quod audistis quatinus, licet hec illa curia uideatur inferior, non iudicetur iniustior.' Quoniam igitur nemo iuri suo factus est obuiam, omnium iudicio Willelmus optinuit. Hanc nostri regis comitatem annumeramus aliis, ut manifestum sit omnibus quod inuisis eciam conseruabat in ira misericordiam.

Artifex subtilis expresserat sigillum regium bitumine, formaueratque cuprium tam expresse similitudinis ad illum, ut nemo differenciam uideret.[1] Cum autem hoc regi constaret, iussit ipsum suspendi, uidensque uirum uenerabilem, bonum et iustum, fratrem malefici, flentem operto capite, statimque misericordia uictus, bonitatem iusti pretulit nequicie rei, lacrimansque restituit lacrimoso leticiam. Verumptamen fure soluto, ne remissa nimium uideretur pietas, in monasterium eum detrudi iussit.

Domino regi predicto seruiebat quidam clericus, qui uobis hec scripsit,[2] cui agnomen Map; hic ipsi carus fuit et acceptus, non suis sed parentum suorum meritis, qui sibi fideles et necessarii fuerant ante regnum et post. Habebat eciam et filium Gaufridum nomine susceptum, si dicere fas est, a publica cui nomen Hikenai, ut est pretactum,[3] quem contra fidem et animum omnium in suum aduocauit. Inter hunc et Map faciles aliquando lites coram ipso sed et alias ueniebant. Hunc rex ad Lincolnie sedem elegi fecit, qui iusto diucius episcopatum illum detinuit, domino papa sepius urgente quod cederet aut ordinaretur episcopus; qui

[1] For the forging of seals in the mid and late 12th century, see esp. T. A. M. Bishop and P. Chaplais, *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100* (Oxford, 1957), pp. xix–xxiii.

[2] Cf. John 21: 24.

[3] See pp. 478–9.

arrogantly assumed to himself my right, by retaining what he ought to have offered me without my asking." Thus did and thus said that William, and from that great court he brought away the reputation of courtesy, and not of presumption. And I remind you of this, to the end that you may learn from another instance, and that the sentence of our court may not be over-lenient to this William out of affection for any, nor over-strict from dislike of any: let that which you have heard be weighed in a just balance, that though this court may seem inferior to that other, it may not be judged less fair.' Since therefore no one opposed his right, William held it by the verdict of all. This piece of courtesy in our king I add to the rest, that it may be plain to all that even to those whom he disliked he observed mercy in his wrath.

A clever workman had taken an impression of the king's seal in pitch, and had made a copper seal so exactly like it that no one could see the difference.[1] When this became known to the king, he ordered the man to be hanged: but he saw a venerable man, good and virtuous, the brother of the criminal, weeping with covered head, and was straightway overcome with pity, and made more account of the goodness of the virtuous man than of the villainy of the culprit, and with tears restored joy to the tearful one. However, when the thief was set free, he ordered him to be confined in a monastery, lest his pity should appear more indulgent than was right.

This lord king was served by a certain clerk, who has written these matters for you,[2] whose surname was Map. He was dear and acceptable to the king, not for his own merits, but for those of his forebears who had been faithful and useful to the king, both before his accession and after it. The king had also a son named Geoffrey born to him, if it be lawful to say so, of a common whore named Hikenai (as was hinted before),[3] and him he acknowledged as his own, contrary to his honour and to the wish of everyone. Between this man and Map quarrels often arose on slight provocation, both in the king's presence and elsewhere. The king had him elected to the see of Lincoln, and he kept that bishopric longer than he should, though the lord pope often pressed him either to resign it or to be consecrated bishop: he

diu tergiuersans neutrum et utrumque uoluit et noluit. Rex igitur qui sollicite considerabat multam terram occupatam a ficu tali, coegit eum ad alterutrum. Is autem elegit cedere. Cessit igitur apud Merleburgam,[1] ubi fons est quem si quis, ut aiunt, gustauerit, Gallice barbarizat, unde cum uiciose quis illa lingua loquitur, dicimus eum loqui Gallicum Merleburge. Vnde Map, cum audisset eum uerba resignacionis domino Ricardo Cantuariensi dicere, et quesisset dominus archiepiscopus ab eo 'Quid loqueris?',[a] uolens eum iterare quod dixerat, ut omnes audirent, et ipso tacente, quereret item 'Quid loqueris?', respondit pro eo Map: 'Gallicum Merleburge.' Ridentibus igitur aliis, ipse recessit iratus.

Anno proximo renunciacionem precedente, districcione rigida, non ut pastor sed uiolenter, exegerat ab omnibus ecclesiis parrochie sue decimas omnium obuencionum suarum, et singulas taxarat, et secundum propriam estimacionem decimas extorquebat. Quatuor autem marcas ab ecclesia Map, que dicitur Eswaella,[2] iactanter et superbe sibi iubebat afferri, racione qua spoliabat alias. Ille noluit, sed domino nostro regi questus est; qui ducens electum illum in thalamum interiorem castigauit eum dignis uerbis et fuste nobili, ne deinceps clericis molestus in aliquo fieret. Vnde uerberatus egregie rediens, in omnes curie socios minas multas intorsit, et in acusatorem suum precipue; cui cum forte fuisset obuiam, iurauit per fidem quam debebat patri suo regi, quod ipsum dure tractaret. Map autem sciens ipsum in iuramentis patrem suum ponere, sed et regem iactanter semper apponere, ait: 'Domine, Paulus apostolus dicit "Estote imitatores Dei, sicut filii karissimi";[3] Filius autem Dei Deus noster se frequenter secundum infirmiorem sui partem se filium hominis dicebat, tacita Patris deitate. Vtinam et tu consimili uelis humilitate iurare secundum matris officium aliquando, celata patris regalitate. Sic decet imitari Deum qui nil egit

[a] loqueris *Wright;* loquaris *MS*

[1] Geoffrey resigned in 1181, and confirmed the resignation formally at Marlborough on 6 Jan. 1182; he was then made royal chancellor (*Fasti*, iii. 2; Diceto, ii. 10; *Gesta Henrici II*, i. 271–2; M. B. Lovatt (cit. p. 478 n. 2), pp. 14–16; D. M. Smith (cit. ibid.), p. xxxvii). On the 'French of Marlborough' there has been some discussion; but the phrase seems just to mean 'rustic French'.

vacillated long, and would not do either or both. So the king, who beheld with anxiety so great a territory encumbered by such a barren figure, compelled him to take one or other course. He elected to resign. And resign he did, at Marlborough,[1] where there is a spring of which they say that whoever tastes it speaks bad French; hence when anyone speaks that tongue faultily, we say that he is speaking Marlborough French. Map therefore, when he had heard Geoffrey say the words of resignation to lord Richard of Canterbury and the lord archbishop asked him: 'What are your words?' (wishing him to repeat what he had said, so that all might hear), and he held his tongue, and the archbishop asked again: 'What are your words?' Map answered for him: 'Marlborough French.' Everyone else laughed, but he went off in a rage.

In the year immediately preceding his resignation he had with hard exaction, not like a shepherd but with violence, demanded from all the churches of his diocese tithes of all their incomings, and had assessed each one, and was extorting tithes according to his own estimate: and from Map's church, which was called Ashwell,[2] he proudly and swaggeringly ordered four marks to be paid him, at the rate at which he was plundering the rest. Map would not pay, but complained to our lord the king, who took that elect one into an inner chamber and chastised him in fit phrase and with a notable thrashing, that thenceforth he should not vex the clerks in any way. Returning thence, soundly cudgelled, he hinted many a threat at all the members of the court, and particularly at his accuser: and happening to meet him, he swore by the faith he owed the king his father that he would use him hardly. But Map, who knew that in his oaths he always used his father's name and also boastfully added 'the king' thereto, said: 'My lord, the apostle Paul says, "Be ye imitators of God, as dear children."[3] Now our God, the Son of God, often used to name himself by his weaker part and call himself the Son of Man, saying nothing of the godhead of his Father. I wish you with like humility would sometimes swear by the profession of your mother, and keep back your father's royalty. That is the proper way to imitate God, who never

[2] See above, p. xvii. [3] Ephesians 5: 1.

f. 71 arroganter.' Tum ille, capite rega/liter ut mos erat illi concusso, minas intonuit. M⟨ap⟩ autem adiecit: 'Audio quod uos emendaui, sicut archiepiscopus uxorem suam.' Quidam autem constancium: 'Quid hoc?' At ille sibi murmurauit in aure, quod uxor archiepiscopi dormiens cum illo strepuit, et ab archiepiscopo percussa restrepuit. Hoc cum audisset electus ab illo, tanquam ex illata quauis iniuria fremuit obiurgans.

Die cessionis predicti uiri beatificauit eum dominus rex cancellaria sua, sigillumque suum appendit collo gratulantis. Quod ipse predicto Map ostendens ait: 'Omnia cesserunt tibi ad nutum de sigillo gratis, at ex hoc nunc nec unum extorquebis inde breuiculum quod non redimas quatuor nummis.' Cui Map: 'Deo gracias! Bono meo gradum hunc ascendisti. Quorundam infortunium aliorum successus est. Anno preterito quatuor marcas exegisti, nunc quatuor denarios.'

Post hec autem, cum essemus in Andegauia, uidissetque uir ille regius Walterum a Constanciis[1] ad dompnum Ricardum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum uocari, consecrandum ad episcopatum ab ipso resignatum, aperuit inuidia tunc oculos eius, et obstupuit, tandemque resumptis uiribus appellauit. Mitigauit eum dominus, et promisit ei redditus quos in eleccione perdiderat. Ipse uero, cui tunc primum uisum est se cunta cum episcopatu simul amisisse sine spe, talionem redibuisse. . . .[a] Videns ergo Map, qui sue quondam prebende canonicus erat Lundoniis,[2] ingeminat: 'Reddes prebendam meam et nolens.' Map: 'Immo certe uolens, si potes omnia que gratis amisisti per aliquod ingenium recuperare.'

vii. *Recapitulacio principii huius libri ob diuersitatem litere et non sentencie*[3]

Augustinus ait: 'In tempore sum et de tempore loquor, et nescio quid sit tempus.' Simili possum admiracione dicere,

[a] *Something is wanting after* redibuisse, *e.g.* gestiebat *or* desiderabat, *James.*

[1] Walter of Coutances, royal clerk and archdeacon of Oxford, was consecrated bishop of Lincoln by Archbishop Richard on 3 July 1183 at Angers. In 1184 he was translated to the archbishopric of Rouen (*Fasti*, iii. 2).

[2] See above, p. xvi n. 4.

[3] This is apparently a first draft of i. 1 ff.: see pp. xxviii–xxix. Quotations and

did anything in arrogance.' Then he, shaking his head after his wont in royal fashion, roared out threatenings. Map added: 'I observe that I have corrected you with the same success as the archbishop did his wife.' 'What was that?' said one of the bystanders. Map whispered in his ear that the archbishop's wife when in bed with him, made a rude noise, and when the archbishop hit her, made another. The Elect, on hearing this, raged and scolded as if he had suffered the worst of injuries.

On the day of this man's resignation the lord king made him happy by the gift of his Chancery, and hung his seal about the neck of the joyful recipient. He showed it to the aforesaid Map, and said: 'So far everything has come to you at your call from the Seal gratis, but from this moment not the very least brief shall you have, but you shall pay four-pence for it.' To him, Map: 'Thank God! this step-up of yours is a gain to me. Some people's hurt is others' health: last year you wanted four marks; now it is four-pence.'

After this, however, when we were in Anjou (Angers), and this royal person had seen Walter of Coutances[1] summoned to Lord Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, to be consecrated to the bishopric which he himself had resigned, envy opened his eyes, and he was dumbfounded, and eventually collecting his wits, he appealed. The lord king soothed him, and promised him the revenues which he had lost by the election. But he, who then saw for the first time that with the bishopric he had irrevocably lost everything (pined) for revenge. And catching sight of Map, who was canon of the prebend at London,[2] which he had formerly enjoyed, he shouted at him (*or* kept repeating): 'You shall give me back my prebend, whether you will or no.' *Map*: 'Nay, with the best of will, if you can devise any way of recovering all that you have lost for nothing.'

7. *A Recapitulation of the Beginning of this Book, Differing in Expression but not in Substance*[3]

Augustine says: 'In time I am and of time I speak, and what time is I know not.' With like wonderment I may say that

echoes noted above are not repeated in the notes to this chapter. This rubric reads like a gloss, perhaps added by Map's editor (see above, p. xxx).

quod in curia sum et de curia loquor, et quid ipsa sit non inteligo. Scio tamen quod ipsa tempus non est. Temporalis quidem est, mutabilis et uaria, localis et erratica, statusque diuersitate sibi sepe dissimilis. Recedimus ab ea frequenter et reuertimur, sicut utrumque dictat rerum exigencia. Cum eam eximus, totam agnoscimus; si per annum extra steterimus, noua redeuntibus occurrit facies, et noui sumus. Inuenimus ab alienis domesticos supplantatos, et dominos a seruis. Eadem quidem est curia, sed mutata sunt membra. Porfirius dicit genus esse multitudinem se quodammodo ad unum habentem principium. Curia certe genus non est, cum tamen huiusmodi sit; nam multitudo sumus ad dominum regem quodammodo se habens, quoniam illi soli placere contendens. Scriptum est de fortuna, quod sola mobilitate stabilis est. Curia fortuna non est; in motu tamen immobiliter est.

Infernum locum penalem dicunt; quicquid aliquid in se continet, locus est; sic et curia locus, numquid et penalis? Certe penalis, et hoc solummodo micior inferno, quod mori possunt quos ipsa torquet. Macrobius[1] asserit antiquissimorum fuisse sentenciam, infernum nichil aliud esse quam corpus humanum, in quod anima deiecta tenebrarum feditatem, horrorem sordium patitur, et quecunque fabulose dicuntur in inferno fuisse pene, conati sunt assignare singulas in sepulcro corporis humani. Quod quia longum est distinguere, leuiterque potest alias haberi, dimittimus. Sed si corpus humanum aliqua ualet similitudine dici carcer et chaos anime, quare non curia tam corporis quam anime?

Stix odium, Flegeton ardor, obliuio Lethes,
Chochiton luctus, triste sonans Acheron,

in curia nostra sunt. In his penarum uolumina confunduntur, in his omnia flagiciorum genera puniuntur. Non est trans-
f. 71v gressio cui non ⟨hic⟩ et in his[a] fluminibus equiparetur / ulcio. Parem hic inuenit omnis nequicia malleum, ut uideatur,

[a] ⟨hic⟩ et in his *(or* in his*) Winterbottom;* his et in *MS*

[1] Cf. Macrobius, *Comm. in somn. Scipionis*, i. 10. 9–12 (ed. J. Willis, Teubner, 1970, pp. 43–4).

in the court I am and of the court I speak, and what it is I understand not. I know, however, that it is not time. But temporal it is, unstable and various, space-bound and wandering, and in the diversity of its composition often unlike itself. We withdraw from it often, and return, as the requirements of circumstances dictate either course. When we leave it we know it thoroughly; if we stand out of it for a year, a new face meets us on our return, and we ourselves are new. We find natives ousted by strangers and masters by their servants. The court indeed is the same, but the members of it are changed. Porphyry says that a *genus* is a plurality standing in a certain relation to a single principle. The court is certainly not a *genus*, though it be something of the kind: for we are a plurality standing in a certain relation to the lord king, inasmuch as it strives to please him alone. It is written of fortune that only in mobility is she stable. The court is not fortune, yet it is unchangeably in movement.

Hell, they say, is a place of punishment. Whatever contains anything else within it is a place. So too the Court is a place; but is it one of punishment? Of a truth it is, and only in this respect milder than hell, in that those whom it torments are able to die. Macrobius[1] asserts that it was the opinion of the most ancient philosophers that hell was nothing else but the human body, whereinto the soul being cast suffers the foulness of darkness and the horror of filth; and of all the punishments which are reputed in fables to have been in hell, they tried to find a place for everyone in the sepulchre of the human body. But this, since it is lengthy to go through and may easily be found elsewhere, we leave aside. Yet if the human body can by any simile be called the prison and chaos of the soul, why should not the court be called the prison of body and soul alike?

Styx hate: heat Phlegethon: forgetfulness Lethe:
Cocytus wailing: Acheron standing for sadness:

All are in our court. In these the outpourings of punishments are mingled together; in these are all manner of crimes chastised. There is no transgression which here and in these rivers does not find appropriate vengeance. Every wickedness finds here a hammer matched to it, so that thy

Deus, in his fluminibus furor tuus et in hoc indignacio tua mari.[1] Curie Stix est odium nobis innatum ex nostro uel alieno uicio; Flegeton, ardor cupiditatis et ire; Lethes, obliuio beneficii Creatoris et promissionis in baptismate date; Cochitus, luctus ex nostris nobis inflictus excessibus, quia uia multiplici cum illo nequam aduenit, quem aduocare uidentur, qui dolorum incentor est et ydolorum in suis faber; Acheron, tristicia, scilicet uel ex factis uel ex dictis penitencia, uel ex cupitis et non assecutis.

Flagiciorum aut⟨em⟩[a] flagella penarumue passiones hic assignare possumus si fas est. Caron,[2] inferni portitor, neminem in cimba transuehit nisi qui stipem ab ore porrigit; ab ore dicitur, non a manu, quia noster portitor si promiseris obsequitur, si dederis te non cognoscet amplius. Sic frequenter et in aliis: in curia preiudicat umbra corpori, dubietas certitudini, dacioni promissio.

Tantalus ibi luditur a fuga fluminis. Nos hic bona que summitate digitorum tangimus refuga fallunt, et quasi iam obtenta disparet utilitas.

Sisiphus ibi saxum ab imo uallis ad montis aportat apicem, indeque reuolutum sequitur ut relapsurum reuehat. Sunt et hic qui diuiciarum altitudinem adepti nichil actum putant, et relapsum cor in uallem auaricie secuntur, ut illud in montem ulteriorem reuocent, quo quidem consistere non datur, quia spe cupitorum semper adepta uilescunt. Cor autem illud saxo comparatur, quia Dominus ait 'Auferam cor lapidium et dabo carneum.'[3] Det Deus, et sic faciat curialibus, ut in aliquo moncium pausare possint.

Yxion ibi uoluitur in rota, sibi sepe dissimilis, super subter, hinc et illinc. Habemus et nos Yxiones, quos sorte sua uolubilis fortuna torquet. Ascendunt ad gloriam, ruunt in miseriam, sperantque deiecti, supremi gaudent, infimi lugent;

[a] autem *James;* aut *MS*

[1] Cf. Habakkuk 3: 8; Ogle, pp. 203–5.

[2] Charon was apparently treated in i. 9, now lost; for Tantalus, Sisyphus, and Ixion, see i. 3–5, above.

[3] Cf. Ezekiel 36: 26 'et auferam cor lapideum de carne uestra, et dabo uobis cor carneum'.

fury, O God, is seen in these rivers and thine indignation in this sea.[1] The Styx of the court is the hatred inborn in us of our own or of others' fault: its Phlegethon is the heat of covetousness and wrath; its Lethe the forgetting of the goodness of our Maker, and of the promise given in baptism; its Cocytus the mourning inflicted on us by our excesses; it comes in many ways, along with that Evil One whom those excesses seem to invite, who is the source of dolours and the maker of idols in them that are his. Its Acheron is sadness, whether of penitence for deed or word, or because of things desired and not attained.

But the scourges of sins and the sufferings of punishments we can here distribute, if we are permitted. Charon,[2] the ferryman of hell, carries none over in his boat but him who gives the coin from his mouth—from his mouth, it says, not from his hand, for our ferryman is obliging if you promise, but if you give will recognize you no more. So does it often happen in other cases: at the Court the shadow takes precedence of the body, doubt of certainty, promise of gift.

Tantalus there is mocked by the flying river. We here are deceived by the good things which we touch with the tips of our fingers and which start back from them, and the profit which seemed already grasped vanishes.

Sisyphus there carries a stone from the bottom of a valley to the top of a mountain, and when it rolls back thence follows it, to carry it back that it may fall again. Here too are those who gain the height of riches and think nothing has been attained, and follow their heart, fallen back into the valley of avarice, to bring it back to a mountain yet farther off, whereon indeed it is not permitted to abide, because in hope of what is desired, what is obtained seems poor, and that heart is likened to a stone, for the Lord says: 'I will take away their stony heart and give them a heart of flesh.'[3] May God so give and so do to them of the Court that they may be able to find rest on some one of the mountains.

Ixion there is rolled round on his wheel, often unlike himself, up, down, hither and thither. We too have our Ixions, whom rolling fortune torments with their lot. They climb to glory and fall to wretchedness, when down they hope, when at the top they exult, when at the bottom they mourn; when

dextri sperant, sinistri metuunt; cumque sit undique timendum in rota, nullus[a] in ea sine spe locus est, et cum ipsam spes metus gaudium luctusque participent, sola sibi familiam spes facit et detinet. Tota terribilis est, contra consciencias tota militat, nec inde minus appetitur.

Ticius[1] Iunonem prima uisione cupiuit, ultroque motum secutus illicitum fatui iecoris non refrenauit ardorem; unde merito punitur eodem iecore quod ad sui detrimenta renascitur; uulturum auiditatem exibet, quod cum non deficiat, inflictum est ut non sufficiat. Nunquid non ego sum in curia Ticius, et forsitan alius aliquis, cuius cupido cordi uultures apponuntur, id est affectus nigri diuellentes ipsum, quia non luctauit, appetitui prauo non restitit? Sed non Ticius qui Iunoni dissolute mentis non celauit angustias. Cogitat, loquitur, agit contra bonum illum qui nec abiit nec stetit, nec sedit.[2]

Filie Beli contendunt ibi cribris implere uasa forata sine fundis, omni liquori peruia, Letheique laticis haustus perdunt assiduos. Belus[b] uirilis uel uirtuosus interpretatur; hic Pater noster Deus est. Nos eius non filii, quia non uirtuosi, non robusti, sed filie, nam in inpotenciam effeminati, cribro quod a paleis grana secernit, id est, discrecione uasa complere pertusa laboramus, id est, animos insaciabiles, quorum adulterauit ambicio fundum, qui sorbent quod infunditur instar Caribdis, et sine plenitudinis apparencia non cessant haustus perdere uanos. Cribrum hoc non colat a liquido /
f. 72 turbidum, a sereno spissum, cum ad hoc creatum sit, nec retinet aquam fontis in uitam eternam silientis; non aquam quam qui biberit non siciet iterum,[3] sed aquam Lethis, cuius non meminit bibitor, que guttur infatuat, que sitire dat iterum, que furtim ad animam ingreditur, que cum ea congreditur et in limum impellit intrare profundum.

[a] nullus *Winterbottom;* nullius *MS* [b] Belus *James;* Belis *MS*

[1] Tityus, the daughters of Belus, and Cerberus were treated in the lost cc. 6–8 of Dist. i.
[2] Cf. Psalm 1: 1.
[3] Cf. John 4: 13, 14.

on the right hand they are in hope, when on the left they are in fear. And though on every side of the wheel there is room for fear, there is in it no place which is devoid of hope; and as it is shared by hope, fear, joy and grief, it is hope alone that makes and keeps together its occupants. It is all terrible, all in fight against conscience, but none the less for that is it sought after.

Tityus[1] lusted after Juno at the first sight, and eagerly following his unlawful desire, did not bridle the heat of his foolish liver, wherefore he is rightly punished in that same liver, which grows again to its own loss: it feeds the greedy appetite of the vultures, and though it does not fail, it is condemned not to sate them. Am not I, and perhaps some other too, a Tityus at the Court; upon whose covetous heart vultures, that is, black passions, are set, which tear it because it has not striven, has not withstood a wrong desire? But I am not the Tityus who did not hide from Juno the anxieties of his lustful mind. His thoughts, his words, his acts, are clean contrary to the good man who hath not walked nor stood nor sat.[2]

The daughters of Belus strive there with sieves to fill vessels with holes in them, without bottom, which let through all liquid, and lose the draughts continually drawn from the Lethaean spring. Belus is interpreted to mean manly or virtuous: this is our Father, even God. We are not his sons, for we are not virtuous, nor staunch, but rather his daughters, for, effeminate to weakness, we labour to fill, with a sieve that parts the grain from the chaff—that is, with discretion —the pierced vessels, that is, our insatiable spirits, the bottom of which ambition has made unsound, which absorb like Charybdis what is poured into them, and without the appearance of being full, ever let go the useless draughts. This sieve does not strain off the troubled liquor from the clear, the thick from the bright, though it was created for that end; nor does it hold the water of a fountain springing up unto life eternal, not the water which whosoever drinketh shall not thirst again,[3] but the water of Lethe, which the drinker remembers not, which bewitches the throat, which makes one thirst again, which stealthily enters the very soul, mingles with it and forces it to go into the mud of the abyss.

Cerberus ibi canis triceps ianitor. Iste quos in omni silencio mitis inducit, exire uolentes trina uoce terribilis arguit. Ianitor ille Ditis aulam auido ditat ingressu, recessu non uacuat; retinet, non effundit. Habet eciam Dis huius curie quos tradit reos carceri, qui quasi compacientes eis simulate conducunt[a] in foueam, cum autem ex benignitate principis exire licet, trinis oblatrant auidissimis terroribus, peticione ⟨et⟩[b] cupiditate cibi potus et uestis, nudosque pro[c] direpcione omnium que non habent promittere cogunt; uere quidem Cerberi, quia carnes compeditorum uorantes, et recte canes, qui norunt ex afflictis hiatus implere triplices. Hi famem paciuntur ut canes,[1] non discernunt cuius cibos rapiant, nec inter carnes et cadauera, recencia a situ, fetorem ab odore separant, quid liceat necligentes.

In fuliginoso Ditis obscuri palacio Minos, Radamantus et Eacus sortem mittunt in urnam, iudicesque presunt censura miseris.[2] Mala statim pensant, bona differunt aut uana faciunt. Si sors seua ceciderit, animaduertunt seuius; si mitis, obtrectant, peruertunt ut uirtus in culpam exeat; si fuerit ambigua, deteriorem interpretantur in partem. Laudem uero iusticie meruerunt ab iniquo domino, quia de malis meritis non remittunt quippiam. Dicitur tamen quod si respiciuntur a transeuntibus, rigor eorum uelut incantacio⟨ne⟩ perit; si non, culpis inherent, et malefacta trutinant, et mactant, et perdunt; bona preterlabi compellunt, Ditisque placant tyrannidem offensa Dei. Excusabiles tamen aliquatenus sunt isti iudices, qui diri principis imitantur argucias. Habemus et nos censores sub serenissimo iudice, quorum iusticiam domini sui iusticia remordet, quia iurati coram ipso quod equitate seruata censebunt, ut predicti tres Plutonis arguti iudices, si respexerit eos reus, iustus est; si non respexerit iustus, reus est. Hoc autem 'respicere' glosatur more domini pape, qui dicit: 'Nec in

[a] simulate conducunt *James;* simulata conducit *MS* [b] et *Winterbottom; om. MS* [c] *Perhaps* pre *James*

[1] Cf. Psalm 58: 7 (59: 6).
[2] Cf. i. 9 (and 10), the opening of which is lost.

Cerberus, the three-headed dog, is the porter there. He is tame to let men come in, in complete quiet, but when they would go out, attacks them in all his terrors, with his threefold voice. That porter enriches the hall of Dis with eager entries, and empties it not by withdrawals; he keeps, he does not spend. The Dis of this court, too, has criminals whom he delivers to prison, and those who in feigned sympathy with them escort them into the pit; but when by the goodness of the prince they are free to go out, these bark against them with the three ravening alarms of demand and greed for food, drink, and raiment, and compel men stripped bare and despoiled of their all to make promises of what they do not have: true Cerberi, for they devour the flesh of them that are in fetters, and very dogs, knowing how to fill their triple throats from them that are in trouble. These suffer hunger like dogs,[1] and care not whose food they snatch, nor distinguish between meat and carrion, not parting fresh from stale, nor stench from odour, and taking no thought of what is lawful.

In the sooty palace of dark Dis, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus cast lots into an urn, and are set as judges and a tribunal over the wretched souls.[2] Evil deeds they weigh at once. Good deeds they defer or annul. If a harsh lot comes out, they punish the more harshly; if a mild one, they object and pervert it, that virtue may end in blame; if doubtful, they interpret it on the worser side. But they have earned praise for justice from their unjust lord, because they never remit aught of deserved harm. Yet it is said that if they be looked upon by those who pass by, their rigour fails as if under a spell; if not, they insist upon the crimes, they weigh evil deeds, and slaughter and destroy; good deeds they compel to slip by, and by offending God they appease the tyranny of Dis. Yet in some sort these judges are excusable, for they do but imitate the guile of their terrible prince. We too have censors under a most noble judge, and the justice of their lord reprehends their injustice, for though they are sworn before him to preserve fairness in trying men, yet as in the case of those three clever judges of Pluto, if the guilty one look upon them he is righteous; if the righteous look not upon them, he is guilty. And this word 'look upon' is to be glossed in the manner of the lord pope, who says: 'Neither in

persona propria neque per nuncium uisitauit nos neque respexit', id est, non dedit.[1]

Hi sortes in urnam mittere uidentur, id est, causarum casus in inuolucrum, obuoluentes calumpniis ydiotas, districto culpas examine censentes, quarum nulla ueniam consequitur, nisi pro qua mater ore rugato loquitur bursa. Hec est illa cuntorum hera, que culpas ignoscit, iustificat impium, et non uult mortem peccatorum, nec sine causa eicit uenientem ad se,

stabilisque manens dat cunta moueri.[2]

Locus tamen unicus est scaccarium in quo non est miraculosa,[a] nam semper iusti regis oculus ibi uidetur esse recens. Vnde cum ego semel ibi iudicium audissem compendiosum et iustum contra diuitem pro paupere, dixi domino Randulfo summo iudici:[3] 'Cum iusticia pauperis multis posset diuerticulis prorogari, felici cel⟨er⟩ique[b] iudicio consecutus es eam.' Tum Randulfus: 'Certe nos hic longe uelocius causas decidimus, quam in ecclesiis episcopi uestri.' Tum ego: 'Verum est; sed si rex noster tam remotus esset a uobis, quam ab episcopis est papa, uos eque lentos crederem.' Ipse uero risit, et non negauit. Non illos dico bursarios quos elegit rex ut sint omnium summi, sed illos quos in rostra propria cupiditas et procuracio perduxit, nec mirum si, quos Simon in regimen prouexit, Simoni supputant. Mos est negociatorum, ut quod emunt, uendant.

Probacio fortis et argumentum iusticie regis nostri est, quod quicunque iustam habet causam coram ipso cupit
f. 72v experiri; quicunque prauam, non uenit / ad ipsum nisi tractus. Regem Henricum secundum dico, quem sibi iudicem elegit Hispania ueteris et crudelis controuersie que uertebatur inter reges Toletanorum et Nauarre,[4] cum ab antiquo

[a] *Perhaps* maculosa *James* [b] celerique *James;* celique *MS*

[1] Map seems to refer to the papal claim that all bishops had to visit the papal Curia ('ad limina apostolorum') every year or, if they lived at a distance, visit it by letter—which, Map implies, was preserved as a means of extracting gifts from them. This, no doubt, was a part of the truth. (On the *visitatio ad limina*, see Gratian, *Decretum*, D. 93, c. 4; cf. JS, *Letters*, i. 17, 42, 191.)

[2] Boethius, *Consol. philosoph.*, iii, met. 9. 3; the first part of the sentence has slight echoes of Proverbs 17: 15, Ezekiel 33: 11, and John 6: 37—but is clearly

his own person, nor by a messenger, hath he visited us nor looked upon us'—that is, 'hath not given.'[1]

These, it seems, cast lots into an urn—that is, they conceal cases of causes in a wrapper, smothering the simple with charges, submitting accusations to a strict scrutiny; of which accusations none obtains pardon save that for which Mother Purse pleads with her wrinkled mouth. She is that lady of all, who pardons crimes, justifies the wicked and wills not the death of sinners, nor without cause casts out him that cometh to her and,

abiding stable, she causes movement in all.[2]

Yet is there one place, the exchequer, in which she can do no miracles, for the glance of the just king seems ever to be fresh there. And thus it happened once that after I had heard a concise and just judgement given against a rich man in favour of a poor one, I said to Lord Ranulf, the chief justiciar:[3] 'Although the poor man's judgement might have been put off by many quirks, you arrived at it by a happy and quick decision.' 'Certainly,' said Ranulf, 'we decide causes here much quicker than your bishops do in their churches.' 'True,' said I, 'but if your king were as far off from you as the pope is from the bishops, I think you would be quite as slow as they.' He laughed, and did not say no. I do not say that those whom the king has chosen to be the chiefs of all are pursemen, but those whom covetousness and procurations have led to their own *rostra*; nor is it surprising that those whom Simon has promoted to rule, swear by Simon. It is the wont of merchants to sell what they buy.

A strong proof and argument of the justice of our king is, that whoever has a good case is anxious to try it before him; whoever has a bad one will not come to him unless he is dragged. I speak of King Henry II, whom Spain chose to be the arbiter of an old and fierce dispute that was waged between the kings of Toledo and of Navarre,[4] whereas it was

based on a prayer 'Deus qui iustificas impium . . .': see Ogle pp. 201–2, 211.

[3] See above, p. 12 and n. 5.

[4] Henry II arbitrated in the dispute between the kings of Castile and Navarre in March 1177 (*Gesta Henrici II*, i. 144–54; Giraldus, *Opera*, v. 376–7; viii. 159, 218; cf. Warren, p. 143).

mos fuerit omnium regnorum eligere curiam Francie preferreque ceteris; nunc autem merito nostri regis nostra prelata fuit omnibus, et causa uetusta uenuste decisa. Et cum ipse fere solus in hac ualle miserie iusticie sit minister acceptus, sub alis eius uenditur et emitur. Ipsi tamen fit a ministris iniquis reuerencia maior quam Deo, quia quod ei non possunt abscondere recte facient inuiti;[a] quod autem Deo manifestum sciunt peruertere non uerentur; Deus enim serus est ultor, hic uelox. Non in omnes loquor iudices, sed in maiorem et in insaniorem partem.

Audistis infernum et parabolas; obuoluciones autem ignium, nebulas et fetorem, anguium ⟨et⟩ uiperarum sibila, gemitus et lacrimas, feditatem et horrorem per singula si secundum allegoriam aperire fas est, non deerit quid dicatur. Sed parcendum est curie; sunt eciam longioris spacii quam michi uacare uideam; sed a predictis inferri potest quod curia locus est penalis; infernum eam non dico, sed fere tantam habet ad ipsum similitudinem quantam equi ferrum ad eque.

Rex autem huius, si bene nouit eam, non est a calumpnia liber, quia qui rector est tenetur esse corrector. Sed forte qui cum ipso presunt nolunt eam accusare, ne fiat ab ipso purior, quoniam in aqua turbida piscantur uberius, et ipsi nesciunt quod sub eis fit, nec ipse rex quod ipsi faciunt. 'Qui potestatem habent' ait Dominus, 'benefici uocantur',[1] ab adulatoribus intellige. Certe qui potestatem habent hic rectius uenefici uocantur, quoniam et inferiores opprimunt et superiores fallunt, ut hinc inde faciant quocunque modo rem.[2] Omnes autem turpitudines ab ipso celant rege, ne corrigantur et minus prosint, et ipsi corripiantur, ne subditis obsint. Hic autem rex in curia sua marito similis est qui nouit ultimus errorem uxoris. Ad ludendum in auibus et canibus eum foras fraudulenter eiciunt, ne uideat quod ab eis interim intro fit. Dum ipsum ludere faciunt, ipsi

[a] inuiti *James;* inuitati *MS*

[1] Luke 22: 25.

[2] Cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 1. 66.

from old time the custom of all realms to choose the court of France and prefer it to all others; but now our court, that of our king, has been deservedly preferred to all, and the old cause was neatly decided. And yet, though he is wellnigh alone in this vale of misery in being an acceptable minister of justice, buying and selling goes on under his wings. But unjust officers pay more respect to him than to God, for what they cannot hide from him they will do rightly against their will, but what they know to be manifest to God, they do not fear to pervert; for God is a late avenger, the king a swift one. I am not speaking against all the judges but against the larger and insaner part of them.

You have heard of hell and of its allegories, but the rolling flames, the clouds and stench, the hissings of serpents and vipers, the groans and tears, the filth and horror—were it permitted to expound each of these in allegory, matter would not be wanting. However, one must spare the court; for these things demand more space than I see is open to me. Still, from what has been said it may be inferred that the court is a place of punishment. I do not call it hell, but it is almost as much like hell as a horse's shoe is like a mare's.

Yet the king of this court, if he knows it well, is not free of blame, for he who is a rector is under obligation to be a corrector. But perhaps they who are set over it with him will not accuse it lest it should be made purer by him, because in muddy water they fish with more profit, and they themselves do not know what goes on under them, nor does the king himself know what they do. 'They that have power,' saith the Lord, 'are called benefactors'[1]—by their flatterers, be it understood. Certainly they that have power here are more properly called venefactors (poisoners), since they oppress their inferiors and deceive their superiors that from each side they may make gain anyway.[2] But all their villainies they hide from the king in order not to be corrected and make less profit, and not to be pulled up themselves and prevented from harming those below them. The king in his court is like a husband who is the last to learn of the unfaithfulness of his wife. They craftily urge him out of doors to sport with hounds and hawks, that he may not see what they are doing meanwhile indoors. While they make him play, they

seriis intendunt, rostris insidunt, et ad unum finem iudicant equitates et iniusticias. Cum autem rex a uenatu uel aucupio redit, predas suas eis ostendit et partitur; ipsi suas ei non reuelant. Sed ex his unde laudant strenuitatem eius in aperto, condempnant eum in occulto. Nunquid mirum est, si fallitur qui familiaribus habundat inimicis? Flaccus ait

> Exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt,
> et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus.[1]

Hic dat intelligere, quod quo domus maior est, hoc magis periculi personarum et rerum in ea uersatur. Hinc in predicta tam numerosa familia multus est tumultus et error super numerum, quod Ille solus cum tempus acceperit sedabit, qui sedet super tronum et iudicabit iusticiam.[2]

Explicit distinccio quinta libri Magistri Gauteri Mahap de nugis curialium

[1] Horace, *Epist.* i. 6. 45–6.

[2] Cf. Psalm 9: 5(4).

concentrate on serious matters, they seat themselves on the bench and decide just and unjust causes, all to the same end. When the king returns from hunting or hawking he shows them his bag and shares it with them, but they do not show theirs to him. For the very energy which makes them praise him openly, they condemn him in private. Is it surprising if he is deceived, who is so rich in enemies of his own household? Says Flaccus:

> Poor is the house where there are not many things which the master knows not of, and by which thieves benefit.[1]

He gives us to understand that the larger the house, the more risk to persons and to substance is rife in it. And so in that large household of which I speak there is great confusion, and error above measure, which he only, when he sees occasion, will bring to calm, who sitteth upon the throne and will judge the right.[2]

End of the Fifth Distinction of the Trifles of the Court

APPENDIX 'EX DICTIS W. MAP'

From Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll. MS 32, f. 94^{v}, ed. James (1914), pp. 261–2. These are nos xxv–xxvi of a collection of stories written in a 13th-century hand.

xxv. Ex dictis W. Map. Cerua fugiens a facie uenatorum, diuertit in curiam cuiusdam diuitis, stetitque ad presepe inter boues. Cui unus bos ait, 'Veniet bubulcus et cum uiderit te occidet te.' Respondit cerua, 'Non timeo bubulcum, cecus enim est.' Venit bubulcus, bobus apposuit cibos, et ceruam non uidens pertransiit. Iterum dixit bos ad ceruam, 'Veniet prepositus et occidet te.' At illa, 'Non timeo prepositum, uidet quidem paululum, sed subobscure.' Venit prepositus clamans ad bubulcum, 'Quomodo sunt boues?' Ait, 'Optime.' Ingressus et excutiens cibos eorum et quasi hortatus ut comedant, recessit. Tertio dixit bos ad ceruam, 'Veniet dominus noster et cum uiderit te occidet.' Dixit cerua, 'Absit! absit! nunquam huc ueniat dominus domus! nihil enim fallere potest oculos illius.' Vespere igitur facto dixit dominus seruo, 'Accende lucernam, uadam uidere boues meos.' Introgressus igitur per ordinem singulos boues adiit, cibos excussit, manum per spinam dorsi quasi applaudendo et fouendo duxit, proprio nomine ut comederent monuit. Ad extremum ueniens ubi cerua stetit in angulo ait, 'Quid hic facis,
f. 95 o cerua, / inter boues meos? rea es mortis'; et statim data sententia occidit eam. Hinc liquido apparet quod dominus domus ceteris uidet limpidius.

xxvi. Quidam clericus regis Henrici diues redditibus sed auarus ait Waltero Map cum ioco, 'Magister W(altere), bene portas etatem.' Respondit ille, 'Quid est hoc?' et ille, 'Bene portare etatem est habere multos annos et non apparere senem.' Respondit ei W. Map, 'Hoc modo tu portas redditus. Multos enim habes et parum expendis.'

xxv. From the sayings of W. Map. A deer flying from the sight of the hunters, turned into a rich man's farmyard, and came to a halt in the stall among the oxen. One ox said to

him: 'The ploughman will come, and when he sees you he will kill you.' The deer replied: 'I am not afraid of the ploughman, for he is blind'. The ploughman came, set food before the oxen, did not see the deer, and passed on. Again the ox said to the deer: 'The reeve will come and he will kill you.' But she answered: 'I do not fear the reeve: he does see a little, but somewhat dimly.' The reeve came, calling to the ploughman: 'How are the oxen?' He replied: 'Excellent.' The reeve came in, shook up their fodder, and as it were encouraged them to eat, and went away. A third time the ox addressed the deer: 'Our lord will come, and when he sees you he will kill you.' Said the deer: 'No, no! I pray the lord of the house never comes here; for nothing can escape his eyes.' When evening had come the lord said to his servant, 'Light the lamp, and I will go to look at my oxen.' And so he came in and approached each of the oxen in turn, shook up their fodder, running his hand along the backbone of each, approvingly and fondly, instructing each by name to eat. At the very end he came to the place where the deer stood in a corner, and said: 'What are you doing here among my oxen, you deer? You are under penalty of death'; and as soon as he had pronounced sentence he killed her. From this it manifestly appears that the lord of the house sees more clearly than the others.

xxvi. A clerk of King Henry, rich in revenues but miserly, said to Walter Map in jest: 'Master W(alter), you wear your age well.' He replied 'What do you mean?'; to which the former said: 'To wear your age well is to be old and not to seem it.' W(alter) Map replied: 'In the same manner you carry your revenues. For you have much and spend little.'

M. R. James also noted, 'in the last cover' of Hereford Cathedral MS. 0.3.8, in a column of verses: 'Sigillum Walteri Map. Munera si uitas transcendes archileuitas.' ('The "seal" of Walter Map: if you avoid bribes you will surpass the archdeacons'). The book contains a 13th-century MS of the works of St. John Chrysostom in Latin (*Collectanea Franciscana*, i, ed. A. G. Little, M. R. James, and H. M. Bannister, British Soc. of Franciscan Studies, v, Aberdeen, 1914, p. 120; cf. James (1914), p. xxxviii).

For other surviving fragments of his verse, see above, pp. xxiii n. 2, xxxi n. 3.

CONCORDANCE

In this concordance the page in the present edition is that on which the first word of the page in Wright (1850) and James (1914) will be found.

Wright (1850)	James (1914)	This Edn.	Wright (1850)	James (1914)	This Edn.
1, 2	1	2	41, 42	39	78
3, 4	2, 3	4	43	40	80
5	4	6	44, 45	41	84
6	5	8		42	86
7, 8	6	10	46	43	88
9	7	12	47	44	90
10	8	14	48	45	92
11	9	16	49	46	94
	10	18	50	47	96
12	11	20	51	48	98
13	12	22	52	49	100
14	13	24	53	50	102
15	14	26	54		104
16	15	28	55	51	106
17	16	30	56	52	108
18	17	32	57	53	110
19	18	34	58	54	112
20	19	36	59	55	114
21	20	38	60	56	116
22	21	40	61	57	118
23	22	42	62	58	120
24	23	44	63	59	122
25	24	46	64	60	124
26	25	48	65	61	126
27, 28	26	50	66	62	128
29	27	52	67	63	130
30		54	68, 69	64, 65	132
	28	56	70	66[1]	134[1]
31	29	58	71		136
32	30	60	72	67, 68	138
33	31	62	73	69	140
34	32	64	74	70	142
35	33	66	75	71	144
36	34	68	76	72	146
37	35	70	77	73	148
38	36	72	78	74	150
39, 40	37	74	79	75	152
	38	76	80		154

[1] p. 134 below ends 'archiepiscopus'; 'archiepisco-' ends James, p. 65; '-pus' opens p. 66.

Wright	James	This Edn.	Wright	James	This Edn.
81	76	156	130	130	260
82	77	158	131	131	262
83	78	160	132	132	264
84	79	162	133	133	266
85	80	164	134	134	268
86	81, 82	166	135	135	270
87	83	168	136	136	272
88	84	170	137	137	274
89	85	172	138, 139	138, 139	278
90	86	174	140, 141	140	282
91, 92	87	176		141	284
	88	178	142	142	286
93	89	180	143	143, 144	288
94	90	182	144	145	290
95	91	184	145	146	292
96	92	186		147	294
97	93	188	146	148, 149	296
98	94	190	147	150	298
99	95	192	148	151	300
100	96	194	149	152	302
101	97	196	150	153, 154	304
102	98	198	151	155	306
103	99	200	152	156	308
104	100	202		157, 158	310
105	101	204	153	159	312
106	102	206	154	160	314
	103	208	155	161	316
107, 108	104	210	156	162	318
109	105, 106	212	157	163	320
110	107	214	158		322
	108	216	159	164	324
111	109	218	160	165	326
112	110	220	161	166	328
113	111	222	162	167	330
114	112	224	163	168	332
115	113	226	164	169	334
116	114	228		170	336
117	115	230	165	171	338
118	116	232	166	172	340
119	117	234	167	173	342
120	118	236	168	174	344
121	119	238	169	175	346
122	120	240	170	176	348
	121	242	171	177	350
123	122	244	172	178	352
124	123	246	173	179	354
125	124	248	174	180	356
126	125	250		181	358
127	126	252	175	182	360
128	127	254	176	183	362
129	128	256	177		364
	129	258	178	184	366

Wright	James	This Edn.	Wright	James	This Edn.
179	185	368	214	223, 224	446
180	186	370	215	225	448
181	187	372	216		450
182	188	374	217	226	452
183	189	376	218	227	454
184	190	378		228	456
185	191	380	219	229	458
186	192	382	220	230	460
	193	384	221	231	462
187	194	386	222	232	464
188	195	388	223	233	466
189	196	390	224	234	468
190	197	392	225	235	470
191	198	394	226	236	472
192	199	396		237	474
193	200, 201	398	227	238	476
194		400	228	239	478
	202	402	229	240	480
195, 196	203, 204	404	230	241	482
197	205	406	231		484
198	206	408	232	242	486
	207	410	233	243	488
199		412		244	490
200	208	414	234	245	492
201	209	416	235	246	494
202	210	418	236	247	496
203	211	420	237	248	498
204	212	422	238	249	500
205	213	424	239	250	502
	214	426	240	251	504
206	215	428	241	252	506
207	216	430	242	253	508
208	217	432	243	254	510
209	218	434		255	512
210	219	436		256, 257	lvi (Contents)
	220	438			
211	221	440		258	lviii
212	222	442		259	lx
213		444		261, 262	515 (Appendix)

INDEX OF QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

This index includes parallels with contemporary literature, e.g. with Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales), many of which cannot be sources for Map, but represent the stock of common stories etc. on which he and his colleagues drew. Echoes repeated in pp. 498–513 from pp. 2–25 are included here, though not noted on pp. 498 ff.: see pp. xxix, 498–9 n.

A. BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS

Genesis
1: 6 — 24–5
1: 21 — 166–7
3: 6 — 120–1
4 — 128–9
15: 16 — 42–3
19 — 128–9
37 — 128–9
37: 33 — 288–9

Exodus
2: 12 — 106–7
7 ff. — 128–9
11: 4–8 — 336–7
12: 36 — 86 ff.
32 — 128–9

Leviticus
19: 14 — 330–1

Numbers
16 — 128–9
22: esp. 27–33 — 34–5

Deuteronomy
14: 6 — 296–7
32: 13 — 308–9
32: 15 — 52–3, 324–5

1 Kings (1 Samuel)
3–4, esp. 3: 13 — 110–11
16: 4 — 170–1
17: 45–7 — 62–3
25 — 128–9
30: 24 — 110–11

2 Kings (2 Samuel)
1: 18, 25 — 476–7
11 — 292–3
12: 10 — 442–3
15 ff. — 128–9, 280–1
24: esp. 15–16 — 44–5

3 Kings (1 Kings)
11 — 292–3
12: 10 — 66–7
15: 14 — 10–11
16: 9 ff. — 128–9
18: 44–5 — 188–9
19: 11–12 — 62–3, 70–1
19: 18 — 292–3

4 Kings (2 Kings)
4: 34 — 80–1
9: 31 — 128–9
19: 16 — 292–3

Tobias (Tobit)
2: 13, 21 — 110–11

Judith
10: 17 — 264–5

Job
14: 2 — 2–3
17: 13 — 318–19
26: 5 — 24–5
38: 16 — 368–9

Psalms
1: 1 — 504–5
1: 4 — 46–7, 262–3, 286–7
2: 2 — 70–1
5: 5 (4) — 90–1
6: 2 — 132–3
8: 6 (5) — 282–3
9: 5 (4) — 512–13
9: 26 (10: 5) — 328–9

Psalms (*cont.*)
12: 4 (13: 3) 322–3
16 (17): 8 452–3
21: 28 (22: 27) 62–3
23 (24): 1 90–1
24 (25): 1 140–1
25 (26): 10 96–7
28 (29): 3, 10 24–5
35: 5 (36: 4) 428–9
36 (37): 25 96–7
37: 2 (38: 1) 132–3
40: 2 (41: 1) 90–3
44: 3 (45: 2) 280–1, 468–9
44: 8 (45: 7) 430–1
44: 9 (45: 8) 100–1
50: 19 (51: 17) 98–9
53: 9 (54: 7) 280–1
57 (58): 5 298–9
58: 7 (59: 6) 506–7
62: 12 (63: 11) 126–7
68: 27-8 (69: 26-7) 110–11
72 (73): 2 46–7
76 (77): 10 52–3
77 (78): 57 22–3
77 (78): 65 334–5, 442–3
80: 8 (81: 7) 102–3
81 (82): 6 90–1
85 (86): 5 468–9
89 (90): 10 4–5
90 (91): 6 352–3, 466–7
90 (91): 11–12 102–3
94 (95): 10 104–5
95 (96): 5 90–1
100 (101): 1 132–3
100 (101): 5–7, 7 420–1
103 (104): 21 258–9
103 (104: 24 86–7
109 (110): 4 224–5
111 (112): 9 98–9
113, pt. 2 (115): 1 98–9
113, pt. 2 (115): 3 68–9
113, pt. 2 (115): 5, 6 330–1
117 (118): 8 48–9
118 (119): 62 74–5, 110–11
118 (119): 105 308–9
131 (133): 2 124–5
136 (137): 8 356–7
139: 2 (140: 1) 48–9

Proverbs
1: 17 270–1
1: 20 48–9
5: 16 124–5
6: 11 90–3
12: 7 144–5, 462–3
17: 15 508–9
23: 31, 32 288–9
25: 20 210–11, 214–15
25: 21–2 462–3
26: 13 218–19
29: 12 420–1
31: 20 114–15
31: 21 256–7

Ecclesiastes
3: 1 48–9
4: 10 114–15

Song of Solomon
1: 3–4 308–9
5: 15 308–9

Wisdom
1: 6 24–5

Isaiah
2: 4 460–1
5: 12 308–9
5: 20 4–5
10: 13 24–5
14: 12–13 318–19
40: 2 314–15
55: 3 280–1
56: 10 136–7
61: 10 308–9

Jeremiah
1: 6 24–5
1: 10 96–7
29: 14 66–7

Lamentations
1: 1 88–91
1: 4 42–3
3: 2 126–7
3: 12 96–7
4:1 468–9

Ezekiel
1: 12 288–9
11: 19 8–9
33: 11 508–9
36: 26 502–3

Daniel
3 24–5

7: 9 284–5
13 32–3
13: 22 318–19
13: 54 226–7

Habakkuk
3: 8 502–3

1 Maccabees
3: 19 198–9

Matthew
2: 18 106–7
3: 15 48–9
6: 3–4 482–3
6: 5, 12 88–9
6: 16 130–1
6: 24 18–19, 90–3
6: 34 22–3, 86–7
7: 6 124–5
7: 12 86–7
7: 14 310–11
7: 15 88–9
7: 16 98–9
8: 8 90–1
8: 20 384–5
8: 24 132–3
9: 11 98–9
10: 27 112–13
10: 37–8 148–9
10: 37 ff. 90–3
13: 30 276–7
14: 6 ff. 224–5
15: 27 140–1
18: 7 292–3
18: 22 338–9
18: 32 330–1
20: 3 394–5
20: 28 68–9
22: 15 116–17
22: 21 12–13, 132–3
26: 52–3 60–1
26: 72 18–19
26: 75 480–1

Mark
5: 40 80–1
6: 20 82–3
9: 44 138–9
16: 14 136–7

Luke
1: 32 468–9
1: 48 88–9
3: 11 90–3
5: 32 98–9
6: 30 114–15, 140–1, 450–1
6: 31 76–7, 86–7
6: 35 90–1
7: 15 48–9
8: 55 48–9
9: 58 384–5
10: 7 146–7
10: 38 ff. 48–9
10: 41 48–9
11: 11, 12 340–1
11: 35 294–5
14: 18 18–19
14: 19, 20 374–7
14: 21, 23 20–1
15: 7 98–9
15: 20–4 340–1
15: 21 90–1
16: 8 14–15
16: 23 88–91
18: 11–13 88–9
21: 34 90–3
22: 25 510–11
22: 34 396–7
22: 62 480–1
23: 53 108–9

John
1: 47 88–9
3: 5 66–7
3: 19 12–13
3: 30 70–1
4: 11 124–5
4: 13, 14 504–5
4: 20 10–11
6: 37 98–9, 508–9
6: 61 118–19, 310–11
6: 67 118–19
11 48–9
11: 43 80–1
14: 31 374–7
15: 5 110–11, 276–7
19: 37 144–5
21: 18 484–5
21: 24 494–5

Acts
2: 24 126–7
2: 44 96–7
10: 35 146–7
12: 10 107 n., 108–9

Acts (*cont.*)
13: 22 292–3

Romans
8: 28 210–11
9: 21 112–13
10: 2 140–1, 146–7
13: 10 88–9
14: 12 48–9

1 Corinthians
4: 12 76–7
6: 15 326–7
9: 22 86–7, 420–1
9: 24 212–13
13: 4 ff. 88–91

2 Corinthians
11: 14 332–3
12: 2 2–3

Ephesians
4: 26 258–9
5: 1 496–7

Philippians
1: 23 88–9
2: 21 82–3

1 Thessalonians
5: 15 76–7

2 Thessalonians
2: 8 144–5

1 Timothy
6: 10 168–9

2 Timothy
4: 2 342–3

Hebrews
4: 12 294–5
11: 38 90–1
12: 6 458–9
13: 14 16–17, 24–5, 46–7

1 Peter
4: 9 98–9

1 John
1: 1 320–1
3: 17 88–91
4: 18 128–9, 130–1
4: 20 88–9

Revelation
22: 11 262–3

B. CITATIONS AND PARALLELS FROM CLASSICAL, PATRISTIC AND MEDIEVAL SOURCES

See p. 521. For full references, see notes to the passages.

Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 350–1
Auctor ad Herenn. iii. 3, 4 106–7
Augustine, *Confessions*, xi. 25 2–3, 498–9
— *De civitate Dei* xviii. 3 298–9
—, Pseudo-, *Sermo* 194 302–3
Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, i. 6 302–3
— i. 8 304–5
— xiii. 2 302–3
Ausonius, ed. R. Peiper, p. 406 288 ff. (see 289 n.)
Bernard, St. (of Clairvaux), *Epistola* 189 78–9
Boethius, *Consol. Philosoph.* ii, pr. 1 2–3
— iii, met. 9, 3 508–9
—, *see also* Porphyry
Cato, Pseudo-, *Disticha* i. 34 460–1
Cicero, *De oratore*, ii. 69 302–3
— *De senectute*, c. 47 300–1
— *In Catilinam*, ii. 2, 4 298–9
— *Pro Archia*, 24 404–5
Claudian, *In Eutrop.* i. 181, 183–4 14–15
—, *In Rufinum* 286–7
— i, Praef., 15 280–1
Clement, Pseudo-, *Recog.* ii. 22 308–9
Eusebius, *Vers. Rufin.* iii. 5, 6 (citing Josephus) 42–3
folklore, *see* Stith Thompson
Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Reg. Brittanie*, v. 6 170–1; cf. xl–xli
— vii. 3 (Proph. Merlini) 282–3
— x. 9 176–7
Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, i. 15 344–5
— ii. 12 364 n., 368 n.
— iii. 57 344–5

Gesta Romanorum, c. 103 206–7
—, c. 283 246–7
Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales), *Opera*, ii. 34 350–1
— ii. 172–3, 185 304–5
— ii. 226–8 270–1
— iv. esp. 111 ff. etc. 72 ff.
— iv. 184–6 114–15
— iv. 204 86–7
— iv. 205 68–9
— iv. 219 ff. 106–7
— iv. 225 ff. 104–5
— iv. 227 92–3
— iv. 254–60 52–3
— iv. 404–5 154–5
— vi. 59 322–3
— vi. 182 100–1, 182–3
— vi. 182–4 184–5
— vi. 184 200–1
— viii. 135–6 462–3
— viii. 317–18 450–1
— viii. 322–6 465 n.
Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, vii. 2 48–9
Hildebert of Le Mans, *PL* 171. 1279 48–9
Horace, *Ars poet.* 4 8–9
— 78 54–5
— 357 286–7
— 465 290–1
— 476 312–13
— *Carmina*, ii. 16. 1–8 306–7
— ii. 16. 27 f. 272–3
— ii. 17. 14 2–3
— *Epistolae*, i. 1. 66 52–3, 92–3, 510–11
— i. 2. 23 290–1
— i. 2. 42 296–7
— i. 6. 27 422–3
— i. 6. 45–6 512–13
— i. 7. 8 310–11
— *Sat.* i. 1. 68–9 8–9
— ii. 3. 246 112–13
— ii. 4. 1 394–5
— ii. 6. 49 164–5
Jerome, *Adu. Iouinianum* 288 ff.
— i. 42 306–7
— i. 47 310–11
— i. 48 300–3
— *Epistola* 14 70–1
— *Vita S. Pauli*, c. 17 162–5
John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ii. 5 42–3
— vi. 6 168–9
— vi. 23 304–5
Josephus, *see* Eusebius
Julius Valerius, *Res gest. Alexandri*, i. 47 404–5
Juvenal, *Saturae*, i. 6 312–13
— i. 80 112–13, 286–7
— iii. 78 206–7
— vi. 280–1 108–9
— vi. 460 48–9
— viii. 191–2 286–7
— x. 168 298–9
— xiv. 139 392–3
Liturgy: blessing of Paschal candle 86 ff.
— hymn for Prime, *Iam lucis* 74–5
— prayers 4–5
Lotharius, *De contemptu mundi*, iii.15 330–1
Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ii. 657 256–7
— iii. 402–3 320–1
— iv. 670 406–7
— v. 238 244–5, 418–19
Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, i. 19 280–1
Macrobius, *Comm. in somn. Scipionis*, i. 10. 9–12 500–1
Martial, *Epigramm.* i. Praef. 286–7
— i. 3–8 312–13
— i. 61. 3. 9 300–1
— iv. 81. 5 306–7
— v. 5. 6 286–7
— v. 10. 7–8 312–15
— v. 28 286–7
Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 308–9
— ii. 132 220–1
Matthew of Vendôme, *Comoedia Lydiae* 294–5
Merlin, *see* Geoffrey of Monmouth
Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8. 62 12–13, 402–3
— *Ars Amat.* i. 533–4 346–7
— ii. 13 492–3
— ii. 280 96–7
— *Fasti* ii. 757 346–7
— *Heroides*, i. 53 92–3
— iv. 133 428–9
— *Ibis*, 79–80 156–7
— *Metamorphoses* 288 ff.
— i. 175 220–1
— i. 192–5 320–1
— ii 292–3
— ii. 1 ff. 28–9, 224–5
— ii. 192 126–7

Ovid (*cont.*)
— iv. 171 ff. 296–7
— iv. 190 ff. 294–5
— vi. 103 ff. 294–5
— vii. 694–862 262–3
— viii 294–5
— ix. 99 ff. 250–1, 306–7
— ix. 435 ff. 10–11
— x 294–5
— xi. 634, 647 350–1
— xiii. 1 490–1
— xiv 288–91
Persius, *Saturae*, i. 58 16–17, 326–7
Peter Comestor, *Hist. Scholastica* (*PL* 198), col. 1087 6–7
— col. 1112 298–9
— col. 1150 102–3
— col. 1157–8 334–5
— col. 1189 102–3
Peter of Blois, *Epistola* 14 8–9, 26 n., 476–7, 484 ff.
Pliny, *Nat. Historia*, vii. 16–17 248–9
— vii. 153 6–7
— xi. 17 12–13
— xxxvi. 32–3 406–7
Porphyry, *Introd. in Aristot. categorias*, trans. Boethius, i. 6–7 2–3, 86–7, 500–1
proverbs, proverbial phrases 6–7, 34–5, 70–1, 126–7, 164–5, 182–3, 196–7, 206–9, 422–3
Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.* x. 1. 98 310–11
Ralph de Diceto, i. 46 304–5
Regula S. Benedicti, c. 39 76–7
Roger of Howden 364 n.
Servius, *De centum metris* 210–11
Statius, *Thebais*, x. 897 ff. 330–1
Stith Thompson (see p. xxxviii), B652.1 148–51, 154 ff.
— D361. 1 148–51, 154 ff.
— D418 140–1
— E501. 1. 7. 1 and F377 26 ff.
— F471. 2, 2. 1 158–9
— J1551. 1, 1791 ff. 188–9
— K3. 2. 1 58–63
— K2135 246 ff.
Terence, *Adelphi*, 228 214–15
— *Eunuchus* 288–9
— 732 102–3
— *Phormio*, 587 22–3
Turpin, Pseudo-, *Historia Karoli Magni*, c. 7 204–7
Valerius Maximus 288–9
Virgil, *Aeneis*, i. 475 228–9
— ii. 49 434–5
— iv. 1 232–3
— iv. 79 278–9
— v. 294 ff. 248–9
— vi. 126 418–19
— vii. 312 142–3
— vii. 622 272–3
— ix. 176 ff. 248–9
— x. 284 22–3
— xi. 361 270–1
— xii. 754 200–1
— *Eclogae*, ii. 2 270–1
— iii. 65 74–5
— iii. 90 286–7
— iv. 63 296–7
— v. 70 84–5
— vii. 5 126–7
— viii. 10 404–5
— ix. 36 286–7, 290–1
— x. 69 70–1
— *Georgicon*, i. 166 4–5
— ii. 479–80 174–5
— ii. 534 346–7
— iii. 236 240–1
Vita Haroldi, pp. 14–15, 114 434–5

GENERAL INDEX

Persons and places named in the text are indexed in the form given in the translation, usually their modern English equivalent. Most medieval personal names are indexed under Christian names; most after 1500 under surnames. Place-names in England are identified by their traditional English shire.

Aaron, 316–17
Abbas, *see* Nassaradin
abbot, as royal justice, 14–15
Abel, 316–17
Abelard, Master Peter, 78–9, 82–3
Abraham, 90–1; Abraham's bosom, 88–9
Absalom, 280–1, 316–17
Accius, 302 n.
Acheron, 142, 500–3, *and see* Acre
Achilles, 166–7, 178–9, 376–7, 404–5
Acre, 'Acheron', 484–5; bishop of, 482–5, *and see* Hugh
Acrisius, 306–7
Adam, 292–3; as giant, 4–5
Adam of Yarmouth, royal sealer, 486–7
adamant, 6–7
Adela, countess of Blois, 474–5
Adela (or Alice), Queen, wife of Louis VII, 120–1, 452–3
Adeliza (or Alice), Henry I's queen, as widow, 492 n.
Admetus, shepherd of (Apollo), 292–3
advowsons, 72–3
Aeacus, 10–11, 506–7
Ælfgar, earl of Mercia, 186 n.
Ælfthryth, Queen, second wife of Edgar, 412–13
Aeneas, xxxv, 248 n., 404–5
Aeschylus, 312 n.
Æthelred II, the Unready, king of England, xxxvi, 412–17, 420–1
age, longevity, 4–5, 114–15; ages of man, 166–7 n.
Agnes, countess of Bar, 452 n.
Ahithofel, 128–9, 280–1, 316–17
Alan (Barbetote), duke of Brittany, 377 n.
Alan (the Great, 'Rebrit'), 'king' of the Bretons, of Brittany, count of Rennes, 376–87; his identity, 376–7 n.; his daughter, 384–7; his wife, 378–87
Alan of Lille, xxxvii
Albigensian Crusade, 119 n.
Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*, 210 n.
Alexander III, Pope, lii, 176–7, 362–5; and election of bishop of Bath, 68–9; and Geoffrey Plantagenet, 494–5; and Luke of Hungary, 142–3; and 3rd Lateran Council, 70–1, 124–7, 450–1
Alexander the Great, 190–1, 404–5
Alexandria, 62–3
Alexius I, Comnenus, Byzantine emperor, 174 n., 176–7 n.
Alexius II, 174 n., 176–7 n.; Alexius, unidentified, perhaps Alexius II, 178–9
Alexius III, xxv n.
Alfonso VI, king of Castile ('Spain'), 436–9
Alfonso VIII, king of Castile ('Spain'), 454–5
Alfred, son of Æthelred II, 412–13, 420 n., 422–3
Alice, *see* Adela, Adeliza
Alnoth, 154 n., 158–61, 350–1
Alonso I, king of Portugal, 30–5; wife of, *see* Matilda
Alps, 76–7, 82 n., 133–4, 470–1
Althaea, al. Thestias, 306–7
Alured, for Thomas, archbishop of York, 465 n., 470–1
Amiens, 464 n.
Amphion, 230–1, 304–5
Anacletus II, anti-pope, 363 n.
Ancus, 422–3
Andronicus, son of Isaac, Byzantine emperor, xxv n., 174 n., 410–11
Andronius, 'Byzantine emperor' (based on Andronicus), 174–7; and his son Andronius, 176–9

Angers (or Anjou), 498–9
Angevin empire, xxxvii
Anglo-Norman, xxii
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 430 n.; history, xxvii
Anjou, 280–1, 474–5; (or Angers), 498–9; count of, *see* Geoffrey; countess, *see* Matilda; heretics in, 120–1
Anselm, St., as abbot of Bec, 155 n.; as archbishop of Canterbury, 464–5 n., 466–71, 474 n.
Antaeus, 2–3
Antalya, Gulf of, Gouffre de Satalie, 364 n., 368–9
Antony, St., 162–5
Aphrodite, *see* Venus
Apollo, Phoebus Apollo, 224–5, 234–5, 292–3, 308–9, 358–9; and Leucothoe, 294–5; and Perictione, 306–7; and Phaethon, 292–3; wisdom of, 274–5
Apollonides, King, xxxvi, 408–11
apostles, 60–1, 86–7; and see Paul, St.; apostolic life, 126–7
apparitions, 148–51, 154–65, 344–63
Aquilo, north wind, 306–7, 310–11
Aquitaine, 280–1; heretics in, 120–1
'Arabic' source for *Parzival*, xxi
Aragon, king of, 135 n.
Arcadia, king of, *see* Lycaon
archdeacons, 112–13
Arnold of Brescia, 78–9, 80–3
Arrius, xxxix, 302–3
Artemis, 156 n.
Arthur, King, xl–xli, 481 n.
Arundel, earl of, *see* William
Ashingdon (Essex), battle of, 428 n.
Ashwell (Herts.), xvii, xviii n., 496–7
Asians, king of the, 212–13, 222–45; his queen, 212–47
ass(es), 34–5, 78–9, 126–7, 288–9
Assassins, and Old Man of, 66–7, 484–5
Asser, xl n.
Assyria, 247 n.
Athens, 354 n.
Atreus, 128–9
Atropos, 298–9
Augustine, St., 2–3, 132–3
Aulus Gellius, xxxix
Aumône, L', Cistercian abbey, 76 n.; abbot, *see* Philip, Serlo
Aust Cliff (Glos.), 146–7, 192–3
Auster, south wind, 310–11
Auxerre, 108 n.
Avernus, 418–19

Baalim, 292–3
Babel, 288–9
Babylon, daughter of, 356–7; elders of, 32–3; king and kingdom, 246–7, 256–7, *and see* Nebuchadnezzar, Ninus; Babilonia, *see* Cairo
Bacchus, 102–3, 320–1, 358–9, 428–9
Bagni d'Albano (near Padua), 301 n.
Bala, 400–1
Balaam, 34–5
Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, later archbishop of Canterbury, li, 36–7
Banham (Norfolk), xvii n.
Bar, count of, *see* Reginald II; countess, *see* Agnes
Baratus, 402–3
Barfleur, Pointe, Raz de, 474–5
Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, li, 36–7
Basil, St., 74–5, 84–5
Bath, bishop of, *see* Reginald
Bathsheba, 292–3
Bavaria, duke of, 480–1; *and see* Henry the Lion, Lothar
Bavius, 286–7
Bayeux Tapestry, 410–11 n.
Beachley (Glos.), 192–3
Beauvais, 328–9, 336–41; bishop of, 330–41
Bec, abbot of, *see* Anselm; monk of, 155 n.
Bede, xli
bee(s), 114–15, 244–5, 260–1, 308–9
Behthen, *see* Brycheiniog, Llangorse
Belus, daughters of, 10–11, 504–5
Benedict, St., and Rule of, 74–7, 84–5, 110–11
Benedictine monks, *see* Black Monks
Benedict, ancestor of Leoni, 362 n.
Benno, Cardinal, 350 n.
Berith, 332–3
Berkeley-by-Severn (Glos.), abbey, abbess and nuns of, xxxvi, 416–19
Bernard, St., abbot of Clairvaux, 76–9; letter of, 78–9; his miracles, xliii, 79–81, 137 n.; and Templars, 54 n.; his *Vita prima*, 78 n.
Bernard Silvestris, 299 n.

Bible, commentaries on, 36–7; and Waldensians, 124–5
Biblis, 394–403
Bihere, forest of, 194–5
bishops, and order of Grandmont, 112–15
Black Monks, 84–5; Chapter of, xlvi
Black Mountain, xiv, 72–3, 130–1
Blois, 458–9; count of, *see* Stephen, Theobald; countess, *see* Adela
bloodhound, 28–9
Boethius, 2–3
Boniface (for Conrad), marquis of Montferrat, 484–5
Bosham (Sussex), 420–2
Bouchard le Vautre, 446–7
Brabant, Brabançons, Brabazons, routiers, 118–19
Brand, abbot of Peterborough, 434 n.
Brand, chaplain of Cnut, 434–5
Brecknock, 146 n., *and see* Brycheiniog
Brémule, battle of, 436–7
Brescia, Augustinian abbey in, 82 n., *and see* Arnold
Britain, Lesser, *see* Brittany
Britons, king of, *see* Herla; language of, 28–31; queen of, 26–7, 30–1
Brittany, Bretons, 280–1, 344–5, 370–1; Breton history (9th–10th centuries), 376–93; and Henry I, 436–7; count of, *see* Henry I
Bruno, St., Master of the Schools at Reims, 50–1; founder of Carthusian Order, 50–1 n.
Brychan, king, 149 n., 150–5
Brycheiniog, Brecknock (cf. modern Breconshire), 146 n., 152–3; lake of, 'Behthen', Llangorse Lake, 148–51, 188–9
Buckingham, archdeacon of, *see* Robert of Burnham
Burghill (Herefs.), and Mynors Park in, xiv n.
Burgundy, 52–5, 80–1, 138–9, 280–1; heretics in, 120–1
Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk), abbey, and St. Edmund, 66 n.; annals of, 410 n.
butlers, royal, 493 n.; *and see* William, earl of Arundel
Byland (Yorks.), Cistercian abbey, 104–5, 108–9
Byzantium, Byzantine empire, 450–1; history in 12th century, xxv, xxxv, xxxvi, 174–9; emperors, *see* Alexius, Andronicus, Andronius, Isaac, Manuel; *and see* Constantinople

Cadog, St., and 'king', 148–9; *Lives* of, 148 n.
Cadolan, son of Uther, Cadwallon ab Ifor Bach, lii, 198–201
Caen, 488–9
Caerleon, xli
Caesar, C. Julius, xxxv, 298–9, 404–5; Caesar as imperial title, 12–13, 132–3
Cain, xli n., 128–9, 316–17
Cairo, Babilonia, and Sultan of, 62–7
Cam, forest of (parish of Kilburn, Yorks.), 104 n.
Camo, 390–1
Cancer, sign of Zodiac, 298–9
Canius of Gades (Cadiz), 300–1
Canterbury, archbishop, not identified, 418–21; and coronation, 470–1; *and see* Anselm, Baldwin, Richard, Robert (of Jumièges), Theobald, Thomas Becket
Capaneus, 330–1
Caradog of Llancarfan, 148 n.
Carthusians, *see* Chartreuse
castellum, etc. (*see* 266 n.), 78–9, 314–15, 330–1, 362–3, 480–1; *castrum*, etc., 262–3, 266–9, 366–7
Castile, 'Toledo', king of, 508–9; *and see* Alfonso
Cathars, *Paterini*, *Publicani*, etc., xxxvii, 118–23
Catherine, St., of Alexandria, 178 n.
Catiline, 286–7, 298 n., 442–3
Cato, 46–7, 210–11, 284–5; Pseudo-, 460–1
Cato of Utica, 302–3
Catullus, 286–7
centaur, 162–3
Cephalus, 262–3
Cerberus, 10–11, 506–7
Ceres, 102–3, 320–1, 358–9
Chaise-Dieu, La, Benedictine abbey, 76 n.
chamber, king's, 10–11; chamberlain, *see* William de Tancarville
Champagne, xx; count of, *see* Henry, Theobald

chancery, royal, 498–9; *and see* seal; *see also* Geoffrey Plantagenet, Thomas Becket
Channel, the English, xv, 132–3, 486–7
chansons de geste, 376 n., 440–1 n.
charity, 88–91, 114–15, 140–1, 196–7
Charles the Great, Charlemagne, Emperor, xxxv, xl, 74–5, 76 n., 204–5, 376 n., 404–5, 440–1 n., 450–1
Charles, *see also* Louis, son of Charles
Charon, 10–11, 502–3
Chartres, 458–9; bishop of, *see* Reginald, William (aux Blanchesmains)
Chartreuse, La Grande, and Carthusian Order, xliii; origin of and prior of, 50–3, 116–17; and William count of Nevers, 80–1
Charybdis, 368–9, 504–5
Chepstow (Monmouthshire), 193 n.
chess, 384–7
Chester, 434–5
Cheueslin or Genillyn, 198–201
Chichester, archdeacon of, *see* Jocelin
chirograph, 104–5
Choerilus, 286–7
Chrétien of Troyes, xxi, xlii
Christendom, *Christianismum*, 60–1, 452–3, 456–7, 470–1, 484–5; Christian faith, 64–5, 122–3; Christians, 64–5, 308–9, 414–15; and Cistercians, 96–7; and Easter, 144–5; and Jerusalem, 54–5, 60–1; and Jews, 90–1, 452–5
Christina, 400–1
Christopher, St., xlvi
Cicero, xxxix, 300–1
Cinyras, *see* Scylla
Circe, 250–1, 288–91
Cistercian Order, Cistercians, and Cîteaux abbey, xliii–xliv, 52–3; origin of, 72–83; satire on, xxvi, xxxi, xliii–xliv, 84–113
— Abbot of Cîteaux, 86–7, 138–9, *and see* Stephen Harding; Cistercian abbots, 78–81; in general chapter, 136–9; Cistercians and charity, 98–9; and churches etc., 110–11; clothing of, 84–5, 100–1; covetousness of, 100 ff., 472–3; lay-brothers, 86–7, 108–11, and choir monks, 50–1 n., 108–11, *and see* Peter of Tarentaise; names of abbeys, 76–7; and work, 84–7, 100–5
Clairvaux, Cistercian abbey, 76–7; abbot, *see* Bernard, St., Geoffrey of Auxerre; monk of, *see* John (of Canterbury)
Clare, house of, 464 n.
Claudian, 14–15
Clodoan, 376–87
Cluny abbey and order, 36–41, 436–9, 480–3; abbot, 340–1, 482–3, *and see* Hugh, St., Peter the Venerable; Third Church, and Henry I, xxxvi, 436–9; German prior of, 482–3; monk of, 36–41, 340–5
Cluvenius, 112–13, 286–7
Cnut king of England and Denmark, 422–37; and Edmund Ironside, 422–33; and Godwine, 413 n., 433–7; his chaplain, *see* Brand; his sister, 432–3, 436–7
Cocytus, 500–3
Coel, duke of Colchester, 170 n.
Colchester, xl, 170–5; duke of, *see* Coel
Conan the fearless, and his nephew, 196–9
confession, 344–5
Conrad, son of Henry IV, king of Germany and Italy, 478–9
Conrad ('Boniface'), marquis of Montferrat, xxvi, liii, 484–5
Conrad of Marburg, xxxvii n.
Constance, Queen, wife of Louis VII, 454–5
Constantinople, 178–9, 364–5, 410–11; emperor of, 366–7, 450–1; *and see* Byzantium; imaginary gate in, 178–9
Cornouailles, count of, *see* Riwallon
Cornwall, 192–3
court, royal, xxx, 2–25, 34–7, 372–5, 486–95, 500–13; of Henry I, 438–9, 472–3; of Louis VII, 454–5
Coventry, bishop of, *see* Gerard (la Pucelle)
Coxwold (Yorkshire), 104–5
Crépy-en-Valois, 196–7
Crescentius, 362–3
cross, the Lord's, 170–1; crosses, 204–5
Crusade, First, 470–1; Third, 484–5
Cunnanus, Roman Emperor, 168–75
Cupid, 154–7, 224–5
Curius, Curii, 284–7

Curvii, 286 n.
Cybele, 42–3
Cyclopes, 292 n.
Cymru, xl

Dacian, 94–5
Dacians, 176 n., 178–9
Damascus, 62–3
Damon and Phintias, 54–5 n.
Danae, 262–3, 306–7
Danes, Denmark, 178 n., 420 n., 424–37; king of, *see* Cnut, Swein
Danube, river, 406–7
Dathan, 128–9, 316–17
David (King and psalmist), 4–5, 44–5, 110–11, 280–1, 316–17, 456–7; and Bathsheba, 292–3; and Goliath, 62–3
David I, king of the Scots, 472 n.
Dean, Forest of (Glos.), 106 n., 146–7
Dee, river, xl
Deerhurst (Glos.), 413 n., 424–5
Deheubarth, 186–7, 190 n.; king of, 150–3
Deianira, 304–7
Delilah, 292–3
Demea, 216–17
Demosthenes, 304–5
Dengey (Essex), 420–1
Denmark, *see* Danes
'desert', and Cadog, 148–9; and Cistercians, 72–3
Devil, devils, 156–7, 204–7, 230–1, 256–7, 314–21, 362–3, 398–9, 418–19, 426–7, 430–1; as apparitions, 160–3; in art, 328 n.; of noonday, 466–7, *and see* Meridiana; and Archbishop Gerard, 470–1; and Solomon, 292–3; *incubi* and *succubi*, 158–9; *see also* Berith, Leviathan, Morpheus, Olga, Satan
Diana, 156 n., 234–5
Dictynna, 156–7
Diomedes, son of Tydeus, 178–9
Dione, 276–7; *and see* Venus
Dis, *see* Pluto
dispenser, royal, *see* Thurstan
Dissuasio Valerii, *see* Walter Map
dragon, 348–9
Drusus, 304–5
Dryads, 156–7, 320–1
Durham, bishopric of, 470–1
Dyfed, 152 n.
Eadric Salvage, the wild, and his wife, 154–9
Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Mercia, 428–9
Ealdgyth, wife of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and Harold II, 186 n.
Ealdred, archbishop of York, 465 n.
East Anglia, king of, *see* Edmund, St.
Edgar, king of England, xxxv; and his family, 412–13
Edmund, St., king of East Anglia, 66–7
Edmund Ironside, king of England, 420 n., 422–33; death of, 426–7, 430–3
Edward (the martyr), king of England, 412–13
Edward the Confessor, king of England, 192–4, 412–13 n.
Edward, son of Æthelred II, 412–13, 420 n., 422–3
Edwinus 'quatiens caput', 154 n.
Eger, bishop of, *see* Hugh, Luke
Egeria, 356 n.
Egypt, Egyptians, 85–109, 336–7, 434–5; *and see* Pharaoh
Eleanor (of Aquitaine), Queen of Henry II and Louis VII, xxiii, 451 n., 454 n., 474–92
Eli, 110–11
Elias, Elijah, 62–3, 334–5
Emir, Saracen, and Raso's wife, 262–71
Emir, the chief, 374–5
Emma, Queen, wife of Æthelred II and Cnut, 412–13, 420 n., 422–3
Empedocles, 232–3, 290–1, 314–15
Emperors, western, *see* Charles the Great, Frederick I, Henry IV and V, Otto IV; *see also* Byzantium
England, English, xiii n., 116–17, 278–9; and the rule of the giants, 192–3; in Offa's time, 166–72; and Æthelred II, 412–13; and Godwine, 414–15; and Cnut, 424–5; and Edward the Confessor, 192–3; and Norman Conquest, 410–11; and William II, 466–7; and Henry I, 436–7; and Henry's I's court, 472–3; and the young king Henry, 178–9; kings of, 420–1, 450–1, *and see* Cnut, Edmund, Edward, Harold, Henry, John, Richard, Stephen, William
— English, freedom of, 432–3; *ghildhus*, 154–5; Herla and, 370–1;

England, English (*cont.*)
hermits, 130–1; language, 36–7, *and see* Saxon; relations with Sicily, 370 n.
Ennius, 312–13
envy, 246–9, 252–3, 260–1, 396–7
Equesne, 466–7
Erispoë, Ilispon, Ylispodius, son of Nominoë, 376 n., 386–93; wife of, 388–9
Ero, 218–23
Escale Dieu, l', Cistercian abbey, 76–7 n.
Esztergom, 142–5; archbishop of, *see* Luke
Ethelbert, St., king and martyr, patron of Hereford, 158–9
Étienne, *see* Stephen
Etna, 232–3, 290–1, 314 n.
Eudo, 314–41
Eugenius III, Pope, 78–9, 82–3; and Gilbertine Order, 114 n., 116–17
Euridice, 230–1
Euripides, 312 n.
Euronothus, south-east wind, 300–1
Euryalus, 248–9
Eve, 316–17
Evore, for Origny, 440–1
exchequer, 508–9
Exeter, 468–9; bishop of, *see* Bartholomew

Fabius, Fabii, 284–5
fairy descent, nature, *fatalitas*, 154–9, 166–7, 332–3
fantasms, fantasies, 322–9, *and see* apparitions
Fauns, 320–1
Fauonius, west wind, 306–7
Faversham abbey (Kent), 474–5
Flanders, 164–5, 278 n.; count of, *see* Philip
Flaxley, Cistercian abbey (Gloucestershire), monks of, xliv n.
Florence of Worcester, 430 n., 431 n.
Foliot, *see* Gilbert
folklore, themes of, *see* Index of Quotations, s.v. Stith Thompson
Fontainebleau, 454–5
forest, royal, 466–9; foresters, 10–11
forgery, xliv, 494–5
fortune, 2–3, 22–3, 164–5, 500–3
Fossanova, Cistercian abbey, abbot of, *see* Geoffrey of Auxerre
France, *Francia, Gallia*, Franks, French, 72–3, 194–5, 206–7; and Louis VI, 442–3, 446–7, 456–7, 460–1; and Louis VII, 450–3; and young King Henry, 280–1; and St. Bernard, 78–9
— Franks in Constantinople, 178–9; heretics in France, xxxvii; French hermit, 130–1; French knights, 380–1
— King, kingdom, 26–7, 346–7, 384–5, 440–3, 510–11, and see Louis VI, VII; seneschal of, 206–9
— French language, 36–9, 446–7, 476–7; French of Marlborough, 496–7; French romances, xiii
Franco, 194–7
Frederick I, Barbarossa, king of Germany, western Emperor, 82–3, 481 n.

Gado, xxxix–xli, 166–75
Galloway, 472–3
Galo, xl, xlii–xliii, 210–47
garlic, 4–5
Gauls, the, and Rome, 290–1
Gehenna, 138
Gelli Gaer, Gelligaer, 198–9
Genillyn, *see* Cheueslin
Geoffrey (Plantagenet), archbishop of York, son of Henry II, formerly canon of St. Paul's, treasurer of York, bishop-elect of Lincoln, royal chancellor, xvi n., xxvi, liii, 478–9, 494–9
Geoffrey (de Clive), bishop of Hereford, 350 n.
Geoffrey, count of Anjou, 474–7
Geoffrey, son of Count Geoffrey, 474–5
Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, 488–9
Geoffrey of Auxerre, abbot of Igny, Clairvaux, Fossanova and Hautecombe, 78–9, 134–5 n.
Geoffrey of Monmouth, xxxv, xxxix–xlii, 426 n.
Geoffrey, unidentified, addressed by Map, xxxiv n., 24–5
Gerald of Wales, Giraldus Cambrensis, xli n., xliii, 100 n., 154–5 n.; and Walter Map, xiii, xxii–xxiii, xxxi, xlix; and Cistercians, xliv, 50–1 n.; and Geoffrey Plantagenet, 478 n.; at Gloucester, xv; and Lincoln, xvii; and St. Davids, xviii
Gerard, bishop of Hereford, archbishop of York, 465 n., 470–1
Gerard la Pucelle, later bishop of Coventry, xv, lii, 142–3
Gerbert, of Burgundy, later archbishop of Reims and Ravenna, and Pope Silvester II, xxxix, 350–63; as archbishop, 360–1; as pope, 360–3
Germany, Germans, xxiii n., 194–5, 458–9; German Cluniac prior, 482–3; king-emperors, 450–1, *and see* Conrad, Frederick I, Henry IV, V, Lothar, Otto
Gervase of Tilbury, xxxiv
Gestinus (?Iestin), 188–9; and cf. Gwestin
Géza II, king of Hungary, 142–3
ghildhus, 154–5
ghostly hunt, 26–31
giants, 2–5, 24–5, 192–3, 244–5, *and see* Rivius, Titans
Giffard, house of, 464 n.
Gilbert Foliot, as abbot of Gloucester, xvi n., 134 n.; as bishop of Hereford, xiii, xvi, xix, 202–3; as bishop of London, xiii, xvi, xix, lii, 36–7, 80–1, 312–15; his Commentary on the *Pater Noster*, 314 n.
Gilbert de Lacy, 134–5
Gilbert of Sempringham, St., and Gilbertine Order, xliii, li, lii, 114–17
Giles (de Briouze), bishop of Hereford, xv n.
Gillescop the Scot, Gillo, 178–83
Giraldus, *see* Gerald
Gisors, 436–7, 482 n.
Glamorgan, 106 n., 196–7, 344 n.
Gloucester, 424–5, 428–9, 436–7; abbey, xv, 134 n.; abbot, *see* Gilbert Foliot, Hamelin; monk, *see* Gregory; earl of, *see* Robert, William; earldom (supposed), 413 n., 414–15; *and see* Lanthony
Gloucestershire traditions, 192–3
Gnatho(s), 288–9
goat, he-, 6–7
Godric, St., of Finchale, 392–3 n.
Godwine, earl of Wessex, 'Gloucester', 'York', etc., xxxvi, 410–21, 432–7
Golenus, 188–9
Goliath, 62–3, 78–9
Gomorrah, 128–9
Gorgon, 244–5, 354–5, 364 n., 366–9; *and see* Medusa
Gormont et Isembart, 441 n.
Gospels, copy of, 66–7
Gouffre de Satalie, *see* Antalya
Graelent, 352 n.
Grandmont, Order and house of, Grandimontines, xliii, 52–5, 112–15; priors, monks, clerics and lay brothers, 52–5, 112–15
Grecian sea, 368–9
Greekling, the hungry, 206–7
Greek(s), (Byzantine), 174–9; (ancient) laws of, 298–9; mythology, xli n.
Gregory I, the Great, St., Pope, 48–9
Gregory IX, Pope, xxxvii n.
Gregory, monk of Gloucester, xv, 132–5
Grenoble, 50–1 n.; bishop of, 50–1, *and see* Hugh, St.
Grésivaudan, valley of, 50–1, 116–17
Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, Welsh king, 186 n.; confused with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, 186 n., and 186–97; wife of, *see* Ealdgyth
Guichard of Beaujeu, monk of Cluny, 36–9
guildhall, guild house, 154–5 n.
Guiot of Provins, xxi
Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, 465 n., 466–9
Gurhanat, 377 n.
Gurmund, 442–3
Guy of Lusignan, 492 n.
Gwestin Gwestiniog, 148–51, *and cf.* Gestinus
Gwynllyw, St., 148 n.
Gwynllywiog, king of, 148 n.
Gwynedd, 186–7 n., 190 n.

Hades, xxxiii, 248 n.
Ham, 316–17
Hamelin, abbot of Gloucester, xv n., 134–5
Hameric, 58–61
Hamo, Master, xv n.
Hamo, son of Hamo dapifer, sheriff of Kent, 344 n.
Hamo, *see* Henno
Hannibal, xxxv, 406–7

Harlequin, *see* Herla
Harold, Earl, later King Harold II, 168 n., 192 n.; *and see* Ealdgyth
Hattim, battle of, 143 n.
Hautecombe, Cistercian abbey, abbot of, *see* Geoffrey of Auxerre
Hay on Wye (on the border of Breconshire and Herefordshire), 200–1
Hebrews, 24–5, 86–113; *and see* Jews
Hector, 376–7
Heilbronn, Cistercian abbey, 76–7 n.
Helena, Empress and St., xl, 170–1
Helicon, 284 n., 286–7
Helios, 293 n.
hell, xxxiii, 2–9, 14–17, 24–5, 40–1, 46–7, 138–9, 142–3, 328–9, 332–3, 500–1, 510–11
Helyas, Welsh hermit, 146–7
Henno, probably Hamo Dentatus, 344–9; his mother, 346–9
Henno, Breton, 386–91
Henry (as name), 406–7
Henry (the Liberal), count of Champagne, 120 n., 450–1
Henry (the Lion), duke of Bavaria and Saxony, 480–1, 488–9
Henry I, king of England, 174–5, 468–73; as duke of Normandy, count of Brittany and Maine, etc., 472–3; and death of William II, 464–5 n.; and Cluny, xxxvi, 436–9; and Louis VI, 436–7, 456–7, 458 n.; and Payne Fitz John, 440–1; his court, 438–9, 472–3; his *Constitutio domus regis*, 438 n., and 'register', 470–1; his son, Robert earl of Gloucester, 426–7; his daughter, *see* Matilda; his wife, *see* Adeliza, Matilda
Henry II, king of England, 24–5, 204 n., 370–1, 406–7; before he was king, 474–5; marriage and succession, 474–7; his coronation, 30–1; his reign, 482–5; his character, and stories of, 476–9, 484–95; description of, 476–7; his court, xxxiii, 2–25, 282–5, 372–5, 494–5, 500–13; his mother's advice, 478–9; and his sons, 476–7; and the young King Henry, 178–9, 280–3, *and see below*; and Walter Map, xiii, xiv, xvi–xvii, xix, xx, li, liii, 282–5; his death, xviii, xxv, li, 284–5
— and Cistercians, 102–3, 108–9; and dress, 116–17; and elections of 1173, 68 n.; and foresters, 10–11; and Grandmont, 114–15; and Henry the Lion, 480 n.; and heretics, 118–19; and Jerusalem, 482–3; and Limoges, 96–7, 134–5; and Louis VII, 464–5; as mediator, 508–9; and romances, xx, xxiii; and Waleran of *Effria*, 448–9; and William, earl of Arundel, 492–5; and William de Tancarville, 488–95;
— his chancellors, *see* Geoffrey (Plantagenet), Thomas Becket; his chief justiciar, *see* Ranulf de Glanville; his clerk, 516–17, *and see* Walter Map; his sons, 476–7, *and see below, and* Geoffrey (Plantagenet), John, Richard; his grandson, *see* Otto IV
Henry, the young king, son of Henry II, xxxiv, 408 n.; and elections of 1173, 68 n.; his rebellions and death, xxiv, xxv, lii, 178–83, 488 n.
Henry IV, king of Germany, western emperor, 478–9
Henry V, king of Germany, western emperor, 458–9, 474–5, 478–81
Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, as monk of Cluny, 436–7 n.
Henry of Huntingdon, 424 n., 428 n., 431 n.
Henry son of William de Mineriis (Mynors), xiv
Hercules, 12–13, 166–7, 230–5 *passim*, 408–9; death of, 250–1, 304–7
Hereford, xiv, 30–1, 370–1, 436–7; bishop of, 350–1, *and see* Geoffrey (de Clive), Gerard, Giles, Gilbert Foliot, Peter, Reinhelm, Robert (Foliot); lordship of, 158–9; bishopric, xiii n., 470–1
— cathedral of St. Ethelbert, xviii n., 350–1, 430–1; altar of St. Ethelbert, 158–9; canons of, *see* Philip Map, Walter Map; MS. O. 3. 8, 516; St. Guthlac's priory, xvn.
— earl of, 134 n., *and see* Milo, Roger
Herefordshire, 440 n.
heresy, heretics, xxvii, xxxvii; Cathars, *Paterini, Publicani*, 118–23; routiers, routs, *ruptarii*, 118–19; Waldensians, 124–7
Herla, King, Harlequin, Herlechin, Herlekin, Herlethingus, xxxix, 26–31, 370–1
hermits, 58–9, 72–5, 130–1, 140–1, 148–9, 162–5
Herod, 224–5
Hikenai, *see* Ykenai
Hilarion, St., 72–3
Hildebert (of Lavardin), bishop of Le Mans, 48–9
Hippocrates, 48–9, 138–9
Hoel, 192–3
Hoel, count of Nantes, 377 n., 386–7
Homer, Maeonides, 38–9, 96–7, 286–7, 314–15, 404–5, 408–9
Horace, 512–13
Horeb, 102–3
Hospital, Hospitallers, Order of, later Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem, 68–73, 124–5
hospitality, and the Welsh, 182–5, 196–9
Hue de Rotelande, and his *Ipomedon*, xxi, xxiii, xxxiv
Hugh, St., abbot of Cluny, 468–9
Hugh, St., bishop of Grenoble, 50–1 n.
Hugh, St., bishop of Lincoln, formerly prior of Witham (Selwood), xxv, li, 10–11; and his *Magna Vita*, xlii
Hugh de Payens, 'Paganus', founder of the Templars, 54–5
Hugh of Le Mans, bishop of Acre or Eger, 142–3
Humbert III, count of Maurienne, 135 n.
Humbert son of Guichard de Beaujeu, his father and son, 36–9
Humbert III of Beaujeu, 36 n.
Hungary, 142–5; king of, 422–3, *and see* Géza, Stephen
Huntingdon, 436–7
Hur, 102–3
Hushai, 280–1
Hyde abbey chronicle, 410 n.
hydra, 2–3

Icknield (Way), 430–1
Iestin, *see* Gestinus
Igny, abbot of, *see* Geoffrey of Auxerre
Illtud, St., 148–9
incubi, 158–9
India, Indians, xl, 168–71; king of, 450–1
Innocent II, Pope, 78–9 n.
Innocent III, Pope, 118–19 n., 330 n.
Ireland, xviii n.
Isaac, 90–1
Isaac Angelus, Byzantine emperor, 175 n.
Isaac Comnenus, Byzantine emperor, 411 n.
Isabel of Gloucester, Queen, 345 n.
Isère, valley of, 50–1 n.
Isidore, St., of Seville, 6 n.
Israel, Israelites, 47, 88–9, 316–17
Italy, 392 n.; heretics in, xxxvii; king of, *see* Conrad
Ixion, 8–11, 502–3

Jacob, 90–1, 434–5
Jairus' daughter, 48–9
James, M. R., *passim*; his text, xlix–1; his translation, xliv, xlix–1
James, Richard, xlix
Jason, 310–11
Jeremiah, Lamentations of, 42–3; *and see* Index of Quotations
Jerome, St., xxi, xlvii, 70–1, 288 n., 289 n.
Jerusalem, 54–7, 350 n., 356–7, 360–1, 470–1, 482–5, 492–3; fall of, xxiv–xxvii *passim*, li, liii, 40–7, 410–11; king of, 56–7, 66–7; patriarch of, 56–7, 66–7;
— Canons Regular of, 54–5; Knights, 124–5, *and see* Hospital, Templars; Temple, Templars and, 54–5, 60–1, 68–9; Gilbert de Lacy and, 134–5
Jews, 90–1; in France, 452–5; and Pierleoni, 362–3; *and see* Hebrews
Jezebel, 316–17
Job, 284–5
Jocelin, archdeacon of Chichester, xvii n.
Jocelin (de Bohun), bishop of Salisbury, 68–9
John, St., Gospel of, 118–19
John (of Canterbury), archbishop of Lyons, formerly bishop of Poitiers, later monk of Clairvaux, lii, 134–7
John, king of England, xviii n., 146 n., 198 n.; as prince, 135 n.
John Chrysostom, St., 516
John Marshal, xvii n.
John of Salisbury, xxxv, 69 n., 442–3 n.; *Entheticus*, xxxi n., xxxiii;

John of Salisbury (*cont.*) letters, 128–9 n.; *Policraticus*, xxxi–xxxiii *passim*, xxxv n.
John of Wells, monk of Ramsey, scholar of Gloucester College, Oxford, xxxii, xlvi–xlvii
John Planeta, 78–81
John *ruffus*, addressed as Rufinus in *Dissuasio*, 288–9
John, *see also* Wyclif
Jonah, 334–5
Jordan, river, 476–7
Joseph, 128–9, 434–5
Juba I, king of Numidia, 406–7
jubilee, 40–1
Judas, 490–1
Judas Maccabaeus, 198–9
Juno, 300–1, 504–5
Jupiter, Jove, 12–13, 234–5, 274–5, 292–5, 428–9, 438–9
Justices, royal, 12–15

Kent, see of, 466–7, *and see* Canterbury; sheriff of, *see* Hamo
Kimelec, *see* Meinfelin, Quimperlé
king's peace, 298–9
Knights, Orders of, *see* Hospital, Santiago, Templars
Kyot the Provençal, xxi

Ladislas, claimant to Hungary, 142–5
Lais, 218–21
Lais of Corinth, 304–5
Lancelot and Lancelot cycle (prose), xx–xxiii
Langford Ecclesia, prebend of Lincoln, xvii n.
Lanthony-by-Gloucester, Augustinian priory, xv n.
Lanval, 352 n.
Lanzelet, xxii, xxiii n.
Lapithae, king of, *see* Pirithous
Lares, 156–7
Lateran, *see* Rome
Latin, 36–7, 476–7; medieval anthology, xlv; verse, xiii, xx
Latona, *see* Leto
Laurence, abbot of Westminster, xvii
Lausus, xxxix, 246–53, 260–1; his son, 250–63
Lazarus, St., 48–9, 80–1
Lebanon, cedars of, 308–9
Leicester, 434–5; earl of, *see* Simon (de Montfort)
Le Mans, 370–1; bishop of, *see* Hildebert; cathedral of St. Julian, 280–1
Leo III, Pope, 76–7
Leo IX, Pope, 362–3
Leo, ancestor of the Pierleoni, 362 n.
Leominster abbey (Herefordshire), 416–17 n.; abbess of, xxxvi
Léon, count of, *see* Remelin
Leontius, brother of Phoroneus, 298–301
lepers, leper hospitals, 462–3
Lerna, Lake, 2 n.
Lesser Britain, *see* Brittany
Lethe, 500–5 *passim*
Leto, Latona, 301 n.
Leucius, 392–3
Leucothoe, 294–5
Leviathan, 10–11, 128–9, 332–3
Libs, south wind, 300–1
Libya, 72–3
Lifris of Llancarfan, and his *Life* of St. Cadog, 148 n.
Limoges, 96–7, 134–5, 280–1
Limousin, the, 96 n.
Lincoln, 434–5; bishop and bishop-elect of, *see* Geoffrey (Plantagenet), Hugh, St., Robert (Bloet), Walter (of Coutances); cathedral, canon and precentor of, *see* Walter Map; chancellor, *see* Walter Map, William de Montibus; prebend in, Langford Ecclesia, xvii n.
liturgical history, 360–1
Livia, 304–5
Livy, 'of Carthage' (*see* 301 n.), 300–1
Llangorse Lake, Llyn Syfaddon, etc., 148–51, 188–9
Llyfni, river, 150–1
Llywarch, nephew of Llywelyn, 190–3
Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Welsh king (confused with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn), 186–97; his wife, 186–9
London, 156–7, 422–3, 430–1, 464 n., 468–9; councils at, 348–9, 465 n.
— bishops of, *see* Gilbert Foliot, Maurice
— buildings, churches in: Guildhall, 154–5 n.; St. Paul's cathedral, prebend of Mapesbury in, xvi, xxiv, 498–9; Westminster abbey, xvii, xviii n.; abbot of, *see* Laurence; Westminster palace, 422–3
Lorraine, 164–5
Lothar, duke of Bavaria and Saxony, later king of Germany and western emperor, 480 n.
Louis the Pious, Emperor, 440–3
Louis, king of the Franks, son of Charles, probably Louis d'Outremer, 194–7, 440–1 n.
Louis VI (the Fat), king of France, 174–5, 436–43, 452–3, 456–73
Louis VII, king of France, liii, 176–7, 406–7, 442–57, 488–9, 492–5; and count Theobald, 462–5; marriages, to Eleanor, 474–7, to Adela, 120 n., *and see* Adela, Constance, Eleanor; as *rex christianissimus*, 442–3; his chamberlain, *see* Walter of Villebéon
Louvain, *Lata Quercus* at, 164–5
Lucan, xxxv, 404–5
Lucia Map, xiv n.
Lucifer, 76–7, 164–5, 246–7, 318–21; and Luciferians, xxxvii n.
Lucilia, 304–5
Lucius III, Pope, formerly Hubaldus, cardinal bishop of Ostia, xxv, lii, 176–7, 364–5
Lucretia, 214–15, 294–5
Lucretius, 305 n.
Luke of Hungary, archbishop of Esztergom, formerly bishop of Eger, xv, 142–5
Lützel, Cistercian abbey, 77 n.
Luzern, 77 n.
Lycaon, king of Arcadia, 128–9
Lydbury North (Shropshire), 154–5, 158–9, 348–51
Lydham (Shropshire), 154 n.
Lyons, 124–5, 464 n.; archbishop of, *see* John (of Canterbury)

Macrobius, 500–1
Madoc, 150–1
Maevius, 286–7
Maine, 280–1; count of, *see* Henry I
Malcolm III, king of Scotland, 474 n.; wife of, *see* Margaret, St.
Mamertus, ?for Mamercus, 286–7
Mammon, 82–3, 92–3
Manuel, Byzantine emperor, 174–9
Map, *see* Walter Map
marble, 6–7
Margaret, St., queen of Scotland, 474 n.
Marianna, *see* Meridiana
Marie, countess of Champagne, xxiii n., 451 n.
Marius, 302–3
Marlborough (Wiltshire), and 'Marlborough French', liii, 496–7
Maro, *see* Virgil
marriage, xxvi, 156–7, 270–1, 346–51 *passim*; satire on, 288–313
Mars, 234–5, 274–5, 426–9; and Venus, 286–7, 294–7, 300–1
Marsus, 286–7
Martel, xxiv, lii, 278–83
Martha, St., 48–9, 74–5
Martial, 312–13
Martianus Capella, 234 n.
Mary, St., Blessed Virgin Mary, xxxviii, 140–1, 158–9, 460–1
Mary, St., of Bethany, 48–9, 52–3, 74–5, 84–5, 112–13; (identified in the Middle Ages with Mary Magdalene), 462–3
Matilda, Empress and countess of Anjou, daughter of Henry I, xxxvi, 426 n., 474–5, 478–81
Matilda, Edith, Queen of England, wife of Henry I, 474–5, 478–9
Matilda of Savoy, queen of Portugal, 30–1 n.
Maurice, bishop of London, 464–5 n.
Maurienne, count of, *see* Humbert III; and diocese of Saint-Jean de, 50–1
Medea, 250–1, 298–9
Medusa, 366–9, *and see* Gorgon
Meilerius, Meilyr, 188–9
Meilin, 192–3
Meinfelin of Kimelec (?Quimperlé), 388–93
Mela, 400–1
Menestrates, xxxv, 406–7
merchants, 392–403
Mercia, ealdorman of, *see* Eadric Streona; earl of, *see* Ælfgar; king of, *see* Offa
Mercury, 308–9; as Stilbon, 234–5
Merevale (Warwickshire), Cistercian abbey, 76–7
Meridiana, al. Marianna, 352–63
Merlin, prophecy of (from Geoffrey of Monmouth), 282–3
Messina, 368–9

Metellus Numidicus (and Macedonicus), 302–3, 303 n.
Milan, xxxvii
Milo, earl of Hereford, xxxvi, 474–5
Minerva, Pallas Athene, 116–17, 234–5, 296–7, 354–5; contrasted with Venus, 116–17, 222–3, 308–9, 324–5, 358–9, 418–19
Minos, 10–11, 506–7
Minsterworth (Gloucestershire), 428–31
miracles, 132–3; of St. Bernard, xliii, 79–81, 137 n.; of Gregory of Gloucester, 132–5; of Peter of Tarentaise, 134–41
Moab, 42–3
Molesme abbey, 72 n.
Montferrat, marquis of, *see* Boniface, Conrad
Montgomery, 152–3
Montpellier, 78–9
Morpheus, devil, 322–9
Morpheus, son of Sleep, 350–1 n.; his mother, 350–1
Mort Artu, xx–xxiii
Moses, 102–3, 106–7, 316–17
Mulciber, *see* Vulcan
Muses, 210–11, 284–7 *passim*
Muslims, 410 n., *and see* Saracen
Myrrha, daughter of Cinyras, 294–5

Nabal, xli, 41 n., 128–9
Naiads, 128–9, 320–1
Nain, 48–9
Nantes, 384 n., 386–7
Nassaradin, son of Abbas, 62–7
Navarre, king of, 508–9
Neapolitanus, *see* Philip
Neath (Glamorgan), Cistercian abbey, 106–7
Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, 24–5
Neptune, 42–3, 232–3
Nero, Emperor, 94–5, 286–7, 406–7, 410–11, 442–3
Nessus, 250–1, 306–7
Nevers, count of, 108–9; *and see* William II
New Forest, 464–5 n., 466–7
Nicholas of Wormsley, xiv
Nicholas Pipe, 368–71
Nicholas, Ollo's servant, 398–401.
Nigel de Longchamps (al. Wireker), 50–1 n., 69 n., 73 n., 114 n.
nightingale, 288–9
Nineveh, 247 n., 334–5
Ninus, king of Babylon, 246–61
Niobe, mother (usually wife) of Phoroneus, 298 n.
Nisus, 248–9; *and see* Scylla
Noah, 86–7
Nominalists, 78–9
Normandy, Normans, 346–7, 410–11, 436–7; duke of, *see* Henry, Richard, William; chamberlain of, *see* William de Tancarville; seneschal of, *see* William FitzRalph
Northampton, 436–7
Northumberland, knight from, 206–7
North Wales, 150–1
Nottingham, 434–5
Numa, king of Rome, 284–5, 356–7, 422–3
Numidia, king of, *see* Juba

Odyssey, 289 n.
Offa, king of Mercia, and Map's story of, xxxix–xl, 154 n., 166–75; Offa's Dyke, xl, xli, 158 n., 166–7, 193 n.
Old Man of the Mountain, 66–7
Old Testament history, xli n.
Olga, devil, 316–39
Ollo, 393–403
ordeal by water, 108–9
Orderic Vitalis, xxxix, 76 n., 154 n., 456 n.
orders, religious, 50–63, 73–117, *and see* Chartreuse, Cistercians, Gilbert of Sempringham, Grandmont, Hospital, Templars
Oreads, 320–1
Orestes, 312–13
Origny, battle of, 441 n.; as 'Evore', 440–3
Orpheus, 230–1
Osbert de Camera, xvii n.
Ostia, bishop of, *see* Lucius
Oswald, St., *Life* of, xxxv n.
Otto IV, king of Germany, western emperor, xxxiv
Ovid, 28–9, 276–7; Medea of, 310–11; *and see* Index of Quotations
Owl and the Nightingale, The, 289 n.
Oxford, 431 n.; and John of Wells, xxxii; and Map's *De nugis*, xxxii; archdeacon of, *see* Walter, Walter (of Coutances), Walter Map; Gloucester College, scholar of, *see* John of Wells; St. Frideswide's priory, subprior, see W. Bothewald'
— Manuscripts at: Bodleian, Bodl. 851, *passim*, esp. xlv–xlvii; possibly written at Oxford, xlvii; Corpus Christi Coll. 32, 516

Pacuvius, xxxix, 302–3
Paganus, *see* Hugh de Payens
painter, monk-, 322–9
palace officials, *palatini*, 210–11
Pales, 320–1
Pallas, Pallas Athene, *see* Minerva
Pamplona, 204–5
Pan, 26–7, 164–5, 320–1, 358–9
Pannonia, 422–3
Pantheon, 418–19
Paradise, 246–7
Paris, 'arbiter of the goddesses', 296–7
Paris, 442–3, 458–9; Henry II at, 492–3; schools of, 142–3, 452–3; clerks at, 452–3; Map at, xiii n., xv–xvi, 450–1, 454–5; La Grève in, 456–7; MSS. of *Dissuasio* in Bibl. Nationale, xlvii; provost of, *see* William de Gournai
Parius, xxxix, 246–63
Parthians, 176–7
Pascwethen, 377 n.
Paterini, 118–23
Patrick, earl of Salisbury, 492–3
Paul, St., apostle, 48–9, 76–7, 158–9, 496–7
Paul, St., the hermit, 72–3, 162–5
Paul Penychen, 151 n.
Pavia, 394–5, 402–3; 'sheriff' of, 396–7
Payens, 54–5
Payne Fitz John, chamberlain of Henry I, 440–1
pedagium, 362–3
Pelops, 128–9
Penelope, 294–5
Pepin(s), xxxv, 404–5
Perictione, mother of Plato, 306–7
Persephone, 248 n.
Perseus, 364 n.
Persia, 66 n.
Perugia, xlvi
Peter, St., 60–1, 158–9
Peter, Master, *see* Abelard
Peter (the Venerable), abbot of Cluny, 436–7 n.
Peter, St., archbishop of Tarentaise, 68 n.; miracles of, 134–41; *Vita* of, 78 n.
Peter (d'Aigueblanche), bishop of Hereford, xiv n.
Peter de Meluis, 465 n., 468–9
Peter Leoni, Leonis, and Pierleoni family, 362–3
Peter of Blois, xxxix, *and see* Index of Quotations
Peterborough, abbot of, *see* Brand
Phaethon, 126–7, 224–5, 292–3, 408 n.
phantasm, *see* fantasm
Pharaoh, 128–9, 144–5, 316–17
Philip (of Liège), abbot of l'Aumône, 137 n.
Philip (of Alsace), count of Flanders, 278–9
Philip II, Augustus, king of France, 482–5
Philip, the young king of France (Louis VI's son), 456–7
Philip Map, canon of Hereford, xiv–xv
Philip of Newtown (or Newton), 130–1
Philomel, 288–9
Phintias, 54–5 n.
Phlegethon, 500–3
Phoebus, *see* Apollo
phoenix, 292–3
Phoroneus, King, son of Inachus, 298–301
Phrygia, king of, *see* Tantalus
Pieria, Pierus, 284 n., 286–7
Piers Plowman, MS. of, xlv, xlvi
Pilate, 360–1
Pirithous, king of the Lapithae, 248–9
Plato, birth of, 306–7
Pliny (the Elder), 6 n.
Pluto, Dis, 506–7
poet(s), poetry, 34–5, 260–1, 286–7
Poitiers, bishop of, *see* John (of Canterbury)
Poitou, 492–3
Poix, 464 n.
Ponthieu, 442–3
Pontigny, Cistercian abbey, and abbot of, 108–9
Pontoise, 456–7, 466–7
Porphyry, 2–3
Portugal, king of, 30–5, *and see* Alonso; queen, *see* Matilda
poverty, the poor, 60–3, 82–3, 92–9, 352–3, 356–7

Powys, 186 n., 190 n.
preaching, and Waldensians, 124-5
Priapus, 320-1
Procris, 262-3
prodigies, 202-7, *and see* apparitions, fantasms
protosebastos, 'protosaluator', Byzantine official, 176-7
proverbs, 206-9, *and see* Index of Quotations
Psalter, glossed, in French, 124-5
Publicani, 'Publicans', 118-23
Pygmies and king of, 26-31
Pyon, *see* Wormsley
Pyracmon, 234-5
Pyramus, 232-3
Python, 280-1

Queste del Saint Graal, xx-xxiii
Quimperlé, 388 n.
Quintilian, 108-9

Ragnars Saga Loðbrókar, 140-1
Ralph de Diceto, 177 n.
Ramsey (Huntingdonshire), abbey, monk of, xlvii, *and see* John of Wells; MS. perhaps written at, xlvii
Ranulf de Glanville, chief justiciar, liii, 12-15, 508-9
Raoul de Cambrai, 441 n.
Raso, and his wife and son, 262-71; his horse, 266-71
Ravenna, 394-5, 402-3; archbishop of, *see* Gerbert
Raz de Barfleur, 474-5
Red Sea, 334-5
Reginald (FitzJocelin), bishop of Bath, 68-9
Reginald (de Mouzon), bishop of Chartres, 452-3
Reginald II, count of Bar, 452n.
Reginald de Pumpuna, 270 n.
Regulus, 54-5 n.
Reims, 350-1, 356-7; archbishop of, *see* Gerbert, Turpin, William (aux Blanchesmains); provost of, and his daughter, 350-3, 356-61; schools of, *see* Bruno, St.
Reinhelm, bishop of Hereford, 350 n.
relics, reliquaries, 204-5, 360 n.
Remelin, count of Léon, ? for Riwallon, q.v., 376-85
Rennes, count of, *see* Alan
Reric, Benedictine monk, 102-3
Resus, 270-7
Rhadamanthus, 10-11, 506-7
Rhain, Welsh king, 152-3 n.
Rheinwg, 152-3
Rhineland, heretics in, xxxvii n.
Rhône, river, 124-5
Rhys, the Lord, xxxvi
Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, 68-9, 142 n., 496-9
Richard (Scrope), archbishop of York, xlvi
Richard II, duke of Normandy, 412-13
Richard I, king of England, as count of Poitou, 488-9; as king, liii, 282-3, 365 n., 484-5
Richard de Clare, 270 n.
Richard de Granville, 106 n.
Richard the ferryman, 146-7
Ridley, Cuthbert, xlix
Rivius, the giant, 228-45
Riwallon, count of Cornouailles, 377 n.
Riwallon, brother of Wigon, 377 n.
Robert (of Jumièges), archbishop of Canterbury, 419 n.
Robert (of Burnham), archdeacon of Buckingham, 82-3
Robert (Foliot), bishop of Hereford, 350 n.
Robert (Bloet), bishop of Lincoln, 115 n.
Robert (Curthose), duke of Normandy, 468-71
Robert earl of Gloucester, son of Henry I, 106 n., 134 n., 204 n., 344 n., 426-9, 474-5
Robert de Stuteville, 104 n.
Robert FitzHamon, 344 n.
Robert of Torigny, 484 n.
Rochester, bishop of, *see* Gundulf
Roger (of Pont l'Évêque), archbishop of York, 104-5
Roger, bishop of Worcester, xv n., lii, 204-5
Roger, earl of Hereford, xxxvi-xxxvii
Roger de Chandos, xiv
Roger de Mowbray, 104 n.
Roger of Howden, 364 n.
Rollo, and his wife, 270-7
romances, courtly, xx-xxiii
Rome, Romans, 174-5, 356-7; ancient, capitol, 298-9; and the Gauls, 290-1; king of, *see* Numa; monarchy and the Tarquins, 214 n.
— Roman empire, ancient (including temp. Offa), xl-xli, 168-75, 312-13; and goods, 320-1; emperors, *see* Cunnanus, Nero, Tiberius, Valentius, Vitellius; medieval, xl, 450-1, *and see* emperors
— Church of, papacy, and Gerbert, 360-3; Basilica of San Clemente, 361 n.; S. Croce in Gierusalemme and St. John Lateran, 360-1; tombs of Sts. Peter and Paul, 158-9; Cardinals, as senate of Roman Church, 70-1; and Arnold of Brescia, 82-3; and see Benno
— — Councils, I Lateran, 364 n.; III Lateran, xvii, xxxviii, li-liv *passim*, 70-1, 124-7, 450-1
— — Curia, and Arnold of Brescia, 82-3; and Cistercian privileges, 95-6; and justice, 508-9; and marriage of Henry I, 474-5; and money, 66-71, 506-9; papal taxes, 362-5; visit *ad limina*, 508-9
— — Popes, 330-1; death of, 362-3; and money, 506-9; and Order of Grandmont, 52-3; *and see* Alexander III, Eugenius III, Gregory IX, Innocent II, III, Leo III, Lucius III, Silvester II, Urban II
— City of, citizens and Arnold of Brescia, 82-3; Castel Sant'Angelo, (Mausoleum of Hadrian, etc.), 362-3; prefect of, 82 n., 364-5
Romsey abbey (Hampshire), 474 n.
Ross (on Wye, Herefordshire), 430-1
Rotheric, 192-3
Rouen, 280-1; archbishop of, *see* Walter of Coutances
routiers, routs, 118-19
Rufinae, 286-7
Rufinus, *see* John ruffus
Ruso, Rusones, 284-7

Sabine women, the, 294-5
sacrist, story of the, 322-9
Sadius, Sadius and Galo, story of, xxi, xl, xlii-xliii, 210-47
Saint-Brieuc, 384 n.
St. Davids, bishopric, xiii n.
Saint-Denis, abbot of, *see* Suger
Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge, Augustinian priory, 490-1
St. George, Arm of, 178-9
Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville, abbey, 490-1
Saint-Jean de Maurienne, *see* Maurienne
S. Lévi, 385 n.
St. Lewi, church of (? S. Leau, Lau), 384-5
Saladin, xxiv, 40-3, 410-11, 482-3; Saladin tithe, 482 n.
Salius, 374-7
Salisbury (Wiltshire), 'abbey' of, xx; bishop of, *see* Jocelin; earl of, *see* Patrick
Sallust, 303 n.
Salmurum, *see* Saumur
Salomon, Breton 'king', 376-7 n., 386-93
Salona, 226-7
Samson, 292-3
Santiago de Compostela, *see* Compostela; knights of, Knights of the Sword, 124-5
Saracens, *pagani, Sarraceni* etc., 54-9, 176-7, 410-11, 414-15, 450-1; *and see* Emir
Satalia, Satalie, 368-9
Satan, 42-3, 318-19, 332-5, 338-9, *and see* Devil
satire, xlii-xliv *and passim*
Saturn, 438-9
Saturnalia, xxxix
Satyrs, 320-1
Saul, King, 456-7
Saumur, Salmurum, xxiv, lii, 280-1
Savoy, 135 n.
Saxon, language, 28-31
Saxony, duke of, 480-1; *and see* Henry (the Lion), Lothar
Sceva, 392-403
Scipio, 210-11
Scotland, Scots, 192-3, 472-3; kings of, 180-1, *and see* David, Malcolm, William; Scottish hermit, 130-1; Scottish islands, 180-1
Scrope, *see* Richard
Scylla, daughter of Nisus, 294-5, 350-1
Scythia, poison of, 250-1; women of, 248-9
seal(s), 434-5; forged, 494-5; sealer, royal, *see* Adam of Yarmouth

Sebastian, St., 66–7
Seine, river, 456–7
Selwood, *see* Witham
Sempringham, Order of, Gilbertine Order, 114–17
senate (of Rome), 46–7; cardinals as, 70–1; *and see* Rome
Senghenydd, 198 n.
Senlis, 484–5
Sens, archbishop of, *see* William (aux Blanchesmains)
serfs (serui, *see also* Slaves), 428–33 *passim*
Serlo of Wilton, Master, abbot of l'Aumône, 136–9
Servius, 210 n.
Severn, river, xl, 192–3, 196–7, 424–9 *passim*
Shaftesbury (Dorset), 412–13
Sherborne abbey (Dorset), and abbot of, 72–3
Shi'ite Muslims, 66 n.
Shropshire, 154 n., 440 n.
Sicily, under the Normans, 370 n.; king of, 450–1, *and see* William
Silvester II, Pope, *see* Gerbert
Simeon of Durham, xl–xli n.
Simon (de Montfort), earl of Leicester, 100 n.
Simon (Magus), 508–9; simony, 72–3, 142–3
Sirens, the, 290–1
Sisyphus, 8–9, 502–3
slaves (serui, *see* serfs), 422–3
Sodom, 128–9
Solomon, King, 10–11, 292–3, 356–7, 460–1; Wisdom of, 356 n.
Sophocles, 404–5
Southwell (Nottinghamshire), 465 n., 470–1
Spain, 508–9; *and see* Alfonso, Castile
Stephen, count of Blois, father of King Stephen, 474–5
Stephen, king of England, xxxii, 426 n., 474–5; reign of, xxxii, 134 n.
Stephen, St., king of Hungary, 420–1 n.
Stephen III, king of Hungary, 142–5; his uncle, Stephen, 142 n., 144–5
Stephen Harding, St., monk of Sherborne, abbot of Cîteaux, 72–3
Stephen of Beauchamp, 426–9
Stephen, Étienne, of Muret, founder of Grandmont, 52–5, 112–15
Steropes, 234–5
Stilbon, *see* Mercury
Styx, 500–3
Suanus, Sveinn, Swein, 172–5
Succubi, 158–9, 354–5
Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis (Paris), 456 n.
Sulpicius, 302–3
sun, 28–9, 294–5; *and see* Apollo, Phaethon
supernatural lapse of time, 26 n.
Susanna, 32–3, 226 n.
Swan Maiden, story of, 149 n.
Sweden, Swedes, and king of, 420 n.
Swein, king of Denmark, 420–1
Swein, *see also* Suanus
Sword, Knights of the, *see* Santiago
Syria, 66 n., 484–5

'Tancarville' abbey, for Boscherville, 490–1, *and see* Saint-Georges
Tantalus, king of Phrygia, 8–9, 24–5, 128 n., 502–3
Tarbes, 77 n.
Tarentaise, archbishop of, *see* Peter
Tarquins, 214 n.
Tartarus, 301 n.
Templars, Knights, 68–9, 72–3, 124–5, 374–5; origin of, and stories about, 54–63, 66–7; rule of, 54 n.; and the Temple, 54–5; Gilbert de Lacy as, 134–5
Terence, 22–3; *Adelphi*, 217 n.; *and see* Index of Quotations
Terentia, 300–1
Thebes, Thebans, 230–1
Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, xxxiii, 136 n.
Theobald IV, count of Blois and Champagne, 452 n., 458–65
Theobald V, count of Blois, 452–3
Theodosius, 192–3; *and see* Theudus
Theophrastus, 'Aureolus' of, 310–11
Theseus, 248–9
Thestias, *see* Althaea
Theudus, Tewdws, Theodosius, 188–9, *and see* Theodosius
Thirsk (Yorkshire), 104 n.
Thomas Becket, St., archbishop of Canterbury, as royal chancellor, xxxii–xxxiii, 194–5, and Map, xv–xvi n.; as archbishop, and Map, xv–xvi n., 78–9; and Gerard Pucelle, 142 n.; his friends, 442–3 n.
Thomas I, archbishop of York, 465 n.; as 'Alured', 470–1
Thomas, *see also* Wykes
Thrace, astrologers of, 248–9; poison of, 250–1
Thurstan son of Simon, royal dispenser, 486–7
Thyestes, 128–9
Tiberius, Emperor, 305 n.
Tintern (Monmouthshire), Cistercian abbey, 106 n.
Tiryns, hero of, *see* Hercules
Titans, 234–5
tithes, xxxi, 114–15, 496–7
Titus, 42–3
Tityus, 10–11, 300–1, 504–5
Tobit, 110–11
Toledo, *see* Castile
Tongilius, 298–9
Toulouse, and count of, 135 n.
tournament(s), 58–61, 164–5
Traer, 198–201
treasury, royal, 464–5 n., 486–7
Trie, 482 n.
Triunein Vagelauc, 150–5 *passim*
Troy, Trojan war, 92–3, 178–9
Turin, 135 n.
Turks, 176–7
Turpin, archbishop of Reims, 204–5
Twysden, Sir Roger, xlix
Tyre, 484–5; archbishop of, *see* William

Ullingswick (Herefordshire), xiv
Ulysses, 290–1
Urban II, Pope, 362 n.
Usula, 406–7

Valdès, *see* Waldo
Valentius, Emperor, 300–1
Valerius, Map's Pseudonym, 288–9; *Dissuasio Valerii*, 288–313
Valerius Maximus, xxxiv, 288 n.
Vandals, king of, 166–7
Vaudey (Lincolnshire), Cistercian abbey, 76–7
Vavassors, 262–3
Vendôme, annals of, 410 n.
Venus, 100–3, 110–11, 214–15, 274–5, 324–5, 356–9, 426–9; as Aphrodite, 297 n., 354–5; as Dione, 352–3; attack of, 286–7; book of, 352–3; flower of, 302–3; furnace of, 244–5; ordinances of, 270–1; and Mars, 286–7, 294–7, 300–1; and Minerva, 116–17, 222–3, 308–9, 324–5, 358–9, 418–19
Vézelay abbey, 80 n.
Vienne, 122–3; archbishop of, 122–3; noble of region of, 120–3
Vincent, St., 94 n.
Virgil, xxxv, 84–5, 286–7, 312–15, 404–5
Vitellius, emperor, 286–7
Vulcan, Mulciber, 234–5, 286–7, 294–7, 300–1

W. Bothewald', Master, subprior of St. Frideswide's, Oxford, xxxi, xliv n.
Wace, Master, xxxviii, xlii
Wada, Wade, and Wat's Dyke, xl, xli
Waldensians, xvii, xxxviii, lii, 124–7
Waldo, Valdès, xxxviii, 124–5
Walenfreit, 146–7
Waleran of *Effria*, 446–51
Wales, Welsh, xiii–xiv, 100–1, 144–51, 182–205; and Henry I, 436–7;
— characteristics and manners of, 100–1, 144–7, 182–5, 194–7, 202–5; anger, 200–3; devotion, 144–7; diet, 100–1; hospitality, 182–5, 196–9; New Year's day, 188 n.; plunder, 188–9, 196–201
— hermit, see Helyas; 'horns' of, 190–1;
— kings and princes of, xxxvi, *and see* Cadog, Gruffudd, Llywelyn; kingdoms, 192–3, *and see* Brycheiniog, Deheubarth, Dyfed, Gwynedd, Powys; North and South Wales, 198–9
— march and border, 158–9, 190–1, 344 n., 370–1; and Walter Map, xiii–xiv; and Offa's Dyke, 166–7, 168 n.; Welsh of Herefordshire, 30–1
— prodigies and apparitions, 148–51, 202–5
Wallingford (Berkshire), treaty of, 474–5
Walter, name, 406–7
Walter (I), archdeacon of Oxford, xx
Walter (of Coutances), (II) archdeacon of Oxford, bishop of Lincoln, archbishop of Rouen, xvii n., liii, 498–9

Walter, count of Nevers, *see* William
Walter Giffard, xvii n.
Walter Map, his name, xiii, xxiv, xxviii n., 288–9; life and career, xiii–xix; origin in Herefordshire and Welsh border, and relation to Welsh, xiii–xiv, 73 n., 182–3, 194–5; student in England and Paris, xv, xix, 454–5; later visit to Paris, 450–1; patronage from Gilbert Foliot, xix, from Henry II, xix, 96–7 n., 456–7, 494–5; Map as royal clerk, xiii, xvi–xvii, xix, 134–7, as royal justice, xvi, 486 n.; as canon of Hereford, xv, xviii n.; as canon of St. Paul's, xxiv, 498–9; as canon, chancellor and precentor of Lincoln, xvii, xviii; as archdeacon of Oxford, xiii, xviii, xxxi, xlii; and St. Hugh, xlii; Map's churches, Ashwell, xvii, 496–7, Westbury, xiv n., xvi, 106 n., 430–1; Map and bishoprics, 22–3, of Hereford and St. Davids, xiii n., xviii; his household, xviii, 16–25; his nephews, xiv–xv, xviii, 22–5; stories about and *dicta*, xxii–xxiii, 515–16; relations with Geoffrey Plantagenet, xxiv, 478–9, 494–9; with Gerald of Wales, xxii–xxiii *and see* Index of Quotations, etc.; his death, xviii
— Writings: *De nugis curialium, passim*; authorship, xxx, lvi, lxii, 2–3, 84–5, 288–9, 494–7, 512–13; date and composition, xxiv–xxxii; purpose, xxxiii–xxxv, 36–7; title, xxx–xxxi; MS. and text, xxxii, xlv–xlix; rubrics, xxvii, xxx; scribes and 'editor', xxiv, xxvii, 499 n.; modern editors, xlix; M. R. James's text and translation, xlix–l; *Dissuasio Valerii*, xix, xxi, xxiv, xxviii n., xxix, xxxi n., xxxix, 288–313; MSS., xlvii–xlix; Map's pseudonym Valerius, 288 n.; Map as poet, 112–13, 132–3; his verse, xiii, xx, xxiii n., xxxi, 516; his Latin, xliv; and Hue of Rotelande, xxxiv; his satire, xxvi, xlii–xliv; on the court, xix, 2–25, 498–513; satire on marriage and women, xliii, 288–313 and *Dist.* iii, *passim*, etc.; satire on Cistercians, xliii–xliv, 72–113; his 'seal', 516; and the romances, xx–xxiii, and *Lanzelet*, xxi–xxii; as story-teller, xxxiv, xxxviii–xliii; and folklore, xxxviii; his word-play, 351 n.; Map's comments on divine judgement, 128–9; on the Waldensians, lii, 126–7; on other heresies, 118–23
— Notes on Map's treatment of: Breton history, 376–7 n.; the Cistercians, xliii–xliv; classical history and mythology, 286 n., and see Index of Quotations; on Circe, 289 n.; on Empedocles, 290–1 n.; on Juba, 406 n.; on Livy, 301 n.; on the Muses, 284 n.; on Numa, 356 n.; on the *Oresteia*, 312 n.; on Ovid's *Medea*, 311 n.; on Procris, 262–3 n.
— Map on demigods, 320–1; the demon Meridiana, 352–3 n.; English history: Æthelred II, 412 n.; Cnut, 424 n., 430 n.; Godwine, 413 n., 436 n.; William II's death, 464–5 n.; French history, 440–1 n., 458 n.; *ghildhus*, 154–5 n.; Hereford cathedral property, 431 n.; liturgical history, 360–1 n.; St. Peter of Tarentaise, xvi; Resus and Rollo, 271 n.; Rome and the papal curia, *see* Rome; Venus and Minerva, 308–9 n. *and see* Venus; the Turks, 176 n.; the Welsh, *see* Wales; Brecknock tradition, 188 n.
Walter son of Walter Map of Wormsley, xiv
Walter of Villebéon, chamberlain to Louis VII, 446–51
Walter Tirel, 464–5 n., 466–9
Watton (Yorkshire), Gilbertine priory, nun of, 116 n.
Waverley (Surrey), Cistercian abbey, 137 n.
Welsh, *see* Wales
Wessex, 430 n.
Westbury-on-Severn (Gloucestershire), xiv n., xvi, 106 n., 430–1
White monks, *see* Cistercians
Wigon, 376–87
William (aux Blanchesmains), archbishop of Reims, previously bishop of Chartres and archbishop of Sens, 120–1

William, archbishop of Tyre, 482 n.
William II, 'Walter', count of Nevers, 80–1
William, earl of Arundel, royal butler, 492–5
William, earl of Gloucester, 106–7, 344–5 n.
William I, king of England, duke of Normandy, 'the Bastard', the Conqueror, as duke, 344 n. 2; as king, 154 n., 156–7, 348–9, 436–7, 465 n.
William II, king of England, Rufus, 436–7, 470–1; death of, 464–70; dapifer of, *see* Hamo
William I, king of the Scots, the Lion, 472 n., 474–5
William I or II, king of Sicily, 370–1
William de Beauchamp, 426–7
William de Gournai, provost of Paris, 446–7
William de Montibus, chancellor of Lincoln, xvii
William de Stuteville, 104 n.
William de Tancarville, Norman chamberlain, 488–95
William FitzRalph, seneschal of Normandy, 490–1
William Godel, 350 n.
William Laudun, 202–3
William of Briouze, 146–7
William of Jumièges, 186 n.
William of Malmesbury, xli, 350 n., 424 n., 426 n., 428 n.
William, son of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, 474–5
Wilton abbey (Wiltshire), 474 n.
Winchester (Hampshire), 464 n., 468–9; bishop of, *see* Henry of Blois; nuns of (for Wilton), 474–5; treaty of, xxxvi
Witham (Somerset), Carthusian priory, prior of, *see* Hugh, St.
Wolfram von Eschenbach, xx–xxi
Woolaston (Gloucestershire), 106–7
Worcester, bishop of, *see* Baldwin, Roger
Wormsley (Herefordshire), xiv; St. Leonard's Augustinian priory, formerly Pyon, xiv n.
writs, 486–7
Wulfnoth, father of Godwine, 413 n., 414–15
Wyclif, John, xlvi
Wye, river, 30–1, 200–1
Wykes, Thomas, 100 n.

Ykenai, Hikenai, 478–9, 494–5
Ylispodius, *see* Erispoë
York, archbishop, archbishopric of, 470–1, *and see* Ealdred, Geoffrey (Plantagenet), Gerard, Richard, Roger, Thomas; treasurer of, *see* Geoffrey (Plantagenet); 'earl' of, 434–5
Yorkshire, Cistercians in, xliv, 92–3 n.
Ysembard, 442–3

Zephirus, west wind, 300–1, 310–11
Zeus, 262 n.
Zimri, 128–9
Zürich, 82 n.